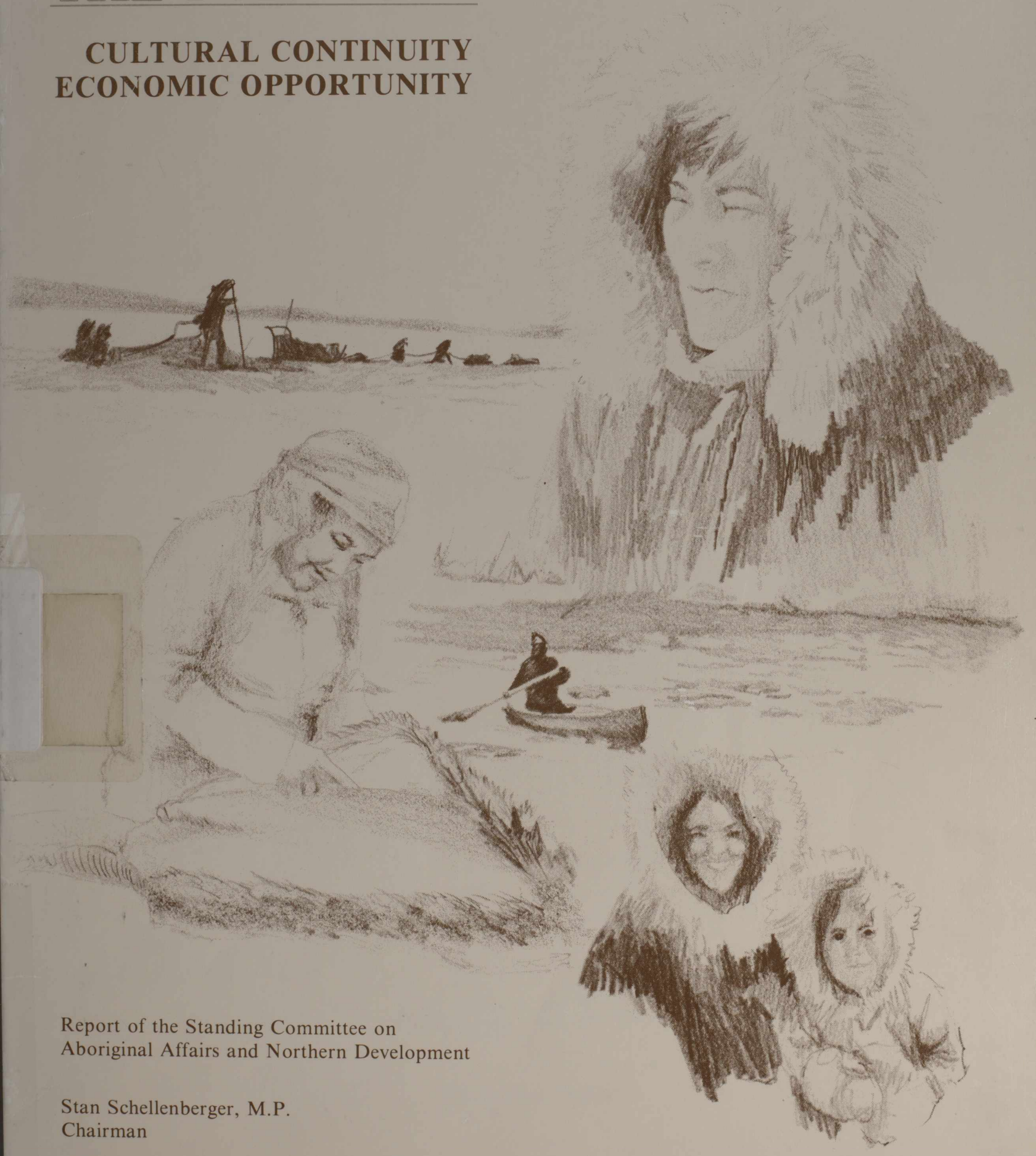
THE FUR ISSUE

CULTURAL CONTINUITY
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY



Report of the Standing Committee on
Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development

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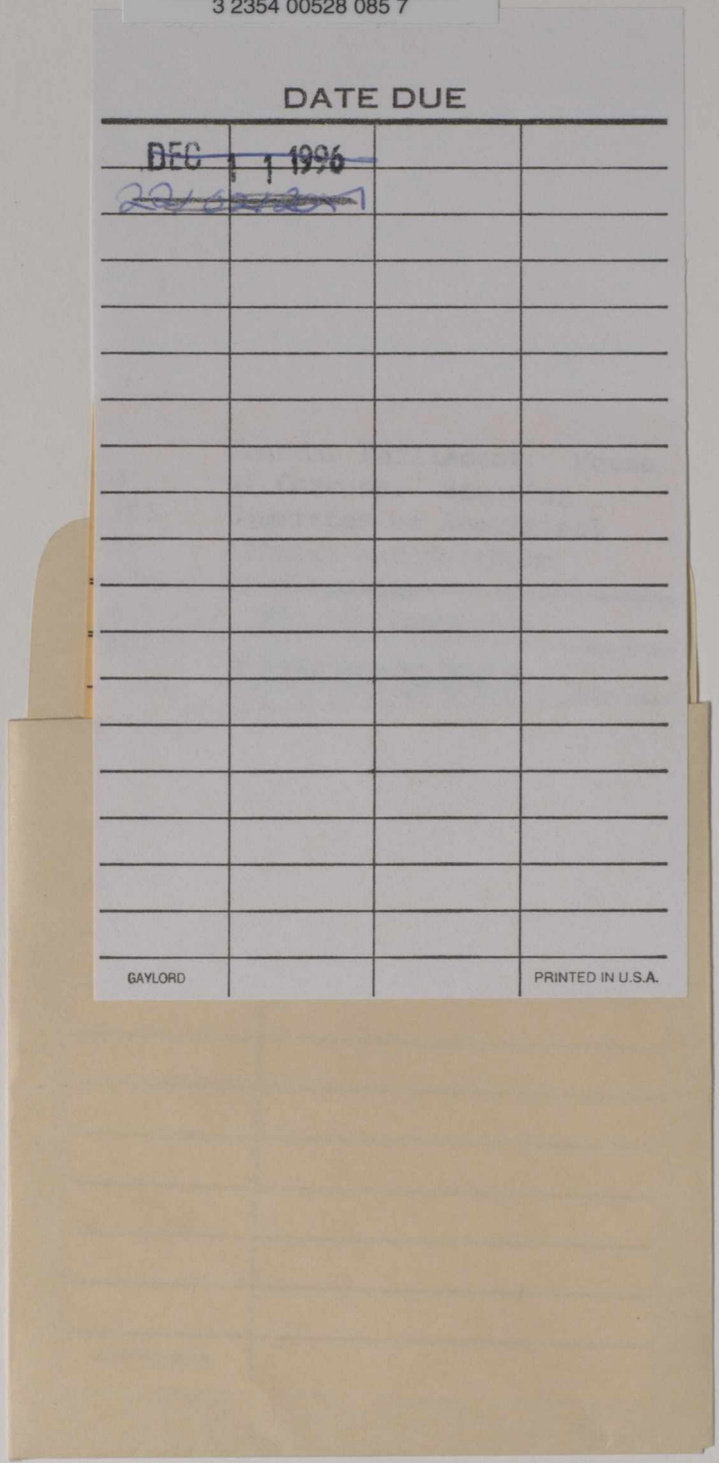

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CANADA

THE FUR ISSUE

CULTURAL CONTINUITY
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

REPORT OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON
ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND
NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

December 1986

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Issue No. 1

Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on

Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development

RESPECTING:

Order of Reference pursuant to Standing Order 96(2) relating to the fur issue

INCLUDING:

First Report to the House.

Second Session of the
Thirty-third Parliament, 1984-1985-1986

STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL
AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
(*Second Session, Thirty-third Parliament*)

Note: The Standing Committee completed its study of the fur issue and adopted this report prior to the prorogation of the First Session of the Thirty-third Parliament. As Parliament was prorogued prior to the printing of the report and its tabling in the House, the report was re-adopted by the Committee in the Second Session. When the Committee organized in the Second Session its membership was different from that of the First Session.

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Vice-Chairman: Thomas Suluk

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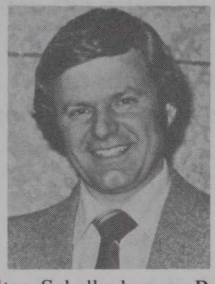
(First Session, Thirty-third Parliament)



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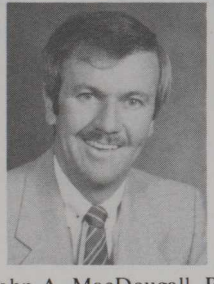

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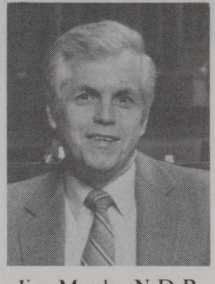

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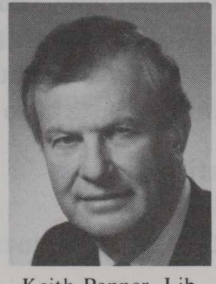

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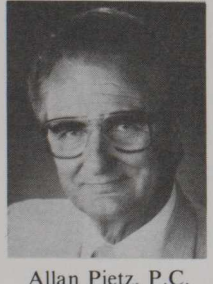

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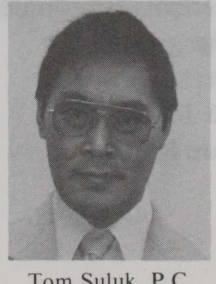

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THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

has the honour to present its
FIRST REPORT

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development has adopted this report and asks that the Government consider the advisability of implementing the recommendations contained herein. This report was initially adopted by the Committee in the First Session under the Chairmanship of Stan Schellenberger, M.P. When the Committee organized in the Second Session, the membership being somewhat different, the report was re-adopted *in toto*.

Pursuant to Standing Order 99(2), the Committee requests that the Government table a comprehensive response to the report.

A copy of the relevant Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Issues No. 44, 45, 50 and 52 Indian Affairs and Northern Development*; Issues No. 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 33 Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development of the First Session, Thirty-third Parliament and Issue No. 1 of the Second Session which includes this report) is tabled.

Respectfully submitted,

André Harvey, M.P.
Chairman

* On March 18, 1986 the Committee's name was officially changed from the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development.

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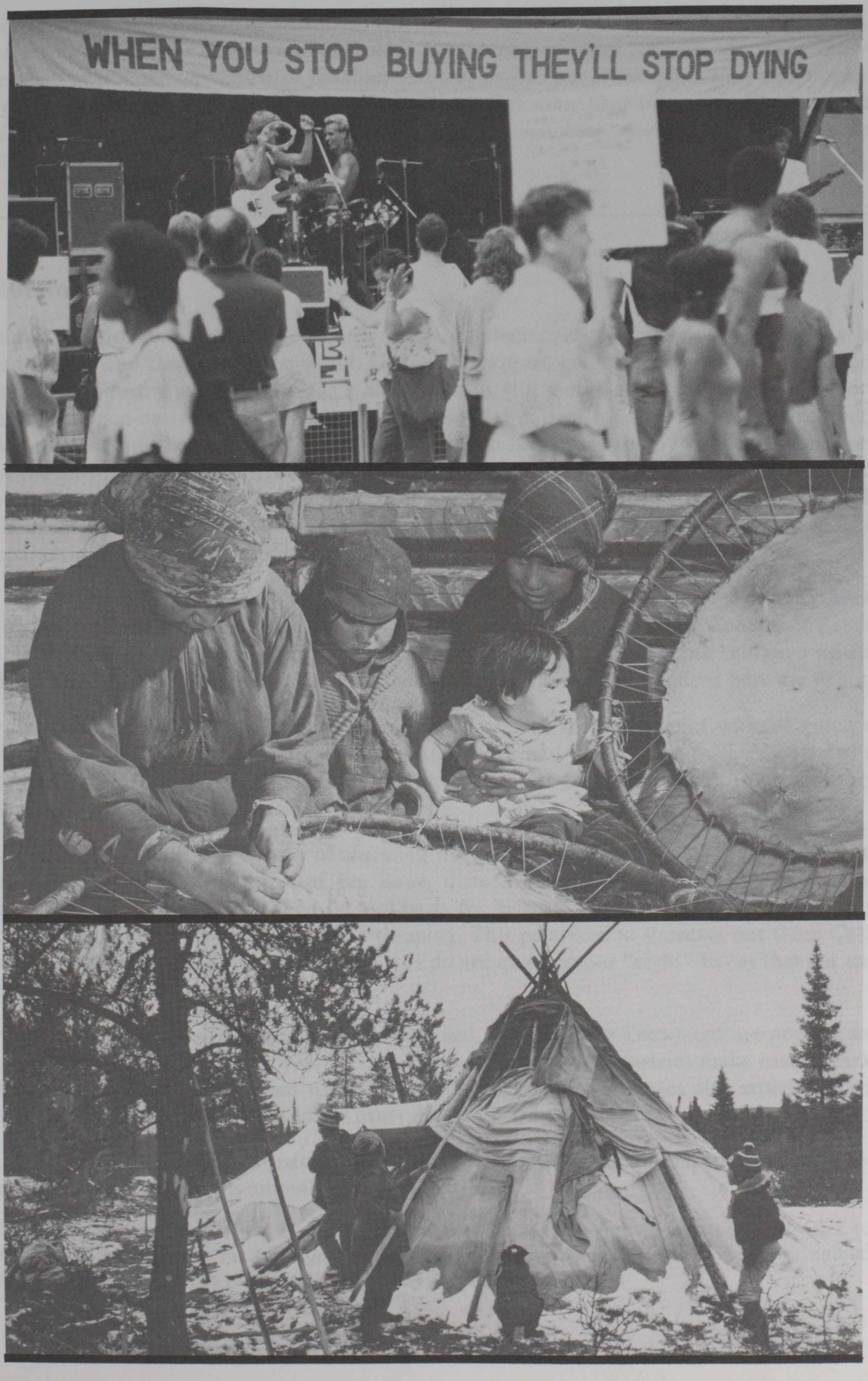
CHAPTER I: THE DEBATE



I see everyone here is wearing shoes. We are all wearing leather. We may not be wearing fur as the Inuit wear it or as the Dene and other fur-bearing original cultures use them, but we use them in a more sophisticated fashion. Most of us will eat steak some time this week: it might be beef; it might be lamb. Most of us will eat fish some time this week. We are not all living on vegetables and called vegetarians. *(Georges Erasmus, Chief, Assembly of First Nations, Issue 45:22; 7-11-85)*

Introduction

Animal products in the form of food, clothing and chemicals are widely used on a daily basis in Canadian society and throughout the world. Canadian trappers help to supply some of these goods as members of an industry which is Canada's oldest, and is still viable and important today. For many native and some non-native people, trapping is an essential part of life. Yet trapping is coming under increasing attack from the animal rights movement, which is opposed to any kind of animal use. Until recently, the anti-fur lobby has directed its messages to European fur-consuming countries rather than to fur-producing countries. Now, however, its campaign is moving to North America. As Tom Hughes, President of the Ontario Humane Society, recently stated: "The trapping industry is going to be extinct in this country and people had better just get used to the idea."(1)

In the 1970s, the seal industry was challenged. Now the fur industry faces the same threat. The animal rights strategy is to eliminate the consumer market for fur products. Canada is particularly vulnerable to these international campaigns because more than 90% of the four million wild fur pelts trapped in Canada annually and about 50% of the finished fur garments produced here are exported.

To date, animal rights activists have been able to present their viewpoint without much critical analysis, let alone public debate. Trappers and sealers have had little access to the media (which are skillfully used by the animal rights activists) and have therefore found it difficult to present their case or challenge animal rights assertions.

As a result, the public has no way of assessing the validity of animal rights arguments. Without a balanced presentation of both sides of the issue, distortions remain uncorrected and come to be accepted as the truth. Without a sound factual basis for discussion, emotional opinions are formed in which one becomes either "for" or "against" trapping. This polarization squeezes out those Canadians who are concerned with the welfare of animals but do not question our "right" to eat them or use them for various purposes.

Trappers, like sealers, are geographically dispersed, live in a little-known culture and are far from the anti-fur lobby efforts in Europe and U.S.A. The sealing and fur industries make easier marks than factory farming or laboratory-animal science, which animal rights advocates also attack but with less popular support since those activities affect every sector of society.

Mr. Stephen Best, Vice-Chairman of the International Wildlife Coalition, stated succinctly before the Committee the tactics of his animal rights group:

> If the international public was in full support of the fur industry and we were no longer able to raise funds to deal with the fur industry, we would definitely then shift over to whatever animal area we could raise funds to address. There are many animal issues.

> Although, from an internal organizational standpoint we would have a broad mandate of things we want to deal with — everything from problems in medical research, factory farming, environmental issues, habitat destruction, and so on and so forth — by simple economics we can only deal in those areas where we have public support.... In my opinion, all that is required to affect the fur trade adversely is that there be a protest. The merits of either side are, I believe, irrelevant to the issue, except for argument purposes and how we all do on radio shows and television shows.(2)

The Committee is concerned about the impact of the animal rights campaign on native and northern lifestyles. This report examines the importance of trapping in light of the Committee's mandate to make certain that the needs and aspirations of Canada's native and northern peoples are met and proposes measures to enhance its viability.

In order to hear the views of native and northern peoples, the Committee held 18 hearings in Ottawa and travelled to hear 15 groups in the Northwest Territories and Yukon (see Appendix A). Submissions on the fur issue were received from governments and trapping and aboriginal organizations, as well as from animal welfare and animal rights groups (see Appendix B).

Even though the anti-fur campaign claims not to be directed at them, it is native people who have most to lose if their economy, based on hunting, trapping and fishing, collapses. The Inuit people of northern Canada have already been severely affected by the "whitecoat" seal pup anti-sealing campaign. Though the Inuit hunt mature seals, which were not the object of that campaign, communities in the Northwest Territories which depended on sealskin sales for survival, found that the collapse of the market caused their annual revenue to drop by approximately 60%.

A traditional lifestyle of hunting and trapping is still pursued by many aboriginal and northern peoples and they want it to continue. Because their communities managed the wildlife resource with care over the years, what was there in the past is there now and, with some thought and help, can be there in the future for those who wish to remain on the land. There are many who do. Mr. Peter Ernerk, of the Keewatin Inuit Association explains:

> The Inuit have always managed the herds and the animals which they hunt. Inuit have lived with different species of animals for many, many centuries and our future generations will continue to do so for many more centuries to come. We Inuit have always had a great respect for the animals which we hunt. We have and always will depend on these animals for survival and every child was taught that as soon as they could understand. Inuit traditionally did not waste or abuse the animals they hunted. Entire animals were used in some fashion or another and anything left behind was for the scavengers and the north has an abundance of these. Let me tell you this, Inuit are and have been for centuries one of the greatest managers of renewable resources.(3)

The campaign against trapping may even work to the detriment of the wildlife it claims to be protecting. Loss of habitat and the effects of overpopulation destroy more animals than does the fur industry. An effective way of protecting the habitat and the animals is to ensure their continued social, cultural and economic importance to society. The irony is that animal rights advocates are attacking the way of life of aboriginal people who retain a relationship with the natural world already lost to urban dwellers. Those native people who live in harmony with nature offer the best hope of wildlife protection.

Countries like Canada which harvest wild fur cannot afford to be derelict in their protection of these animals. This country has established a reputation for managing wildlife well and native people have played their part in these endeavours. Furbearers are harvested under sustainable yields so that wildlife populations are growing steadily here. In fact, it is estimated that furbearer populations in Canada are now at least as high, if not higher, than they were when Europeans first came to the

continent. Despite this fact, anti-fur protesters claim that trapping threatens some furbearing species with extinction. No Canadian furbearers now being commercially trapped are so endangered. Regulations strictly control the trapping of all species and provincial wildlife biologists monitor population trends closely.

Trappers are often accused by anti-fur advocates of taking unwanted species, leaving animals to suffer in traps for weeks or months and using cruel methods of trapping and/or killing. To the professional trapper whose livelihood depends upon bush skills and knowledge, these charges seem ludicrous but to the uninitiated they may appear reasonable. In fact, Canadian trappers use the most humane trapping methods available today.

Canada was actually one of the first countries in the world to begin serious scientific research and development of humane killing-type traps and it is still at the forefront of such research. Responsible animal welfare groups can take much of the credit for early humane trap research undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s. More recently, with the creation of the Fur Institute of Canada in 1983, the fur industry itself has been working in cooperation with these organizations on trap design and testing. In 1984, Canada instituted a National Standard for Humane Traps and is urging other countries to adopt similar measures.

Beyond the issue of humaneness lies the larger question of the relationship between human beings and animals. There exists a consensus in Canadian society that this relationship should not be exploitive or inhumane. Animal rights advocates maintain, however, that people have no right to use animals at all. This conflicts with the aboriginal viewpoint wherein the relationship between human beings and animals is based on use and respect.

As Georges Erasmus, Canadian Co-Chairman of Indigenous Survival International, explains:

> The issue was that man could play a productive role in nature, that man was part of nature, that we were not put here from another universe and it was very possible for us to play a responsible, productive role, and that it was very possible for human societies to be part of a balanced ecosystem.(4)

According to Mr. Erasmus, animal rights advocates are trying to change this basic relationship:

> They are basically trying to change the fundamental relationship between animal life in general and human beings. They are basically challenging our use of fur ... they are challenging the fundamental relationship between man and wildlife, and they are doing it gradually. They are doing it in a way in which they have learned they can win at this game, and they have sensationalized one aspect of the struggle at a time. They are doing it methodically. They have fanatics in the back of them, but in the front of them they have moderates. They have some good thinkers behind this. They have an amazing organization. They have an amazing network and they know how to fundraise. They are raising funds from people around the world, in the highly industrialized countries. They cannot get it from the Third World, because there is no money there, but they are getting it from every major first nation in the world.(5)

Changing the basis of this relationship leads to a "hands off" approach to nature where humans stand apart from nature and any responsibility to redress imbalances or protect species is removed. The Committee questions whether such a passive stance is justified or would work to the benefit of the wildlife the anti-fur movement is seeking to protect.

Harvesting of renewable natural resources plays an important part in the economies of rural and remote regions of Canada and provides an alternative to total dependence on non-renewable resource industries.

A successful animal rights campaign on the fur issue would contribute to the erosion of lifestyle northern native people are already experiencing as a result of the anti-sealing campaign. It would also cause distress to trappers in rural regions south of 60° who depend on wildlife resources.

These people would be forced to rely on welfare or go to the cities, leaving our wilderness areas vulnerable to encroaching industrialization. It would mean that the interests of people who depend on wildlife resources count for less than do the interests of seals, beaver or caribou.

The Committee believes that the continuance of the trapping industry is a vital issue that cannot afford to be manipulated by a small group of people whose personal survival is not at stake. We see history repeating itself in the form of yet another attack on native culture. It can be compared to the time during settlement of this country when native peoples were expected to conform to the newcomers' ideals rather than retain their traditional lifestyle.

The Committee also believes that Canadians, if they are presented with a balanced view of the fur issue and its implications for the country as a whole, will support efforts to promote and protect the trapping activities of aboriginal people.

Up to now, while the Government of Canada has been supportive of aboriginal aspirations in the trapping industry, it has not been in the forefront stating its position. Decisive policy and actions are needed if we are not to have a repetition of the sealing situation.

The Committee therefore recommends that:

1. **The Government of Canada issue a statement which officially recognizes the importance of the trapping industry to Canada and especially to aboriginal and northern peoples. The statement would commit the Government to the preservation of the trapping industry and to working towards greater economic benefits for aboriginal and northern trappers and towards more humane standards of trapping and wildlife management.**

CHAPTER II: CHOICE AND CHALLENGE

We have a large population, and Europe has an even larger population of people who believe that food comes from the grocery store; that clothes come from the textile mills; and that leather shoes come from Italy. These people no longer understand the origin of these items. We also have populations with an ever-increasing amount of leisure. This leisure is often used to watch television and accept information without a critical mind. Progress has brought to Canadians, as well as to other nations, many benefits, but of course there is always a price to pay. Right now Inuit and other native groups in Canada, and even many non-native Canadians who have supplemented their incomes with harvests from renewable resources are paying the price.

Inuit pay the price of advances in technology. They want up-to-date equipment, snow machines, outboard motors and canoes, all-terrain vehicles, and firearms, and for this they pay an ever-increasing price. Inuit pay the price of rapid and effective communications, as the anti-trapping and anti-sealing groups know how to use the media and have the funding to change public opinion on renewable resource harvesting. Yes, Inuit pay the price because they do not have these skills at their disposal, and it would be against our cultural values anyway to set about deliberately changing public opinion for their expressed benefit.

Inuit pay the price because they have some education, but not enough yet to successfully compete with all southerners who come north, particularly in these days of economic difficulties in southern Canada.

Inuit have suddenly moved from being a nomadic hunting culture to having to defend their lifestyle; to fight for their very survival against those same people who brought them into the fur industry in the first place. (Peter Ernerk, President, Keewatin Inuit Association, Issue 9:9; 21-4-86)

History of the Fur Trade

The fur trade was instrumental in the development of Canada as a nation. When France based its colonial regime on the fur trade at the beginning of the 17th century, in keeping with the mercantile spirit of the times it restricted the colony's role to that of a supplier of natural resources and a market for French-produced goods. All manufacture of goods in the colony was banned, thus ensuring that any economic development would be in relation to the search for fur.

The Canadian fur trade was a French monopoly until 1670 when the Company of Adventurers into Hudson's Bay (commonly referred to as the Hudson's Bay Company or HBC) was created in England and granted by charter the exclusive trading rights in all territories drained by the rivers which flowed into the northern sea. As little of this land had been explored at that time, no one realized that the Hudson's Bay Company territories comprised an enormous area, about half of what was to become Canada.

In 1763, with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, Britain took control of the French colony and of the fur trade. Shortly thereafter, the North West Company, the second major British company to be involved in the fur trade, was created in the Montreal area. As this company moved its trade further west it found itself in strong competition with the Hudson's Bay Company until, in 1821, the two companies merged. In 1870, the HBC formally transferred its chartered territories to the Government of Canada in exchange for farmland in the prairies, which it sold to settlers over the following 85 years.

The fur trade was the central focus of the economy of Canada for almost three centuries, with much of the other economic activity developing in support of it. Canada's first financial institution, the Bank of Montreal, was established in 1817 to service the trade. Along the St. Lawrence River, communities were established to provide important access to the country's main shipping route and, as the fur trade moved west, trading posts were established which were to become Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, Edmonton, and Victoria. Much of the early exploration of Canada was carried out by representatives of the fur companies as they searched for new trading regions and the river routes they mapped formed the east-west trading corridor later parallelled by the railway.

Aboriginal People and the Fur Trade

Canada's aboriginal people played a vital role in the early fur trade. Though European fashion had created the demand for fur, without a supply the industry would not have prospered. Native trappers provided that supply. They were the only people who had the necessary skill and bush knowledge to acquire the large numbers of pelts needed to sustain the industry.

The Indian nations encountered by the first European explorers were primarily hunting and gathering societies which were economically independent and self-sufficient. The people hunted and trapped animals for food and clothing and, among themselves, commonly used animal and agricultural products for trade and barter. Their familiarity with the concept of trade enabled them to bargain with the European explorers and traders for food and transport and the knowledge that enabled the newcomers to survive in a forbidding land. Often the early traders and HBC managers lacked the skills and were too busy trading, to provide for their own sustenance, and therefore depended on native hunters for their food supply. As well, native people were guides for traders and explorers looking for new trading territories and transportation routes. In some instances they were middlemen between the European traders and the more remote Indian tribes.

In exchange, the native people received guns, ammunition, traps, metal utensils and foodstuffs, thus becoming consumers of European manufactured products. And, like all people who are offered a new technology that will make their life easier, they welcomed these articles into their lifestyle and became dependent on them.

It is important to note that native people were very astute traders who expected a high standard of goods in exchange for their work or their furs. If high quality goods were not offered in areas where the aboriginal people lived between competing trading posts, they simply took their business elsewhere. Thus, to some extent, the role of Canada's native people in the early fur trade determined the pattern of expansion of the search for fur and the character of the fur trade.

Social and Cultural Importance of Trapping

> Hunting and trapping are not "jobs" for Inuit.... We in the North live the life of subsistence hunters and trappers. Our families contribute to all phases of getting ready for hunting and preparing of skins. Our wives, our children, and our relatives share in the work and the rewards.... We as Inuit have always harvested animals as a way of life. In the North the animals, man and nature lived in a harmony that was both cruel and fair to all. At times men and animals starved, and at other times there was plenty. Nature ensured the balance; and the Inuit were an integral part of this life. We have survived for centuries in this area of the country.(1)

These words of Peter Ernerk of Rankin Inlet forcefully point out that to native people trapping involves much more than simply trying to earn a cash income; it implies a unique, social, spiritual and cultural relationship with the land and its resources. This relationship, which has been well

documented, has as its underlying basis the concept of reciprocity. Native survival has depended on: "appeasing animals and animal spirits so that the animals would, in turn, 'cooperate' by 'giving' themselves to the hunters."(2)

Traditional aboriginal hunters and trappers hold the utmost respect for the animals they kill. They make every effort to ensure that they "kill well" and that the "gifts" of the animals they have killed are not wasted. It is believed that if a hunter allows meat to spoil he is taking the chance that the offended animal spirit will not return to him, and that he will be unsuccessful in future hunts.

In some communities such respect is still shown through hunting rituals such as one in British Columbia in which the aboriginal people return salmon bones to the river in thanks to the salmon people, who then ensure that the rivers are heavily populated in the years to follow. The James Bay Cree observe the ritual of hanging the trachea of Canada Geese from the branches of trees in the belief that when the wind blows through the trachea they call other geese to the area.

It is also a part of native cultural belief that for every animal killed a human being will be given in return and that when a hunter dies and passes over to the other side, an animal or bird will often appear in a community, as if to take his place. These rituals and beliefs put man and beast on the same level in nature. Man respects the animals because he needs them. If he does not respect them his hunts will be unsuccessful.

Such customs are the important link between trapping and the maintenance of culture. If native people were unable to trap, their traditional lifestyle would be diminished, as would their relationship with the land and animals. To the James Bay Cree the trapping lifestyle and the cultural links to the land are so important that they have instituted a guaranteed income program to encourage people to live off the land and have codified the many hunting and trapping rituals and beliefs so that they will not be lost.

> Trapping is part of our tradition ... it is deeply rooted within our system, our customs. It has been handed down from generation to generation through either hunters or the elders of our villages.(3)

The Attikamek-Montagnais Council spoke of the total integration of trapping with their lifestyle:

> For us, as for many other Native Indian nations in Canada, the trapping of fur-bearing animals represents an activity which is completely integrated with our traditional exploitation of the resources of our ancestral lands as a whole, as well as with our cultural traditions and social customs. Thus it represents much more than simply a source of money income... We eat the meat of several species, particularly the beaver. We also respect the animals we capture in order to ensure the benevolence of the lord of the animals, and their reproduction in generations to come. In addition, we transmit to our children knowledge of the animals' habits.(4)

In her testimony before the Committee, Ms. Rhoda Inuksuk, President of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, discusses the importance of hunting and trapping to her people and the frustration that they feel because of the threat posed by the anti-trapping, anti-fur lobbyists.

> These people, and our fathers, and the ones before him (sic), hunted sometimes when the temperature was 75 degrees below zero. That is hard work right there. If it were not for them, John and I would not be sitting here. We would not be alive if it were not for the hard work they did to carry on the tradition and our culture which is survival. We are grateful for what they have done and we would like to continue that. People are making sure that you hear about our culture and tradition dying out. We are threatened, very badly threatened but we have not lost it. My son is already hunting, so our tradition and culture are not dead, and we do not want to see them die.
>
> We are faced with a very real situation. We are threatened. How do I feel when I see my father's way of life threatened? It is painful to think life would change so much for them that they would

be lost in society. What would they become if they lost what they had? It means losing themselves and we cannot afford to see that happen to our own fathers, our own brothers and sons. We are determined to see their tradition kept alive.(5)

The Committee asked Mr. Howard Linklater, Manager of the Old Crow Indian Band, whether a ban on trapping would deprive the people of Old Crow of their Indian identity. Mr. Linklater responded:

> Oh, it would deprive us of our identity, for sure. We still have not had the chance to adapt to any other society or any other way of living. That is where we are now at. We are slowly adapting so that we can create our economy, or create a structure if we have a strong economy. Trapping is a way of life for a lot of people in our community, and what would your reaction be to, say, the anti-oil movement? What if we started an anti-oil movement? Say you cannot have any more oil because you are destroying the earth, ...(6)

Ms. Inuksuk explains that for the Inuit trapping represents more than a way of obtaining a cash income; the meat is very important to their lifestyle because all the people hunt for food.

> Another thing is that our elders especially would never be satisfied with southern food because they are not used to that. Traditionally, they survived on meat, country food, and we still heavily depend on that. I do not think too many older people could go for a whole week just having southern food, because that is very different from their regular diet. You can not get any meat better than seal meat in a cold climate. They still have to work outdoors, and would not survive too well trying to live on southern food, while they are out hunting on the land. It would just not keep them warm, so we need it for both clothing and food. Even though we have stores now, and we are having to buy milk and stuff like that from the stores, local stores, we still depend very heavily on what the men hunt. In most cases too, whatever is shipped up there is very expensive, and any families that are not employed simply could not just live off what they buy from the stores.(7)

Native people across Canada regularly eat beaver, muskrat, rabbit and sometimes lynx and black bear, as well as many other species. Inuit eat the meat of seals, whale, walrus and caribou. What is not consumed by the people is used as trap bait or to feed dogs. Recently, trappers have also begun to leave carcasses out to feed animals which may be starving during the winter months.

Though the meat value may exceed the pelt value in monetary terms, the cash income from the sale of pelts is also integral to the survival of the culture, to the physical ties with the land, for without it native people could not afford to buy what they need to continue to hunt and trap their food. As we shall see in a later section, both the value of the meat and the pelts are important for the economy of native people.

Subsistence

Native people have in recent years incorporated many of the benefits of modern technology into their lifestyle. Most now hunt with guns rather than bows and arrows and travel by skidoo or automobile rather than by dogsled or on foot. They have heaters to keep their homes warm at night, and fridges and stoves for preparing their food. Some families own washers and dryers. Many families own television sets, often the only link between an isolated community and the outside world.

During the course of the hearings it became evident to the Committee that witnesses who oppose trapping were suggesting that it is acceptable for aboriginal people to continue to trap as long as they are doing so in order to maintain a subsistence lifestyle. As soon as a pelt is sold for money, however, the aboriginal person is seen as trapping for commercial gain, which, it is felt, cannot be condoned. The same witnesses further claimed that native trappers who have adapted to technological advances (like

those mentioned above) are no longer trapping for subsistence purposes. When asked how she defined subsistence and at what point she believed that a subsistence activity became a commercial activity, Ms. Esther Klein, the past president of the Animal Defence League responded:

> It is hard to draw a precise line, but once it goes beyond sustaining them, keeping them nourished, clothed, the minimum essentials of life, that is, beyond the minimum essentials, then we say that if a supplementary income is needed trapping is not the way to go.(8)

When asked further if it was wrong for an Indian to depend on trapping in order to buy a washing machine or a television set Ms. Klein said that it was, and elaborated:

> When you are speaking of subsistence living being interwoven with the cultural way of living, I understand it and I accept it. But once you start going into a little extra, like for the television, as you mentioned, I think that culture has entered into the background. We have now entered a new realm.(9)

In discussions on subsistence the committee noted two areas in which opinions were polarized. The first area was in regards to what constitutes a luxury product. Ms. Klein's argument implies that anything other than the bare minimum of food, clothing and shelter is a luxury. The committee believes that there are many people in Canada who would disagree with that viewpoint. In fact a 1985 Statistics Canada survey showed that of the families with an annual income of less than $10,000, 54% owned washing machines, 40% owned clothes dryers and 96% owned televisions. These data could suggest that people with little money to spare who still purchase these items consider them to be necessities rather than luxuries.

The second area in which opinions were polarized was in the definition of subsistence itself. The narrow definition put forward by Ms. Klein is in direct conflict with that of Mr. Georges Erasmus, Co-Chairman of Indigenous Survival International and National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations. In the following quotation Mr. Erasmus compares these two definitions:

> Our concept of subsistence is radically different. In fact, we would love to find another way of putting some verbiage to what we really mean, because subsistence has come to mean exactly that, scratching out a living, borderline living, barely knowing where your next plate is coming from. You may not have a plate to put the food on. Inadequate housing, inadequate clothing, an inadequate way of life - that is not what we are talking about encouraging and preserving and enhancing. We are talking about man living in harmony with the environment he finds himself in: participating in it, taking part in it, protecting it, making it flourish - playing a role of both participating in there but also protection, because we have the intelligence to do it. We play that particular role in the animal kingdom, but we are part of it. We are part of nature and we are part of the total environment.(10)

Mr. Stanley Njootli of the Old Crow Indian Band adds to this definition:

> One of the first things I would like to say is that we have a semi-subsistence lifestyle in our community. And subsistence in the north means something different from the way they interpret it in the south. Subsistence up here is a way of life, the way we live up here. It is our culture, it is our tradition and it is our well-being for our individual selves as well as for the community too, for the community people.
>
> Subsistence means we like to trap, we like to hunt and we like to fish and live with the land and in harmony with the land and off the land. As one person said, we do not live up here for nothing. So, with that, we also have a lot of hard work to maintain our way of life.(11)

Neither Mr. Erasmus nor Mr. Njootli believes that subsistence means that they must live on the brink of poverty; it means they may live as their ancestors did, by taking what they need from the land without being wasteful.

Before contact with Europeans, all Indian Nations lived off the land. Generally they lived very well. If the land had plenty to give, they were wealthy, they did not just scratch out a survival. They could have extravagant feasts and ceremonies or trade their animal or agricultural products with other Indian Nations for things they would not otherwise have had access to, things they might have considered luxuries. They took from the land what they needed to live, and live well, but they never took for the sheer pleasure of taking, they never wasted anything. When the land had nothing to give, however, they faced poverty and often starved.

After European contact, the lifestyle evolved. Indian people discovered that they could trade with the Europeans for goods which would make their lives easier but which also introduced a new technology. This new technology became a part of their traditional lifestyle, of their subsistence economy.

Native people today still trade for goods and services that make their lives easier. Their subsistence lifestyle has evolved to include modern technology but it continues to revolve around the principle of taking what is needed from the land to live and live well, without being wasteful. The introduction of cash does not destroy this basic relationship. To many native people cash is merely a vehicle of trade in a society that no longer practises the direct barter of produce for produce. Ms. Nancy Doubleday, Legal Counsel for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada elaborates:

> ...I think it is important to realize that people in the Arctic have always traded among themselves for food and traded things that they had that they wanted to trade for something else. That is substantiated by archaeologists. You can find copper knives that have been made in one place, look at the minerology of them, and you can determine that the place they were found is indeed thousands of miles away. The answer to that is the inter-settlement trade, and it has been documented in many different areas. There was inter-settlement trade even between Inuit and Indians over great distances, across watersheds, lots of this. It is important to understand that if the man who sold the improved technology in Frobisher Bay, whether it was a rifle or whether it was a skidoo...if that man was willing to trade what he had for the skins or the other products of the hunting and trapping, then people would not have to sell things for money, because money would not be an issue.
>
> However, money has become a false issue in the whole question of subsistence. What you are dealing with is an activity that has always been practised. People have always innovated. If someone else had a better idea about a technology, it was adopted and improved on.(12)

Trapping and the cash received from the fur pelts are very important in today's subsistence lifestyle. The average aboriginal trapper earns in cash between $1,000 and $4,000 annually. For many Canadians this amount may seem insignificant but for the native trapper it could represent the only cash he will see all year. The loss of this income could mean devastation for his family. To the native trapper the most important part of many trapped animals is the meat, with which he feeds his family. If he loses the income from the pelts, however, he will not be able to buy the guns, ammunition, traps, gasoline, and snowmobiles that he needs for trapping. He will not be able to afford to hunt or trap, and his family will suffer.

The devastating effects of the loss of even this modest income on families and communities are already being felt in the Northwest Territories. When the European Economic Community (EEC) placed a ban on the sale of "whitecoat" seal pup pelts in 1983, the market for the pelts of mature seals collapsed as well. In 18 of 20 Inuit communities in the NWT the annual revenue from the sale of sealskin pelts dropped by approximately 60%.

The community of Broughton Island saw its collective income drop from a total of $92,099 in 1981-82 to $13,504 in 1983-84. The Inuit of Pangnirtung on Baffin Island made only $42,146 in 1983-84 in comparison to the $200,714 they had made two years previously; the income for Resolute, in the high Arctic, fell from $54,841 to $2,383 during the same period. Since the EEC ban there have been reports of increased social problems in communities that had been largely self-sufficient. When asked by the Committee about the impact of the loss of the market for sealskins on these Inuit communities, Ms. Rhoda Inusuk, President of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada replied:

> One of the disasters that has happened as a result of that is youth suicide. We have a very high rate of suicide. The loss is due to the animal rights group.
>
> Some of the communities suffer more than others. I will take Pangnirtung, for example, where many of the families depended on seal pelts. When that went down a lot of the people had no other way but to go for social assistance because many of the families who depended on that were very badly damaged. That is just one community I am taking as an example, but many more communities have been affected by that.
>
> As I mentioned earlier with the social problems, we have the youth problems, drug and alcohol abuse, violence. There is very little employment and when you are hit with something like that you are bound to see these problems come up as a result of that.(13)

Economic Importance of Trapping

Trapping has always been and should remain an essential part of cultural and economic life in Canada. The Canadian fur industry is worth approximately $600 million annually, apart from the further $200 million it earns each year for allied industries such as transportation. In 1980, one of the better years for the fur industry, Canadian fur exports contributed $312 million to Canada's balance of payments.

Opponents of the fur industry have promoted the myth of a large monolithic industry. This is a holdover from the early days of the fur trade when the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Trading Company were virtual monopolies in Canada. Today's fur industry is made up of small, generally family-oriented businesses, composed of trappers, ranchers, marketers, processers, artisan furriers (manufacturers) and retailers. More than 80% of the retail fur sales in Canada are made through privately owned, family run, one-store businesses. Trappers are, moreover, through their local trapping associations, becoming more actively involved in the wholesale aspects of the industry.

The skills of the manufacturer are the skills of an artisan furrier, very often passed from generation to generation within a small family business. In Canada today there are approximately 300 manufacturing enterprises employing roughly 3,000 people.

It is estimated that 105,000 Canadians earn all or a part of their income through the fur industry. Of these, approximately 100,000 are trappers, between 50,000 and 60,000 of whom are thought to be aboriginal people.

The animal rights advocates suggest that it is morally wrong to trap. This is a belief that aboriginal people who maintain a traditional lifestyle will never share. To them the interdependent relationship between animals and people is a part of the natural course of life. A native trapper holds the utmost respect for the animal which offers its life so that he and his family may survive.

Should the anti-trapping lobby succeed, some aboriginal trappers would stop hunting, but only because they would no longer be able to afford to continue. These are the people who live closest to the land, who maintain a subsistence type of lifestyle and whose only cash income is derived from the sale

of fur pelts. In order to feed their families they would have to rely more heavily on welfare. Other aboriginal trappers, who have part-time or full-time jobs providing them with another source of cash income, would continue to trap for food. With no consumer market for fur, however, the pelts would be wasted.

Chief Hammond Dick of the Ross River Band, Yukon, offered his impressions of what would happen if his people could no longer sell the pelts.

> I think it would cause a lot of hardship for our members, but it will not stop them from living off the land or making a living off the land. A lot of our products and by-products come from wildlife and from the land. One of the reasons why we are so staunch on protecting our land is because it provides for immediate needs, future needs and a lot of other things. If the fur industry is wiped out like the seal industry, I think it would do a lot of harm. It would cause a lot of despair and there could be a domino effect for our people. It would also cost the government a lot of money to provide programs and a certain quality of life for our members.(14)

Many opponents of trapping, on the other hand, told the Committee that aboriginal people should be encouraged to become more self-sufficient by entering the "mainstream" of Canadian economic life, rather than by continuing to trap.

> We are aware that we are impinging to a certain degree, on the native people. We think we are impinging less on them than the way in which our government has been dragging its feet in helping them to come into the mainstream of the economy. We do not believe that supporting their remaining in trapping is going to make them a happy people.(15)

Professor John Livingston of York University stated in his brief that he did not believe trapping to be a viable economic activity for native people.

> Indeed, had trapping ever been [a] significant economic option for native people, then welfare programs would long since have become unnecessary.... At best it subsidizes not natives but government welfare budgets. Continued emphasis on the fur trade as a significant factor in the support of natives merely serves to mask the deeper need - full native participation in the Canadian economy.(16)

While trapping is by no means a strong enough economic activity to eliminate completely the need for social assistance, the Committee does not share the view stated by Professor Livingston that trapping subsidizes "government welfare budgets." The reverse is more likely true: welfare supplements cyclical downturns in trapping income.

Trapping is an important source of income, either in cash or in food value to people who choose to live on the land. Arguments by animal rights activists that those "trappers dependent on trapping for [their] livelihood would have to change their employment if trapping were abolished"(17) do not recognize the economic and cultural realities that trappers face. The majority of Canada's aboriginal trappers live in remote and isolated communities where alternative economic opportunities are extremely limited. Many such trappers have little formal education and lack the skills or diplomas necessary for other forms of employment.

> I have been a trapper all my life. I had a family, but I lost my wife, I am just by myself now, I am 69 years old now, I draw the old age pension and I am still trapping.
>
> I have never been to school. I just live in the bush. All I know is how to sign my name on a cheque. I cannot read one word, but I make a living anyway.(18)

Mr. Georges Erasmus describes aboriginal trappers in the following manner:

> The people in Canada ... who still rely on trapping also hunt and fish, by and large. These are the

> people who are the most traditional of the original cultures in North America. Many of these people are people who either speak their own language only or have very broken English or French, depending on what part of the country they are living in. Most are not formally educated. What you are seeing is what is left of the original cultures. I mean people who want to maintain a lifestyle as close to the traditional way of life which has always existed in North America prior to European contact.(19)

More important than the income trapping generates is the independence and dignity that flow from self-reliance. Mr. Erasmus also told Committee members of the important economic role which trapping has for aboriginal people.

> The income from trapping per se is not all that great for many people. But it does create an ability for families to be as self-reliant as possible. In most cases, you will find that trapping itself is not sufficient to cover all the other needs of the family and they will either offset it with seasonal employment in the wage economy or, if that is not available, then it will have to be social assistance in most cases. But a lot of these people are unemployable. They are people who have chosen this particular way of life and this is what they will continue to do.(20)

People who choose to trap for a living value this lifestyle which enables them to maintain a livelihood close to and reliant on the land while avoiding or minimizing their dependence on social assistance. Trappers like Dan McLean, an aboriginal trapper from Alberta, who has been trapping for over 60 years, are proud of the self-sufficiency that a trapping lifestyle can give them.

> I am satisfied when I eat three times a day and I have a warm place to stay. Money is going to get me no place. That is the way I feel. I have never been on welfare, never. I am on old age pension.(21)

Aboriginal people do not wish to exchange the independence gained from trapping for a dependence on social assistance.

> We have no desire to adapt to a welfare society, such as is being recommended by some persons making presentations to your committee, in particular, by the so-called animal lovers and animal rights activists. We have become dependent on the income from trapping and hunting and we have learned to appreciate many of the benefits of the southern Canadian society.
>
> Many of us have permanent or part-time employment but still participate in some fashion in the hunting and trapping to fulfill our cultural and traditional values.(22)

Moreover, the indirect income from trapping in the form of country food, is very high. The value of the meat from trapping, or "country food", as it is commonly known, is difficult to calculate but is nonetheless well recognized. Hugh Brody, when he worked for the Beaver Indians of Northeastern British Columbia, estimated that the real value of the food produced by hunting and trapping was approximately twice that of the income received from the sale of all furs.

Nellie Cornoyea, former Minister for Renewable Resources of the Northwest Territories, estimated that $40 million worth of country food was consumed in the Northwest Territories during 1982-83. Its value if replaced by meat from the south, such as chicken or beef, would be at least doubled to more than $80 million, partly because of the high costs of transporting and handling produce from the south.

In determining the value of country food it is also important to take into consideration the fact that wild meat often has a greater pound for pound nutritional value than the domestic beef or chicken to which it is usually compared.

> Nobody recognizes, for instance, the country food industry as being an industry. Under the table, it provides $30 million in this region alone and that does not control [include] the sales of snowmobiles, Hondas, fishing equipment and everything else that goes into the stores.
>
> Right now in this region there are about $2 million to $3 million spent on welfare. If that industry collapsed, I can imagine how the Canadian public would feel if all of a sudden they had to pay $40 million worth of welfare in one region alone. And you can go across the whole north that way. You are probably looking at an industry that is at least as big as the mining industry, if not bigger, ...(23)

Trappers, native and non-native alike, trap by choice and not by need. Those who appeared before the Committee generally agreed that choice in lifestyle is essential to them. For example, the Ontario Trappers Association in its submission stated that the "belief in choice is imperative to our philosophy..."(24) They were not impressed by the suggestion that they be helped to adopt alternative economic options.

The Newfoundland and Labrador Trappers Association commented at great length on the problems associated with economic options. In its written brief to this Committee, it stated that:

> The notion of economic options to trapping presupposes the application of urban solutions to rural problems. Such options inevitably include promises of alternative, higher paying employment, while ignoring the chosen lifestyles of native, northern and rural peoples.... Thus, so-called "options" are generally not the chosen options of the people to be affected, but recommendations for change from outside influences... it represents assimilation, and it is usually justified on the basis of economics.(25)

As this association pointed out in its brief, Newfoundland experiences may serve as good lessons and should be given careful attention when economic options are discussed in relation to trapping. They included the resettlement programs undertaken in the 1960s (where the government discouraged the continuance of a subsistence economy by offering cash to encourage people in the outposts to move to major centres), and the recent destruction of the market for sealskin products.

The Newfoundland and Labrador Trappers Association maintained that to choose one's form of employment and lifestyle was a paramount concern:

> Economic options to trapping already exist: an option is, after all, a choice. Those who choose to do so can discontinue trapping: that is their option. The option that needs to be examined and protected is the option to continue to trap.(26)

The Committee agrees that the option to continue to trap should be protected.

The Committee recommends that:

2. The federal government and particularly the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development assert and support the fundamental right of the aboriginal people of Canada to pursue hunting and trapping.

The Committee further believes that the opportunity to hunt and trap should be made available to those who wish to trap but cannot at present do so because of financial constraints.

In Rankin Inlet the Committee heard testimony to the effect that a form of hunter-support program would be helpful to many northerners. Due to the impact of the ban on seal pup pelts, many Inuit without income from other jobs have had to stop hunting and trapping because they do not have

the cash to continue. Many others, who stopped trapping to work on the oil rigs but now find themselves unemployed because oil exploration has ceased, would like to move back to the land but cannot do so without start-up capital.

The Committee believes that aboriginal people should be encouraged in such efforts towards self-reliance. Existing government programs may not always meet specific needs. One example is the Special Agricultural Rural Development Agreement (ARDA).

> That was one of our criticisms of the Special ARDA program. It was geared for the western Arctic, not the eastern Arctic. They allow two-thirds of the value of a canoe, up to $1,000. The canoes used in the eastern Arctic are worth $3,900 to $4,300 apiece, so it does not even come close to two-thirds of the value of the canoe. The same with the maximum horsepower on outboard motors. They have it there as 10 horsepower because they are talking about using the boats on lakes. For Hudson Bay and the estuaries of rivers you need a minimum of a 35 horsepower motor. Again you are looking at $4,000 or $5,000 for one of those engines. And again they had a maximum of $1,000.(27)

As well, social assistance programs are administered in a manner which restricts trappers from purchasing what they need for hunting and trapping. In Ontario, for example, welfare guidelines developed in southern urban centres prohibit the purchase of a boat and motor because they are considered luxuries. But to a hunter and fisherman in Northern Ontario, these items are essential to his day to day life. In some isolated communities in the Northwest Territories, welfare cheques cannot be converted into cash, and can be spent only in a specified store, usually the Bay, for food and clothing. The store has an account for each family, to which the cheque is applied. For a family heavily reliant on welfare, there is no actual cash available with which they can buy hunting equipment or gas.

The Committee believes that social assistance programs should be more flexible, so that start-up funding could be available to those people who wish to adopt or return to a traditional lifestyle based on hunting and trapping.

The Committee recommends that:

3. Social Assistance programs become more flexible in order to provide start-up funding for aboriginal people who wish to adopt or return to living off the land but lack the financial means to do so.

Native people also wish to participate in the secondary aspects of the fur industry. Georges Erasmus has suggested that native people could derive significant economic benefits by branching out from trapping and establishing their own tailoring and marketing outlets.

> One way of distinguishing those kinds of products would be to have some kind of label which would talk about the product being a solely indigenously produced product.... It would talk about the quality of the product the same way in which high-quality wool products are talked about.... We see it as a way we could expand the whole area of a larger market, because people who would not buy other fur would be interested in native-designed, native-caught fur products.(28)

The Metis National Council suggested that economic development initiatives such as the Native Economic Development Program "should be utilized and coordinated to facilitate the establishment of an infrastructure for processing furs in the north and marketing fur garments in Canada and abroad."(29)

The Committee concurs and feels that where aboriginal people wish to develop fur manufacturing, tailoring, and marketing enterprises, they should be encouraged.

The Committee recommends that:

4. **Where aboriginal people wish to participate, the federal government provide funding for secondary fur industry activities such as tanning, manufacturing and retailing of articles from hides and furs.**

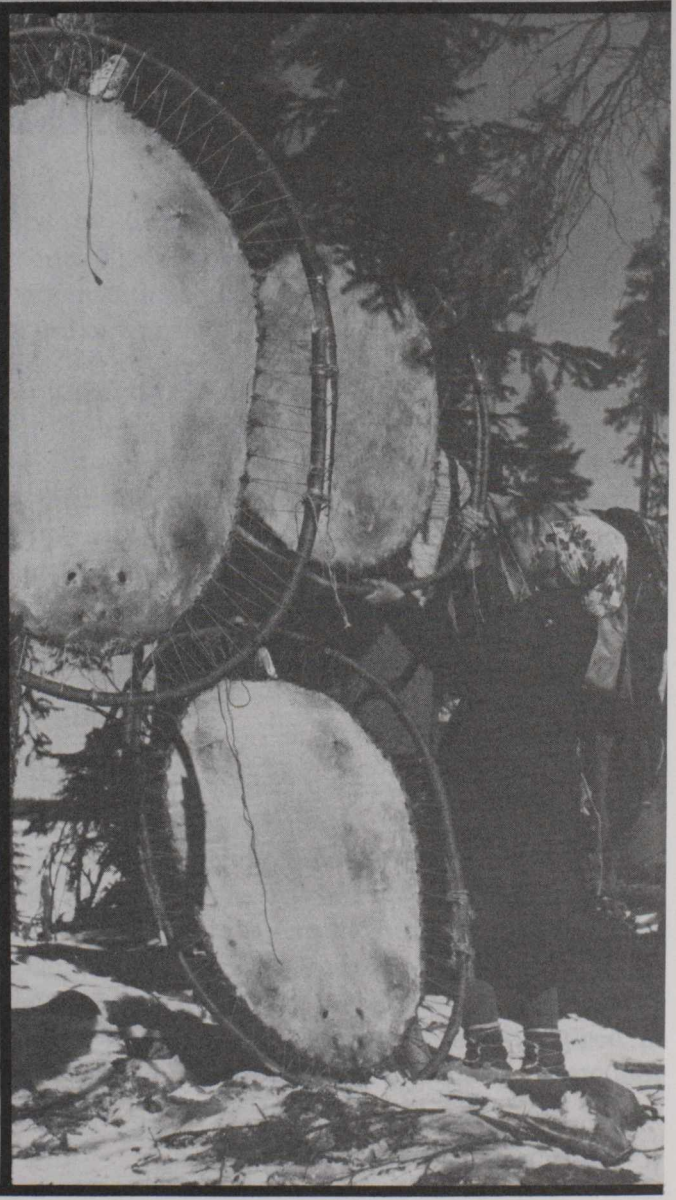
The Committee does not believe that all fur products have to be expensive luxury items. Different methods in manufacturing could result in significantly reduced costs.

Committee members strongly believe that there are many practical products that could be made from fur pelts. They saw an example of this in Rankin Inlet when they visited that community in the spring of 1986. Nunasi Corporation showed the Committee examples of sealskin leather products which could be produced and tanned locally. A sealskin briefcase displayed would be an item suitable for practical, everyday use.

The Committee recommends that:

5. **The federal government fund aboriginal cottage industries dedicated to manufacturing fur products for everyday use.**

CHAPTER III: THE TRAPPING PROFESSION



I believe Canadian trappers have developed the most efficient and humane trapping methods in the world today. We are generally concerned with wildlife conservation. We have a good record and should be proud of it. This does not prevent us from trying to improve and we are constantly working at it. We must remember that the sealers were not defeated because they lacked any of this. They were defeated by public opinion, manipulated by the same people who were out to get us. The key to our survival is making it known to the general public that we use humane methods and that we are concerned about the way trapping is done. The person buying a fur coat must be convinced of that. It can only be achieved by public information through communication. (*Art Lalonde, Executive Manager, Canadian Trappers Federation, Issue 25:21; 29-5-86*)

Trapping in Canada Today

One of the most misunderstood facts about the Canadian trapping industry is its use of the leghold trap. Many of the pamphlets and films used by animal rights activist groups in promoting their viewpoint show a frightened animal struggling to free its mangled and bleeding foot from the jaws of a steel-toothed leghold trap. These images, though very powerful, are not representative of the method by which animals are trapped in Canada today. Unfortunately, however, the majority of North Americans and Europeans are unaware of this.

Steel-toothed leghold traps are no longer used by Canadian trappers and have not been manufactured in North America for well over a decade. The Committee was informed by Mr. Ken Seabrook of the Canadian and Ontario trappers' organizations that in most Canadian provinces, trappers had successfully sought legislation to ban the use of traps with teeth or serrated jaws.

The modern leghold traps have either rubber-covered or off-set jaws which do not cause any abrasions, tear skin, or cut off blood circulation. Mr. Seabrook and other trappers with whom the Committee spoke firmly believe that this leghold trap, if properly set, is not inhumane. Two witnesses clearly demonstrated to the Committee that the trap is designed simply to hold the animal, not to cause it injury; they voluntarily released the trap on their own fingers, something they would have been reluctant to do with the old steel-toothed trap. Mr. Seabrook elaborates on this demonstration:

> I have a presentation I do in schools and wherever I can. I have a number three leghold trap with long springets; it is one of those traps you see on television. This hand, I would say, has been stuck in it at least 2,000 times and it still works. It is meant as a holding device; properly used, properly set, the right size of trap for the target animal.(1)

Use of even this modern leghold trap is limited. Ontario and British Columbia have banned its use as a land set except for trapping lynx, coyote, wolf and fox. For these animals, an effective alternative to the leghold trap has yet to be developed. Across the country, trappers themselves, committed to doing their jobs as humanely as possible, have severely limited its use on their own initiative. Of the total number of animals trapped for fur in Canada, 65% are caught by a quick-kill trap such as the Conibear or the neck-snare. The remaining 35% are caught by a leghold trap; however, two-thirds of these animals are semi-aquatic and are taken in the water, the leghold being used as a quick-kill drowning set. These figures clearly indicate that in fact 88% of the furbearing animals trapped in Canada are taken by a quick-kill trapping method and only 12% are trapped on land by a modern

leghold trap, with padded or offset jaws. The leghold trap is used as a land set by most trappers only when trapping lynx, fox, wolves and coyotes or in heavily populated areas where a quick-kill trap would pose a serious threat to people and pets.

Also misunderstood is the ability of a trap to be selective with regard to the species of animal it captures. A press release of August 6, 1984 by Greenpeace U.K. claims:

> For each animal caught and used in the fur trade, as many as three other animals - known callously as "trash" animals to traders - are caught and discarded. Traps and snares do not distinguish between their victims - which commonly include domestic pets, birds such as swans, owls and eagles, as well as members of endangered species.(2)

Mr. Alan Herscovici, a witness before this Committee, in his book *Second Nature: The Animal Rights Controversy*, cites several examples of similar statements by animal rights organizations. Mr. Herscovici explains that some of these statistics are derived from predator control programs in which the target animals were usually coyotes and bobcats. An average of 22% of the animals trapped during the course of these programs were actually "target" animals, while the remainder were considered to be "trash" animals for the purposes of the culling exercise. Closer examination of the results of these programs, however, revealed that most of the so-called "trash" animals were in fact furbearers which would not have been considered trash by the commercial trapper. Even the remaining animals were rabbits or porcupine both of which have food value for many trappers. As well, though porcupines are not used for fur, aboriginal people use the quills extensively to decorate their traditional clothing and in other crafts.

Trappers who appeared before the Committee stated consistently that they caught very few trash animals. In fact, aboriginal trappers went so far as to suggest that for them there is no such thing; on the very rare occasions that a trapper does catch a non-target animal, there is no waste. Whatever meat he can't use is left in the bush for the coyotes or other predators. This is considered good wildlife management; when food is scarce, especially during the winter months, it may help to prevent starvation.

> ...If you kill them, you use the fur. For example, you can use marten meat for your dogs, as they used to do on traplines. Although they now use skidoos, there are still dogs around. It is the same with muskrat. People eat the muskrat meat. They look for the good ones. They pick out the good ones, and the ones which are not so good, are dried for their dogs. They do not throw anything away.(3)

The consensus among trappers is that a good trapper who earns part of his income from trapping is very careful to make sure he doesn't catch trash animals because he simply can't afford it; it consumes too much time and it is too expensive.

> ...it would help a little bit if you understood the distance, climates and conditions a trapper would have to go through to get to his traps. We load up a skidoo. In the past it was dog teams. Our country is rough. The snow is deep, three to four feet in some places like creeks and places like that.... You have to load all this stuff. The Conibear is quite big. Even the smallest Conibear is a huge thing. They are humane traps, for sure. Just to get there you would have to have at least two or three skidoos to haul your gas and your load.... There could be 100 traps on one line. You can imagine 100 traps in a sleigh. You would need a cat to check your traps and that type of thing. Then the Conibear would freeze and you would have to take it back to your camp. You would have this huge load of traps alone and then would have to follow them up.(4)

> There is no profit in a trapper catching trash animals. He is not going to walk half a mile off the beaten path to check a trap and find an unwanted animal in there. There are methods of making sure that this does not happen.(5)

Methods for ensuring non-target animals are not caught in traps are explained in great detail in trappers' manuals. The *1985 Trapping and Conservation Manual* published by the Alberta Government, and the *Canadian Trappers' Manual* published by the Canadian Trappers Federation are easily understood and cover every aspect of trapping from the biology of furbearers, to wildlife management, humane trapping, proper setting of traps, and recipes for cooking the meat. Similar instruction is available to trappers in many provinces through trapper education courses.

The manuals show that trappers devote much time, energy and thought to setting their traps. A good trapper has spent his life in the bush learning the habitats frequented by various animals and these animals' habits or peculiarities. This knowledge is then used to set traps for catching specific animals. The trap featured in the following pictures, for example, is designed for either a marten or a fisher. As these animals are carnivorous, the trap is baited with meat and placed to take advantage of the fact that fisher and marten climb and explore in their search for food. As the fisher is the larger of the two animals and requires a larger trap, it is unlikely that it would attempt to enter a trap set for a marten. The opposite could occur but is preventable with an understanding of habitat. Though they can share a common habitat, the fisher is often found in edge areas around swamps and water bodies which the marten does not favour, whereas the marten, unlike the fisher, frequents grassy or mossy areas where there are lots of mice. The size, shape, and placement of the trap, and the lure used ensure that non-target animals will not be caught. Animal rights propaganda suggests that deer, rabbits, and a variety of birds are caught accidentally as trash animals, but neither a rabbit nor a deer is likely to run up a pole and then up the side of the tree to get caught in the trap. The grass skirt which covers the bait and the trap also ensures that birds will not be attracted. A properly set trap is unlikely to attract animals other than those which the trapper wants to catch. (*See photos next page*)

In their fight against trapping, animal rights activists also describe agonized and tortured dying animals. The following excerpts from the pamphlets, newsletters and advertisements of the Greenpeace and Furbearers organizations are typical of these claims.

> The force and speed with which the jaws of the trap clamp together shatter the legs of the trapped creatures, breaking bones and tearing ligaments.
>
> The harder the animal struggles to free itself, the worse its injuries become. In many cases this progresses to what the trappers know as "wring-off" when the desperate creature gnaws off its own limb in a tragic bid for freedom. Gangrene and a prolonged agonizing death follows.(6)
>
> Beavers will often gnaw through their own limbs to escape leghold traps, only to die from starvation or infection.(7)
>
> The mink is a tough animal and struggles violently attempting by jerks and pulls to get loose. It writhes and twists desperately, and bites at everything within reach and continues until it is exhausted.
>
> Finally, savage with pain, it will even chew its foot off to escape.(8)

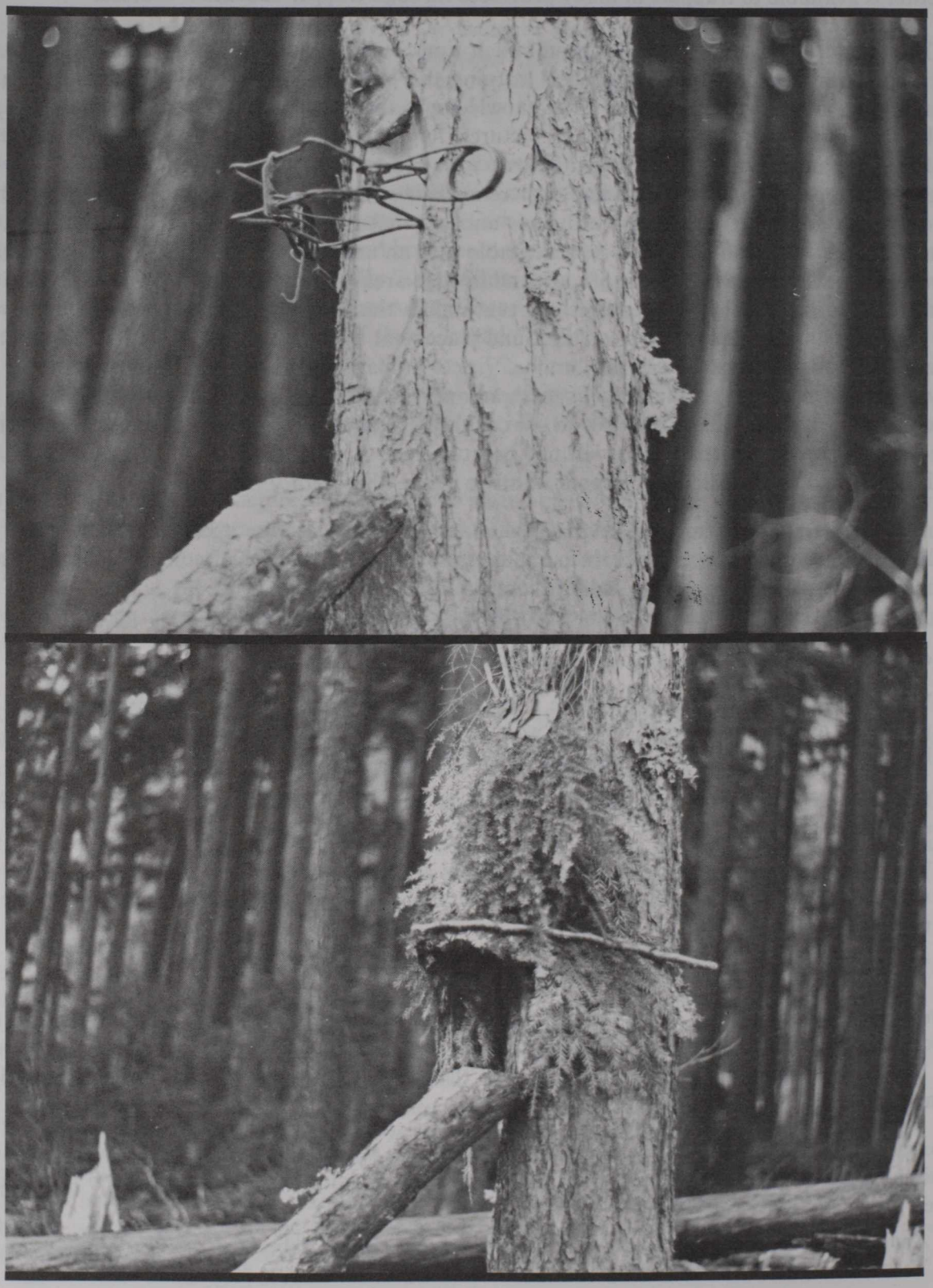
In reading these claims it is important to remember that the images painted above are not representative of trapping today. In response to them, we will examine in greater detail the manner in which the modern leghold trap is used and then the current methods of trapping beaver and mink humanely.

As previously discussed, the modern leghold trap does not harm the animal; it merely holds it. If the animal is not hurt, it will not wring off. Mr. Seabrook explains how the leghold trap functions as a land set.

> Another improvement, which I am sure you are aware of, is the rubber jaws on your leghold trap. These were put on for harvesting fox, wolves and coyotes. This is a No.1½; we have a bigger

LAND ANIMAL SET

Canadian Trappers' Manual, 1986



version of it, No.3. But all we have done is we have taken your basic trap and put rubber on it, and that stops any abrasions or cutting of skin, and it allows circulation through it. If the animal, when he steps on it...if the circulation is not cut off, they will not chew their foot. They are not going to hurt themselves. A lot of people think all animals chew their feet off, but they will not. If the circulation is allowed to circulate, then there is no way they will chew their feet.(9)

...There are all kinds of swivel points on it so that the animal can turn in the trap and no matter what he does, it will not bind up. He cannot get this chain to tighten so that he can wring off. If he goes around and around, the trap just goes around and around with him, so he cannot wring off. He certainly will not chew if off if there is pain involved.(10)

Most trappers of beaver now use the Conibear quick-kill trap, though some do use the leghold trap as a quick-kill drowning set. Either method of trapping makes wring off unlikely. Mr. Seabrook explains how the trap functions when used in the water.

This is the basic design of a leghold trap that we have seen for a number of years. It is set in such a manner as to capture the animal by the foot. It is used as a holding device. On this end of the chain, if you notice, if this was being set in water for beaver, muskrat or otter, I would put on a slide-wire. The wire goes through here and when the animal steps on the trap, its first instinct is to dive into the water where it feels safe, and it will go to the bottom of the slide-wire and once it gets down there of course it cannot pull itself back up. So it succumbs under water. It is a holding device no matter whether you set it on land or set it in the water.

Now, an improvement to that is this. This is still your basic leghold trap, but it has what we call a stop-loss feature on it. This is designed for catching muskrat and mink. What happens is that when the animal steps on the trap the first inclination is to dive, and when he dives he pulls this barb out and this spring comes up and holds the animal over so he cannot swim. This is attached under the log or on a slide-wire or on a pole, and when he dives he cannot resurface again. That is basically what it is. It is still basically a holding device.(11)

The following method is used to trap mink on land using a land set.

This is a Conibear trap. It is a quick-kill device we use for harvesting 95% of our animals. The only animals we cannot use this on are fox, wolves and coyotes. They are far too intelligent to put their heads into it. It is designed to render the animal unconscious instantly. As you know, when you knock an animal unconscious, there is no pain. It is the intent of this trap to put the animal unconscious as soon as possible.

It is put in an area on a runway or in a box-set. We put bait behind it. When the animal runs through it he touches his head on a trigger mechanism and it snaps on the top of his neck rendering him unconscious. The pressure from the springs keeps him unconscious. He never wakes up.(12)

Once again, wring off is unlikely when an animal is trapped using a quick-kill method. Trappers who appeared before this Committee were firm in stating that wring off is very rare occurrence when traps are properly used.

In his book about the animal rights controversy, Mr. Herscovici summarizes the arguments of the animal rights activists against trapping and counters them with the following words.

In summary, animal rights advocates would have us believe that trappers visit traps once a week or less; that 25 to 33% of the catch is lost to wring-offs (without counting what would be taken by predators); and that 60 to 75% of the catch are "trash" animals. No one could remain a trapper very long under such conditions.(13)

Humane Trap Research

Renewable resource industries such as agriculture and trapping have always been important in maintaining Canada's economic stability. Animal welfare organizations have played a vital role in improving renewable resource harvesting methods generally, and trapping methods in particular, through their continuing concern about how we treat and care for the animals we harvest. Canadian governments and animal welfare organizations have been working together with scientists and industry in an ongoing process to ensure that the most humane methods of handling animals are used. Today, the Canadian government can assert that in harvesting Canadian renewable resources, this is certainly the case.

One of the first animal welfare organizations to focus on the methods used for trapping wildlife was the National Anti-Steel Trap League, founded in the United States in the mid-1920s. In Canada, the first organization to express similar concerns was the Canadian Association for the Protection of Fur, later known as the Association for the Protection of Fur Bearing Animals (APFA). The goals of this organization included the elimination of the steel-toothed leghold trap and of the market for fur products made from animals caught by this device.

When this organization split into two separate bodies, the newer Vancouver office kept the policy and name of the APFA and the original, Toronto-based office became the Canadian Association for Humane Trapping (CAHT). CAHT launched a campaign aimed at eliminating only the use of the leghold trap and pushing for more humane methods of trapping. This group continues to strive for more humane traps:

> CAHT, probably more than any other single organization, has been responsible for the present worldwide concern over inhumane trapping methods. This has been achieved by the methodical implementation of a carefully thought-out plan designed to achieve what it hopes will be realistic and long-lasting solutions to the complex problems surrounding the trapping issue.(14)

Even before this campaign commenced, a trapper named Frank Conibear developed in 1929 a trap consisting of two metal frames and a spring. When the trap was set off, it was thought that the frames would clamp together delivering a blow to an animal that would kill it instantly. Because the springs were too weak, however, the trap did not live up to expectations, and the project was shelved. Eighteen years later Frank Conibear approached the APFA with a proposal to improve the earlier trap if the Association would provide him with the necessary funding. In cooperation with the British Columbia Trappers Association, the APFA and Frank Conibear developed a quick-kill trap. This trap, known as the Conibear, was put into mass production in 1958.

In 1956 the federal government became involved in trap research for the first time. Through the Canadian Wildlife Service and the National Research Council, it developed and listed a number of killing prototypes. Efforts concentrated mainly on the engineering aspects of trap design but the traps developed did not prove viable.

The Humane Trap Development Committee (HTDC) of the Canadian Federation of Humane Societies (CFHS) was established in 1968 to study the development of more humane traps. This research has been touted as the "most scientific and intensive search for more humane trapping devices in the 300-year history of trapping..."(15) Although the Committee operated until 1973, it did not produce any traps considered as suitable alternatives to the leghold trap. It was recently reactivated when the CFHS, at its annual meeting in 1985, passed a resolution which included a grace period of two years for all concerned to "make significant progress towards the establishment of compulsory trapper education and improve trapping regulations at least to the levels which have been adopted in Ontario"(16) as well as to progress towards the development of a humane trap. This resolution does not

indicate what steps the CFHS will take if there is no progress in this area; however, "there is clearly an implication that the Federation, having been extremely patient by waiting for industry and government to make progress on these issues, may have to resort to different tactics."(17)

In response to pressure on the government from a number of animal welfare organizations, the Federal Provincial Committee for Humane Trapping (FPCHT), a Committee of the Federal-Provincial Wildlife Conference, was formed in 1973 with a "mandate and budget to seek realistic humane trapping systems for Canada's furbearing animals."(18) The FPCHT ceased research activities in 1981 before its work was completed, "but during the Committee's existence, much valuable information on furbearers and trapping techniques was gained and reported."(19) The final report of the FPCHT, submitted in June 1981, recommended that only killing-type traps be used for all but four land furbearers (fox, coyote, wolf and bear). With regard to underwater trap sets, the FPCHT recommended that killing-type devices be used except for muskrat and mink. During its mandate, the FPCHT evaluated 348 existing and commercial trap designs, 16 of which were deemed to have humane potential.

The Fur Institute of Canada (FIC) was established in 1983 to continue and extend the research into humane trapping conducted by the FPCHT. Today, the FIC's stated objectives are in the areas of public information, trapper education and research, and development and use of improved trapping systems.

The Humane Trap Research and Development Committee (HTRDC) of the FIC has participated since 1985 in humane trap research at Vegreville, Alberta, which will finalize the work of the FPCHT and test the 16 trapping devices recommended by that Committee. As well there will be field testing in Alberta and Manitoba of live-holding systems such as leg snares and soft-catch traps.

This Committee believes that trapping is a viable economic activity which should continue but that trappers should use only the most humane methods available. Though trappers are already doing this, the Committee believes that there is still room for improvement in trap technology.

The Committee recommends that:

6. The federal government assign a high priority to the development of alternative traps and trapping methods by continuing to fund the trap research which is currently being undertaken by the Fur Institute of Canada.

Participation by native trappers in the efforts to develop more humane traps has been relatively limited. At present, there are no native people sitting on the Humane Trap Research and Development Committee of the FIC. Sterling Brass, Chairman of the Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada (ATFC), stated in his testimony before the Committee that native people should be more involved in the development of humane traps:

> I would like very much to be able to tour the facility and I would like to have many of our elders - many of our advisers from the various levels of our societies - tour that place as well... It will not be the native or the non-native people, it will be Canada that will benefit if we come up with these kinds of innovations.(20)

Appearing before the Committee in Rankin Inlet, Lloyd Gamble of the Keewatin Wildlife Federation commented that regional differences led to:

> ...complaints from the eastern Arctic in the tundra areas is the traps they (FIC) are testing are being tested in the boreal forest and woodland environments, which is totally different from using that trap out on the tundra. They could come up with a trap that they may recommend to replace the leghold and even ban the leghold, yet that trap might not even work out on the tundra.(21)

The Committee believes that Canada's native people have a valuable contribution to make to trap research and development.

The Committee recommends that:

7. **The Fur Institute of Canada involve aboriginal people in the development of alternative traps and trapping methods, thus ensuring that regional differences, such as problems associated with trapping on the tundra, are recognized.**

Trappers who appeared before the Committee indicated that they are enthusiastic about adopting new trapping technology as it is developed. The Committee recognizes, however, that to do so could be financially difficult, if not impossible, for some trappers because of the high costs of replacing all their traps. Estimates ranged from $4,000 upwards depending on a variety of factors. It is imperative that all Canadian trappers use the most humane trapping methods available to them.

The Committee recommends that:

8. **As new traps are developed, the federal government consider the advisability of providing incentives for a trap replacement program in order to expedite their use.**

In discussing the issue of humane trap research, the Committee noted that there are differences in perceptions of what constitutes a humane death.

For example, in sealing, the general definition of a humane death was not in dispute. The Canadian Federation of Humane Societies developed a precise definition, in which a humane death was defined as one:

> ...in which the animal suffers *neither panic nor pain.* In practice, this may be achieved by *instantaneous death or immediately rendering the animal unconscious with early and inevitable subsidence into death without the regaining of consciousness.*(22)

Sealing, even according to this stringent definition, was clearly humane. The criterion that the animal should suffer neither panic nor pain because it dies immediately or without regaining consciousness, cannot, however, be easily applied to trapping.

In a properly set Conibear trap, the animal is immediately rendered unconscious and dies without regaining consciousness; however, death in a leghold trap used as a drowning set is quite different. The beaver, for example, has a natural system that completely closes the animal's breathing as soon as it dives under water.

> In order to supply blood to the brain, the beaver "shunts" it from other parts of the body. Eventually, of course, the oxygen supply runs out and death is a result of carbon dioxide narcosis and anoxia.(23)

Although death in this manner is not instantaneous, sometimes taking up to 10 minutes, it is considered by many to be humane because it occurs in an environment that the beaver regards as familiar and safe and there is no evidence of panic involved in the process.

The FPCHT developed a definition of a humane death which would include death by drowning in a leghold trap:

> ...a death during which an animal suffers *minimal* distress. This may be achieved by rendering the animal unconscious or insensitive to pain *as rapidly as possible* with inevitable subsidence into death.(24)

This definition (narrowed to include terms such as "minimal" and "as rapidly as possible,") describes a "relatively humane death"; it has been adopted by the FIC as a guideline for their humane trap research.

The federal government has not openly stated what it believes constitutes a humane death in the case of trapping. Trapping in national parks and national park reserves remains under federal jurisdiction and the Department of the Environment (DOE) has adopted the recommendations of the FPCHT for these areas; therefore, one might assume that the FPCHT definition of a humane death has also been adopted by DOE; however, this has not been specifically stated.

The Committee therefore recommends that:

9. **The federal government, in assisting in the development of alternative traps and trapping methods, formulate and adhere to a specific definition of a humane death for trapped animals.**

In Canada, each of the provinces and territories is responsible for regulation and administration of wildlife within its boundaries. The federal government retains jurisdiction only on federally controlled lands, which represent a small percentage of total provincial lands. Consequently, the laws that regulate trapping are inconsistent across the nation. British Columbia and Ontario, as we have seen, are the only provinces which have limited the use of the leghold trap and have made trapper education mandatory for new trappers. Other provinces are, however, considering adopting similar legislation.

It is the belief of this Committee that legislation in relation to trapping should be consistent from province to province, thus making it easier for Canada to defend itself as a trapping nation.

The Committee therefore recommends that:

10. **A federal-provincial-territorial committee be established to work in consultation with the Fur Institute of Canada, the purpose being to develop and implement legislation which is consistent across the country, relating to standardized trapping methods, standardized trapper education, and mandatory trap checks.**

Trapper Education

Trapper education is as important as trap research and development in assuring more humane trapping systems. With proper education in all aspects of trapping, trappers will become aware of and continue to use the most humane trapping methods available to them.

Even the most humane trap, improperly used, can cause an inhumane death. The manner in which the trap is set is as important as, and maybe more so than, the mechanical ability of the trap in rendering a humane death.

All provinces and territories in Canada have either initiated or are developing some form of Trapper Education Program. British Columbia and Ontario have already made trapping courses mandatory for new trappers. Most other provinces are planning to take similar action over the next three years.

In 1983-84, approximately 300 trapper education courses of three days to two-week duration were offered across the nation and were attended by 7,100 trapper students. The course curricula encompassed a wide range of subjects including pelt preparation, humane procedures, equipment, maintenance, diseases, ethics and management. The programs received the support of provincial trappers' associations which encourage regular participation by their membership in such workshops.

The Trapper Education Task Force of the FIC has developed a number of recommendations with regard to trapper education. Significant among them were:

1. That each jurisdiction consider adopting mandatory trapper education programs for first-time trappers.
2. That Trapper Education Programs be jointly administered by the Government and Trappers' Associations.
3. That Trapper Workshops to upgrade veteran trappers, particularly in the field of humane trapping techniques and pelt preparation, be excellerated (sic).
4. That the Fur Institute of Canada take an active role in the standardization of trapper education in Canada with allowances for geographical, climatic and sociological differences, i.e.,
   a) dissemination of pertinent information, particularly relative to the findings and recommendations of the Research and Development Committee.
   b) collect and update a bank of information to be made available to its jurisdictions for trapper education programs.
   c) identify standard procedures relative to humane trapping techniques and pelt preparation.
   d) standardization of instructors' training.
5. That the Canadian Trappers Manual be updated, maintained, and be recognized for trapper education purposes as the student manual.
6. That a Trapper Education Committee of the Fur Institute of Canada be formed to fulfill the objectives of the Fur Institute relative to Trapper Education. We further recommend that the present Task Force become the Trapper Education Committee with the addition of one of its Provincial Fur Managers.
7. As a further recommendation, we ask that trapping instructors and other key trappers be trained and used as resource people for the Public Education Committee to talk to school children and public groups.(25)

This Committee recognizes the value of these recommendations and encourages the responsible parties in their ongoing efforts to implement them.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) has the responsibility to ensure that native trappers are properly educated in humane trapping techniques. Trapper education courses specifically designed for native people are not yet offered across the country. Though DIAND recognizes the urgent need to develop courses on a nationwide basis, it does not at present have the necessary funding.

In 1985-86, however, DIAND was able to develop and deliver national trapper instructor training courses designed to train native and northern trappers in advanced trapping techniques and to provide them with up-to-date technical information which they could teach to other trappers in their home communities.

Of particular concern to this Committee is the difficulty noted in obtaining funding for trapper education courses. Though funding for other training programs is available through the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, trapper education programs do not qualify because they do not meet the Commission's employment training program criteria.

The Committee recommends that:

11. The federal government recognize trapper education courses as legitimate employment training to enable funding to be made available through existing government programs.

A witness who appeared before the Committee in Rankin Inlet, pointed out a need which Committee members feel could be addressed through trapper education.

> ...systems are not explained up here.... A good example is the tax laws on trapping. People are totally confused and do not know what is going on, because there is nobody up here from Revenue Canada explaining the programs.
>
> A lot of fishermen here, for instance, commercially fish in Rankin Inlet and provide fish to the fish plant, which is operated by Economic Development. At the end of the year they give them a T4A for $6,000 for the commercial fishing, let us say, but the guy is not aware that if he keeps his receipts for his boat and his gas and his motor and his nets, all of that is written off against his taxes. Most of them are not aware of that and do not know how to do it. So they have a $6,000 income they are paying tax on. They are not writing off the expenses against it. It is very difficult when you are a traditional Inuit and they are introducing a southern tax system into their backyards. They do not understand it.(26)

The Committee suggests that this is probably the case for many aboriginal trappers and in this light recommends that:

12. Trapper education courses for aboriginal people include a business and tax management component to assist trappers with income management.

Availability of Data

In examining this issue the Committee noted that there is at present in Canada a lack of precise data on, for example, how many people earn a part or all of their income from trapping and how many trappers are aboriginal. There are no reliable data available on the number of animals who wring off or on how many non-target animals (and what species) are captured annually.

The unavailability of data published by the government and accepted by the general public, makes it easy for animal rights activists to manufacture their own data and renders it almost impossible for the trapping industry to defend itself, or for government to give support.

The Committee believes that the facts must play a role in this emotional debate but sees little evidence of an attempt to compile and effectively use such facts. The scientific side of the debate on trapping is not being delivered.

A witness before the Committee expressed this point very succinctly: "So far, you have cruelty to animals on one side of the balance and nothing on the other side of the balance...it is pretty clear which way it is going to swing."(27)

The Committee believes that accurate data are essential to the delivery of a fair and balanced picture of trapping in Canada and therefore recommends that:

13. Government departments and agencies involved in this debate consider the advisability of compiling accurate data especially concerning the number of wring offs and non-target animals. These data should be made available to the public by qualified government personnel.

Trapping as a Wildlife Management Tool

Canada has an excellent background and reputation in wildlife management. Canadian hunters and trappers do not take animals which are endangered; in fact, very few Canadian species are on the endangered list. According to Stephen Hazell, Corporate Counsel for the Canadian Wildlife Federation, there is currently no furbearer species in Canada which is endangered as a result of overharvesting. In the majority of instances large declines in the populations of furbearing species are the result of habitat destruction.

Wildlife management falls within the jurisdiction of the individual provinces and Mr. Hazell believes they have a "good handle" on overharvesting. Controlled trapping, recreational hunting, predator controls and culls, all of which the provinces employ, are considered to be good wildlife management techniques. Methods have been developed for scientifically monitoring animal populations and for controlling harvesting through systems of open, closed, and special seasons, and through quota systems. Many provinces license trappers with exclusive rights to operate in specific Registered and Resident Trapping Areas (RTAs). If a trapper wishes to continue to make a living through trapping, he must commit himself to the responsible management of the wildlife within the RTA's boundaries.

The management techniques currently being used in the provinces emulate the hunting customs of Canada's native people. The RTAs reflect the traditional hunting areas of the native people and in some instances may be the same territories that have always been used by their families or communities. The system of scientifically monitoring animal populations has been developed as a result of a need which native people long ago recognized: the need not to take too many animals. Wildlife managers now believe and practise what aboriginal people have always known: if animal populations are not controlled either by harvesting or by culling, the capacity of their habitat will be outstripped, resulting in overcrowding, starvation, disease and population decline. Moreover, it is the traditional belief of native people that the animal spirits will be offended if their "gifts" are not used. Chief Alice Frost of the Old Crow Indian Band explains:

> If you do not trap the animals or hunt them...with muskrat, if you do not trap them or shoot them - you shoot rats on the ice in the spring - they overpopulate in the area and they die off. This came from our elders. They know that. If you do not trap them or kill them, they overpopulate and they die off. Every once in a while you find the rabbits are the same.(28)

Because of this need to control animal populations, trapping has become an essential part of wildlife management. Mr. Seabrook, of the Ontario Trappers Association, told the Committee that even if the market for trapped fur pelts was either diminished or destroyed, he would still be needed by society as a trapper.

> I am a trapper. I make money at trapping. I do not make much due to the cost of everything, but I do trap. Whether I get money for my product or not, there is still going to be a demand for my services. That is for the betterment of the species that are going to have to be controlled. The species population have to be controlled. If we were not here, it would not matter, but we are here. This is especially true in this environment in the south. Whether I sell my fur or not.... If I do not sell it, the government, federal, provincial or local, is going to have to pay me to do it. These animals are going to have to be controlled one way or another. If we are going to control animals, we might as well get the use of the pelt and the meat. One way or another, whether it is up north...populations are definitely going to have to be controlled.(29)

Ms. Shelagh Woods, Policy Advisor for the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, points out that people who rely on wildlife for their livelihood tend to manage it carefully and efficiently. Only in Western societies are the people who manage wildlife not dependent on it. In aboriginal societies the

wildlife manager is also a harvester; therefore, if he doesn't manage properly, he and his family suffer. Canada's native people have a good understanding of this relationship as Ms. Woods explains:

> I am certainly not an expert in spiritual matters and their relationship to the land, but I think in practical terms there is a very clear understanding among not just the people who actually live off the land, but those who are somehow removed, whether it be the aboriginal politicians or business people or whatever it is. They understand the dependence of their cultures and the continuing health of their cultures on the land and its resources, and that is the animals in large measure. Certainly there have been abuses by aboriginal people of wildlife harvesting in the past. But I think their record is pretty good and I think it speaks well for itself; when we look at the abundance of wildlife in Canada, so few of our wildlife species are in any way threatened or in danger. Yet in a lot of other countries the same cannot be said at all. I think we have our aboriginal people in ways to thank for that.(30)

This logic applies not only to native trappers but to trappers in general. If a trapper overtraps, he risks eliminating the populations of certain species in his area. This he cannot afford to do because he would trap himself out of a job. Trappers trap for a living by choice. The majority wish to continue because it enables them to maintain the lifestyle they enjoy. It is vitally important to them therefore that the wildlife in their RTAs are managed properly and that population levels remain fairly stable.

Trappers make another important contribution to wildlife management that is all too rarely recognized. Their constant contact with the land and animals gives them an understanding of the habits, patterns and cycles of the animal populations which would be difficult for any trained biologist to acquire. As Mr. Dan McLean, an Elder and an Alberta trapper for over 60 years informed us, however, this valuable knowledge is often disregarded.

> I have a trapline about six miles from an oil town, where there is a lake. There used to be a lot of pickerel, a lot of perch, and now the beaver have closed the creek all the way down between these two lakes. The little lake where they went spawning was three miles. I said to the game warden: you are not going to have any pickerel; the spawning grounds are all closed with beaver dams. I want to make a proposal. I am unemployed, my kids are unemployed, why can I not clean out the beaver dams? It is on my trapline. I do not want the beaver there because the fish cannot go over there. He said to me that the biologist claims.... I have been there for 60 years, I know by experience. But still he has more faith in the biologist. I told him that the biologist does not know anything. He is reading a book, a man-made book; I see it. This is the only spawning grounds. I have been here for 60 years. Thousands of fish used to go up there. Now with the beaver dams the perch get caught there and the bears have lots of fun. But he did not believe me, so I left him alone. If they would consult those of us who know about wildlife, we could tell them.(31)

Trapping and Conservation

Industrialization and its adjunct, increasing urbanization, also promote a growing isolation from our rural roots and from awareness of our dependence on the use of animals. "Society is losing touch with a time when it did in fact live off the land and in harmony with nature."(32) This is not yet true of many native people, however, and from an ecological perspective they have a special role in society which should be cherished.

The land and its renewable resources are an integral part of native culture and it is Canada's native people who are in the forefront of efforts to protect them. The Inuit of the Eastern Arctic, through land claims negotiations, have developed the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, a forum through which the Inuit and the territorial government may cooperatively manage wildlife in the

eastern Arctic. This management board is now being used as a model for other such boards. Peter Ernerk, President of the Keewatin Inuit Association, listed some of the accomplishments of the Inuit as leaders in the areas of conservation and wildlife management.

> We have as Inuit already: supported, co-operated with and enforced the quotas placed on the hunting of polar bears, walruses, beluga, narwhal, musk-oxen and other species of animals which are enforced; supported the federally and territorially enforced hunting seasons with a few minor exceptions; and we have pushed for and participated on Caribou Management Boards for the Porcupine and Kaminuriak and Beverly herds. As you know, these are interprovincial and international management boards.
>
> We have participated with the biologists on caribou, polar bear and narwhal monitoring and counting. We have established and maintained hunters' and trappers' organizations throughout the north to extend the work of education and enforcement right to the people. We have negotiated with the Government of Canada the wildlife agreement which was initiated in 1982.
>
> The Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, which we have negotiated with the Government of Canada as part of our wildlife agreement in principle, will provide the mechanism through which Inuit can work as partners with government in managing wildlife resources in Nunavut. This board will be able to take an integrated approach to the management of all species and will enforce principles of conservation. At the same time, they will be able to balance the need to preserve wild animals and their habitat with the dependence of Inuit on the harvesting of wildlife to meet our economic, social and cultural needs.
>
> Our needs can be met only by the continued growth of a healthy, abundant wildlife population. For Inuit, hunting rights and effective management of wildlife are inseparable.(32)

Accomplishments such as these point very effectively to the importance of wildlife in the culture of aboriginal people and their recognition of the need to protect and conserve it for future generations. There are many other examples across Canada of the ways in which native people are using their ingenuity and playing a key role in the conservation and management of wildlife. A fine example was put forth by Mr. Peter Burnet of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee:

> ...the very impressive efforts of some aboriginal groups to meld the traditional and the modern. I will just give one example: Makivik Corporation in northern Quebec. They have two working highly professional research stations in Kuugaq and Wakeham Bay, where they train young Inuit, but they are now a major source of statistical information on wildlife. I am told that every caribou that has been shot in the past several years is on a computer, and if you want to know the whole wildlife pattern in northern Quebec you go to Makivik.
>
> So not only is the traditional sincere, but they are the ones that are taking the lead in melding the traditional and the modern and they are acutely aware of the dangers of overkill, the dangers that could occur if things are unchecked. They are simply asking for a substantial role in the decision-making process that manages the wildlife.(33)

The Committee feels that Canada's aboriginal people have valuable contributions to make to wildlife management and conservation which have not been adequately recognized.

The Committee recommends that:

14. The Federal Government ensure that Canada's aboriginal people are given a substantial role in the management of wildlife and in the conservation of Canada's renewable resources.

In 1981, the Canadian government adopted the World Conservation Strategy which sets out the following objectives: "to maintain essential ecological processes and life support systems, to preserve

genetic diversity, and thirdly ... ensure the sustainable utilization of species and ecosystem."(34) As a nation which has adopted a conservation policy, therefore, we are "not opposed to human use of wildlife."(35)

The animal rights philosophy is that animals have the right not to be used or killed by human beings. This is a passive view of nature where nature is left to its own devices even though humanity has the capability to address imbalances or redress damage. This approach has been characterized by one witness as a preservationist as opposed to a conservationist position. "Preservationists argue that the balance of nature will restore the equilibrium among prey and predator populations if only humans would leave the animals alone."(36) True conservationists, on the other hand, recognize that the fate of the human species is intimately tied to that of the animal and plant species of this planet. A hands-off attitude to nature may result in a threat to the world's wildlife resources. As the Canadian Wildlife Federation brief pointed out:

> To conserve is to protect collectivities (populations and active species) of wild animals and plants;.... Our duty to the world's other (other than seal) species must be to actively conserve and protect them, but we must also rehabilitate and restore damaged habitat. To exempt ourselves from this responsibility, to allow "nature" to take care of its own, is to invite even greater ecological disasters.(37)

Mere human existence on this planet has an impact on wildlife. We live in cities which are ever-expanding, we turn forests into agricultural land, build roads, railways and airports, and take non-renewable resources from the ground. In doing all of these things we affect the wildlife by either altering or destroying habitat to the extent that it can no longer support the same number or species of animals.

> But by and large declines in furbearer species, where they exist, are usually because of loss of habitat rather than from overharvesting. An example of that is the Newfoundland pine martin, which was always rare but now is extremely endangered because its habitat, mature pine forests, is being cut by Kruger Forest Industries on the island of Newfoundland.(38)

When the Labrador and Quebec Innu (Assembly of First Nations of Quebec) appeared before this Committee, they outlined the effects that they felt low level flight training was having on the wildlife and the habitat.

> First of all, NATO military manoeuvres carried out at low altitude over the lower North Shore affect animals, trees, water and fish living on our territory. Small animals, such as beavers, and even big game, like the caribou, have all been affected by these air manoeuvres. There used to be a migration of caribou before, but since the planes have been flying overhead, the caribou population has greatly decreased in our territories. Indeed, there are hardly any left.
>
> There are even members of our community who caught small, emaciated partridges in the middle of November of last year. Ordinarily, the birds have already begun to migrate by the month of November. Generally speaking, August is the month when migrating birds become adults and go south.
>
> People in our community have also found fish floating on our lakes and rivers. When they picked them up, they saw that these dead fish were not wounded in any way....
>
> We believe this is caused by the planes flying overhead. When they fly over the lakes, they fly very fast and at a very low altitude. They may even fly as low as 20 or 30 feet from the ground. Consequently, certain exhaust fumes are released over the water. When it is windy, these fumes or gases are carried through the air.
>
> We analyzed this water and discovered that it was contaminated. Nurses living on our reservations recommended that we boil the water for 20 minutes before drinking it, because it really was not fit for human consumption....

> I also mentioned the decreasing size of the caribou herd. The caribou that live on our territories are accustomed to living in the woods. Before the planes began to carry out their manoeuvres over our territory, we used to take between 150 and 200 on average every winter. Two years ago, we only got six. The two years before that, we got seventy. The caribou have now moved further west and further east. There are not any more under the flight path. It is a big problem.(39)

There is no greater threat to wildlife than habitat destruction yet animal rights advocates suggest that native people should replace their more traditional, economic activities with those of a civilized western society. Ms. Esther Klein, the past President of the Animal Defence League, supports the following options which she quoted from a *Globe and Mail* newspaper article:

> Today native business is manufacturing, financial institutions and communications, sophisticated fishing fleets and processing plants, forest products, large-scale agricultural operations, mining, oil and natural gas, real estate development, construction, shopping centres and office buildings, tourist facilities, airlines and freight carriers.(40)

It would appear that the majority of these activities require the alteration and possible destruction of wildlife habitat. The suggestion by animal rights organizations that aboriginal people should abandon their tradition of living in harmony with nature and replace it with a lifestyle which can result in the destruction of habitat, supports the following comment by Mr. Stephen Hazell of the Canadian Wildlife Federation.

> As I was saying earlier, the animal rights groups are the sheep in wolves' clothing [wolves in sheep's clothing] with respect to conservation. They like to wear the clothing of conservationism in order to pursue their own goals. If the Canadian public understood clearly that animal rights principles were in fact conflicting with the environmental movement, then I think they would have much less support.(41)

In contrast to the animal rights viewpoint, Mr. Hazell suggests that in fact, trapping and the fur industry itself may provide the key to conserving Canada's wildlife and habitat.

> So it is a bit paradoxical, but nonetheless it is true that by and large trapping helps to ensure that furbearer species survive, because there is an economic incentive for those trappers and for the fur trade to ensure that populations of furbearers are optimal. However, if pelt prices decline because of some anti-fur campaign, trappers will be driven off the land and the result will be that there is no longer an economic reason to conserve these species. If people cannot make any money at it at all, why bother saving the species?
>
> So my conclusion from all of this would be that without such economic forces, and without trappers on the land, it becomes a lot easier for industrial interests such as forest companies or mining and oil and gas corporations to despoil and destroy even more wildlife habitat than previously....
>
> If we are to protect wildlife habitat, wildlife must become more economically valuable. However, I think everyone recognizes that as a use of land, wildlife habitat always loses, or almost always. It loses to agricultural uses, it loses to urban and industrial uses, because more profits can be earned using land for these latter activities. So to conserve wildlife habitat - and I am talking about furbearer habitat as well - we must increase the economic value of wild land uses. And I put it to you that this would be extremely difficult if wildlife, such as furbearers, have little or no economic value.(42)

The Committee agrees that the more people depend upon animals the more interest they will take in ensuring that animals continue to share the planet with them. The Committee believes that this places an obligation on us to improve the conditions of animals but not to reject their use.

CHAPTER IV: THE POLITICS OF FUR

We look for issues, we look for programs to address those issues, and the renewable resource industries supply those issues... Therefore, to think or to hope that there may not be a protest associated with it (fur), flies against the basic services these (animal rights) organizations are offering...

We would work, as an organization, always to the most extreme. And at some point the general public would decide how far that would go. We would not start off with a compromise. (Stephen Best, Vice-Chairman, International Wildlife Coalition, Issue 24:2, 13, 32; 27-5-86)

The Animal Rights Movement

Expanding industrialization, with its adverse effects on the natural environment, has created concerns over the quality of our air, water and the erosion of wildlife habitats. Testimony before the Committee suggested that the rise of the animal rights activist movement is linked to increasing environmental awareness by our urban society. "The animal rights movement is both a product and a promoter of this trend in environmental awareness."(1) There is a genuine concern in western society about environmental degradation and over-exploitation of our natural resources which makes us vulnerable to any imagery which exploits it.

> ...the anti-fur campaigns, like the anti-sealing campaigns, can have the impact they do because people in the society are generally concerned about the environment. Here is something you can do to protect the environment. You can stop sealing; you can stop trapping. That is why the public has a tendency to respond to these movements. I do not think these campaigns contribute to protection of the environment, but the point is that the base issue that the public is responding to is a valid one.(2)

Characteristically, conservation concerns have figured prominently in the history of the movement. Public attention on these conservation issues brought about improved national and international regulation of endangered species. The drafting of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITIES) in March 1973 was an important step to protect endangered species by monitoring and regulating traffic in wildlife at the international level.

Humane concerns about methods of taking animals, we have seen, led to trap research programs, with the initiative often taken by concerned animal welfare groups. Their solicitude centred on the leghold trap, which had been the principal holding device since the 1800s. The perceived cruelty associated with the use of the leghold trap has been the subject of limited but persistent Canadian campaigns since the 1940s.

Despite the progress made in developing more humane traps and in regulating wildlife harvesting, protest has grown. The emphasis, however, has shifted. What started in North America as an anti-leghold trap crusade is developing into a campaign to destroy the consumer market for furs and a general attack on any human use of furbearers.

Although the activist movement is composed of many single and multi-issue groups, it does divide into two basic schools: animal welfare and animal rights.

Traditional animal welfare organizations are concerned about humane treatment of animals and wish to ensure that animals are not abused. Such groups are willing to work with government to

conduct animal control programs or to prevent exploitation through better regulation of laboratory research, entertainment or factory farming. They follow a reform route. In the trapping debate, groups such as the Canadian Association for Humane Trapping and the Canadian Federation of Humane Societies have put considerable effort into improving trapping methods to ensure humane deaths for the animals involved. For this they should be highly commended.

Animal rights activists, on the other hand, include abolitionists, who urge a ban on all trapping activities. They believe that to use animals in any way is to violate their rights and stress that animals should not be killed for human advantage. "Since Darwin showed we are one continuum with animals, we are all a long chain of being, we have no moral right to treat an animal in any way differently from how we treat another human being."(3) If taken to its logical conclusion, this would imply we should all be vegetarians and should not wear any leather clothing or accessories, including belts, purses and shoes.

> ...you will see that animal rights writers talk at least as much about the raising of animals in research as they do about sealing or hunting or trapping. They talk much more about food and research because those two domains use many more animals. There is just no comparison. Maybe 40 million animals are trapped worldwide for fur, but hundreds of millions of animals are raised for food...and several billion chickens and poultry and turkeys in the United States alone. The numbers are far vaster for food and they are also greater for research than they are for trapping.
>
> Peter Singer, in his book *Animal Liberation*, which is really the little Bible of the animal rights movement right now, only talks about food and research.
>
> But these groups certainly understand, I would suggest, that the public are going to be a little more critical when it comes to giving up their Sunday chicken or their hamburgers or the benefits of drug research than they were about sealing, which people did not feel affected them at all.(4)

Animal rights groups, as a general rule, however, do not publicly present their case on the basis of whether an animal should be killed at all. This sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish between animal welfare and animal rights groups, an issue which the Committee faced in its hearings.

One witness alluded to another reason why the Committee may have had problems in distinguishing between animal welfare and animal rights groups. In Great Britain, where much of the anti-fur campaign is occurring, groups such as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA), the oldest animal welfare group in the world, have moved from a traditional animal welfare position, which permitted humane use of animals, to a very strong anti-fur position. It has been suggested that these groups may be having to radicalize their views as they compete for funding with more vocal animal rights organizations.

There may be a further reason. In July 1986, animal rights activists orchestrated a takeover of the executive of the Toronto Humane Society. The Society has since supported the Ontario Humane Society's political campaign against trapping. Factory farming, animals for research and the use of animals in rodeos, aquariums and zoos are potential future targets. By infiltrating groups that habitually work within the system, animal rights activists gain respectability. When an organization covers a number of moderate issues, it is easier to include an additional item which on its own might not be popular. In this way, the activists are able to widen the base of their support.

The Committee finds this trend disturbing since animal welfare groups have always played a very valuable role in protecting animals used by humans. If such groups move to a "no use" position, however, they may cease to work with government to improve animal welfare.

Evidence was presented to the Committee showing that animal rights is a wealthy growth industry. An international organization, the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), has over

500,000 members and a net income of over $6 million a year within the U.S. alone. Greenpeace, with about the same membership, has income in the neighbourhood of $7 million.

Tactics

After experiencing the impact of one determined animal rights campaign which destroyed world markets for seal pelts and furs, and as the world's third largest producer of wild furs, Canada should be watching the anti-fur tactics in Europe with some interest. Anti-fur campaigns have already been launched in the Netherlands, Switzerland and Great Britain. This pressure is making it increasingly embarrassing for consumers in Europe to wear fur. The RSPCA, when it launched its campaign in Britain in January 1985, expected to cut demand for furs by one-third over the following three years. The entry of a respected organization like the RSPCA into the battle, backed by very sophisticated anti-fur advertising and a public relations campaign, has given credibility to the animal rights movement.

The anti-fur protest now reaching Canada threatens to be as devastating to Canada's aboriginal people as was the anti-sealing campaign with which it has parallels. That campaign began as a conservation issue revolving around the question of whether the seal population was endangered, though harp seals are in fact the second most common seal species in the world. As Canada's quota-management system, introduced in 1971, gained credibility, the campaign shifted to questioning whether the method of killing the seal pups was humane. When the Seal Protection Regulations were strengthened and scientific evidence demonstrated that the method of killing was in fact the most effective and humane method available, the anti-sealing campaign asked whether seals should be killed at all.

Once the public's fears of consequences are averted by government or other action, the focal point of the controversy must shift to another aspect of the issue or to another issue in order to retain a following. In this way, commitment to the cause at hand builds as public sympathy is tapped. As real progress is made in alleviating distress of animals through better trapping devices and techniques, we can see a change in direction away from the toleration of any form of trapping.

To attract favourable public opinion and private funding, an issue must be saleable and newsworthy. Potent visual images attracted public sentiment to the baby seal cause. The annual seal hunt became a media event with Greenpeace and the International Fund for Animal Welfare competing for the most sensational impact by emotional coverage of the hunt and by the visits of international celebrities to the ice.

Similarly, well-known people such as Richard Adams, author of *Watership Down*, gain support for the anti-fur cause through emotional language and shock tactics rather than presentation of facts about the fur industry. Animal rights films are used to shock the public into supporting the cause. For instance, they depict blood oozing from the fur coats worn by models and animals caught in traps for the purpose of making the film, to accompanying strident music. Trappers who have seen the films deny that the lurid trapping scenes properly resemble the reality of earning a living in an isolated bush setting.

> I watched that tape and I looked at it and the person on the tape set a trap. He had brand new pants — still creases on them — brand new snowshoes, a brand new shirt; and he set the trap with his bare hands in the warm weather, sun shining, the tree with no frost on it.
>
> He set it under the tree in order to catch the animal. The animal was still alive. If you do that up here, your hands are going to freeze to the trap. They just made that movie to create more illusions and more arguments on their side.(5)

In animal rights campaigns only one issue is selected at a time and the target of attack is often not well-situated to defend its position. Sealers and trappers, for instance, are fragmented politically, isolated geographically and unsophisticated in media communications. The sealers were slow to organize their defence so that by the time the Canadian Sealers Association was formed in 1982, it was too late to revive diminishing public support in the face of the economic hardship produced by the anti-harvest campaign. In the anti-fur campaign, although activity is supposed not to be directed at native people, it is they who have the most to lose if their traditional trapping-based economy collapses. After an initial reaction of incredulity that anyone would want to impinge on their traditional harvesting rights, enjoyed since time immemorial, aboriginal groups are learning from the sealing experience and they are organizing to counter the effect of the anti-harvest activists.

In both the sealing and fur campaigns, the object of protest is far from the international public the campaign is trying to reach, a public usually poorly informed about Canadian conditions so that it is simple for any distortions of fact to go unchallenged. The sealers' viewpoint only emerged once their economic devastation had become apparent. With this lesson before them, aboriginal organizations are starting now to tell their story to the public. Having learned from the sealers' lack of sophistication in media exposure, the aboriginal organizations understand the need to present their side of the issue, especially since holding a belief that it is natural to trap will not save a lifestyle if the market for fur and fur products should drop.

Presenting their viewpoint may prove a considerable challenge for native people. Although the Canadian media are starting to address the trapping issue from a balanced point of view, the Committee learned that the international media are nervous about appearing to defend trapping as an occupation.

> Animal rights people are very well organized. When something comes up, they are on the telephone lines. They are writing letters and so on, and the media feel it. The media do not like to take a risk or be criticized. That is why they are afraid to let someone in favour of trapping speak on the media alone. But they are not afraid to let an animal rights person speak alone. So let that be registered and understood and heard.(6)

When aboriginal representatives travelled to Europe to present their case, in the fall of 1985, they were apparently successful in persuading Greenpeace U.K. to drop its anti-fur campaign (this issue is dealt with more fully in a following section). The cause, however, was subsequently taken up by a new organization, called Lynx, to which Greenpeace is reported to have transferred the rights of its anti-fur film and given access to Greenpeace mailing lists. Greenpeace remains opposed to the commercial trapping of fur and there is still some doubt as to whether it has truly abandoned its anti-fur campaign. As Mr. Ernerk of the Keewatin Inuit Association suggests:

> I do not believe for one moment, for instance, when the President of Greenpeace indicates to the Canadian public that he will no longer fight, he will no longer carry out any campaigns against the fur industry in Canada, I do not believe that for one moment. The fact that he is saying to us: "We are going to work with the native people now"...I mean, I cannot honestly see any of the native people in Canada wanting to work with the Greenpeace organization, which has done so much to destroy our way of life.(7)

As the animal rights anti-fur campaign moves into high gear in Canada, we can expect to see a number of other strategies that are typical of the movement.

In the spring of 1984, the International Fund for Animal Welfare organized a boycott of Canadian fish products in English supermarkets until the Canadian government should officially declare an end to the "whitecoat" seal hunt, already effectively terminated by the EEC ban. A mail-out to 4.5 million households resulted in so many letters to supermarkets that the two biggest chains

decided not to accept any more Canadian fish products. This operation demonstrates the effectiveness of two animal rights tactics — direct mail campaigns and economic boycotts. In addition to such tactics, the movement will likely seek other ways to destroy the fur market. As a result of the anti-sealing campaign, the bottom fell out of the market for seal pelts, affecting sealers in Labrador and Newfoundland and even the Inuit in northern Canada, who hunted only adult seal. Similarly, if the anti-harvest campaign against trapping is successful, it will go on to affect fur ranching. Approximately 49% of Canada's fur is ranched, while in the U.S. ranched furs comprise 90% of fur garments sold.

The next section examines the measures taken by aboriginal groups and fur industry representatives to protect their industry.

CHAPTER V: THE COUNTER PROTEST

What we learned by analyzing what happened in the fight against Greenpeace and others who were trying to destroy the sealing industry in Canada, was that when that fight was led by government and not by the Newfoundland sealers themselves, and when that fight was not led by the Inuit hunters and sealers themselves, we were in a position of weakness. We could not get our point across as well. If that situation happens again in this issue, we think we will lose...the indigenous people must play a major role in defending wild fur and the fur industry, and we are prepared to do that. It is our interests that are involved. We know that the industry is much bigger than wild fur and the indigenous people, but we are going to be hurt in a tremendous way if the fur industry collapses. *(Georges Erasmus, Chief, Assembly of First Nations, Issue 45:22; 7-11-1985)*

Taking the Initiative

Indigenous people themselves are taking the leadership in protecting their harvesting rights. Two giant steps in their fight for survival were taken in the summer of 1985. The first was the creation of an organization called Indigenous Survival International (ISI) to relay the indigenous trapping message overseas. It was established to protect and promote indigenous harvesting rights and to maintain a market for aboriginal fur products. ISI represents 1.5 million aboriginal people in Canada, Greenland and Alaska, all of whom were affected by the collapse of the seal market.

The second step was the establishment of the Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada, in June 1985, to provide an umbrella organization for aboriginal hunters' and trappers' associations across the country. The ATFC is a member of the Fur Institute of Canada which is also an important player in the counter protest.

Aboriginal leaders have learned from the experience of the anti-sealing campaign in which the sealers became organized only three months before the two-year ban on "whitecoat" pelts was imposed in February 1983 by the European Economic Community Council of Ministers. This was far too short a time for the sealers to offset lobbying by animal rights activists.

Indigenous Survival International

As Georges Erasmus, Canadian Co-Chairman of ISI stated when he came before the Committee after a visit to Great Britain and Brussels in the fall of 1985, ISI's first task

> ...was generally to start educating the European public about the concerns indigenous people in North America, Greenland, and others, have about animal rights, and to begin to give another opinion on where man should go.(1)

ISI's European trip was a response to the threat posed by the launching of a new international offensive on October 4, 1985 by a coalition of ecological, environmental and animal rights groups in major cities. Greenpeace U.K. was holding rallies against trapping across Great Britain, with prominent authors and other well-known Europeans supporting the cause.

ISI met with Greenpeace and held press conferences in London and Brussels to present the other side of the trapping argument and begin the desired process of education. As a result, Greenpeace

officially abandoned its anti-harvest campaign in Great Britain, though, as we have seen, there is some scepticism about the wholeheartedness of Greenpeace's action. Nevertheless, for ISI, the move by Greenpeace is very encouraging. Georges Erasmus elaborates:

> So removing Greenpeace from the anti-harvest movement has been extremely useful and to our benefit, because what we have done is we have isolated those radical organizations virtually the whole reason for existence for whom is animal rights. They do not have the kind of credibility Greenpeace has created over a number of years by being involved in a number of public kinds of campaigns elsewhere besides the animal rights issue.(2)

ISI is continuing to meet with native rights supporters, political parties, animal welfare and animal rights organizations, and the European public at large. It is seeking the support of moderates who are willing to recognize that an attack on trapping is an attack on aboriginal people.

Many Europeans, as Mr. Erasmus told the Committee, do not realize that native people still hunt, fish and trap and live according to a land-based economy. They do not know how native people use fur, or the historical relationship between wildlife and the native people and their culture.

ISI has succeeded in generating European interest in the implications of the animal rights movement for the aboriginal lifestyle. The British Museum has expressed enthusiasm for mounting a major display on the Inuit and the Dene, Cree and Naskapi Indians in the Museum of Mankind. Such a unique public relations undertaking, intended to remain on display for 18 months, could have a desirable international impact. The project is expected to cost $200,000, about half of which will have to be raised by ISI. ISI has submitted a funding proposal to the federal government.

The Committee believes that ISI is playing a valuable role in making the international public aware of the importance of trapping to aboriginal people as a lifestyle.

The Committee therefore recommends that:

15. The Government of Canada recognize and fund Indigenous Survival International as the aboriginal advocate in international activities to counter the anti-harvesting threat.

Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada

Indigenous Survival International is cooperating with the Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada, which is active at the grass roots level. This organization of 17 groups comprises major aboriginal and hunters' and trappers' organizations. While ATFC is not a formal member of ISI, it does have non-voting observer status. Indigenous Survival International is concentrating on countering the international anti-harvest campaign. ATFC works at the domestic level to involve Canadian aboriginal trappers in the fur debate and to educate the Canadian public.

In the spring of 1986, ATFC conducted a market survey of the participation of native people in the fur industry. Later in the year the organization produced an illustrated educational booklet to inform the North American and European public about this participation.

The Committee believes that the grass roots advocacy and educative role of ATFC is crucial in enhancing the participation of native trappers in the fur trade. The Committee believes that ATFC is playing a valuable role in protecting the native trapper and in making the Canadian public more aware of the realities of the trapping profession. ATFC, however, testified that its work has been hampered by lack of funding.

The Committee recommends that:

16. **The Government of Canada recognize and fund the Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada as the umbrella organization for aboriginal hunters and trappers in domestic activities to counter the anti-trapping threat. In this role, the organization would provide an educational service to hunters and trappers and the public at large by collecting and disseminating information on aboriginal participation in the fur industry and the amount and quality of the native fur harvest.**

The Fur Institute of Canada

Some of the work of the Fur Institute of Canada in trap research has already been described in an earlier section of this report. The FIC is also the body recognized by the Government of Canada as the main organization for fur interests. The membership list of 60 reveals diverse representation from all segments of the fur industry, from native trappers to fur dressers and retailers. It also includes governments, and conservation and humane associations.

FIC has three objectives: trap research and development, trapper education and public information. These broad objectives encompass the concerns of both environmental and industry groups. The FIC has entrusted individual committees to address these goals.

FIC's work in coordinating the research, development and use of improved humane trapping systems and promoting trapper education has already been described. The initiatives of FIC's Humane Trap Research and Development Committee at the Alberta Environment Centre in Vegreville, Alberta relating to humane trapping techniques, in the Committee's opinion, called for a recommendation, which is found in Chapter III.

The FIC has reconstituted its Trapper Education Task Force into a committee which is working to standardize trapper education programs across the country; these include humane trapping procedures, pelt preparation, and instructors' training. Another recommendation in Chapter III covers this subject.

The FIC has been gradually expanding its third objective, that of delivering the message to the public on the economic, social, cultural and historical importance of the fur industry to Canada. In this public information role FIC has issued a series of educational fact sheets and pamphlets developed in cooperation with the Department of the Environment and reports a favourable worldwide response.

The Committee believes the FIC has a useful public information role to play and therefore recommends that:

17. **The Government of Canada continue to fund the Fur Institute of Canada to counteract the anti-trapping threat to the fur industry.**

If the Fur Institute intends to use any of the aboriginal arguments in its communication program the Committee notes that the membership of the Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada in FIC will be a distinct advantage. Cooperation with aboriginal organizations which are not members of FIC would also be advantageous.

Aboriginal organizations and Fur Institute representatives demonstrated to the Committee their awareness of the need for cooperation in meeting the animal rights challenge. The Committee would like to encourage these groups to pool their efforts in collecting data, raising funds and seeking opportunities to advance their cause.

The Committee recommends that:

18. Aboriginal and non-aboriginal groups working to counter the anti-trapping threat coordinate their activities and cooperate where possible to ensure their strategies are not counterproductive.

The Committee has already spoken of the efforts aboriginal organizations are making to increase their participation in the fur industry. The Committee encourages the Fur Institute to work with these aboriginal organizations in this regard.

The Committee recommends that:

19. The Fur Institute of Canada work with aboriginal organizations to encourage aboriginal involvement in other aspects of the trade besides trapping.

CHAPTER VI: A ROLE FOR GOVERNMENT

We know the Canadian government is putting a lot of money into research, and has over the last decade, looking for the humane trap. We support them in that but we are only too aware that the issue will not go away by centralizing on that issue. We are also very aware that the Canadian government is very defensive on it and we feel that is very unfortunate. We think we should move away from the defensive position to the offensive. And the way to do that is to broaden the issue, because the issue is not the leghold trap, the issue is not the way trapping is done in Canada. The issue is the fundamental relationship that man has with animals and wildlife; that is what they (the animal rights groups) are trying to change.
(Georges Erasmus, Chief, Assembly of First Nations, Issue 45:22; 7-11-85)

Moving from a Defensive Position

According to the testimony, the federal government and aboriginal and non-aboriginal representatives of the fur industry agree that those most affected should speak for themselves. This means that the industry will take the lead in publicizing its position. There are still opportunities for the government to be supportive, however, and some of these will be discussed in the following paragraphs. The fur industry itself is pressing for a low-key role for government to express clear public policies endorsing the legitimacy of the industry. It may be difficult to combine these policies into a cohesive federal approach because federal responsibility for wildlife management and trapping is restricted but, in cooperation with the provinces and territories, some steps can be taken. Mr. Thomas Coon of Indigenous Survival International emphasizes:

> We are asking... that the Canadian government seriously try to assist us in our future endeavours. Whatever assistance they could provide, I am sure we would appreciate it.(1)

The federal government's contribution, thus far, has been largely in the development of humane trapping systems. Government reliance on their adoption to lessen its vulnerability to criticism is no more likely to be effective in the trapping debate than the documented "humane" argument was in the sealing debate. A less defensive posture is required.

The Committee has already recommended in Chapter I that the federal government commit itself to the preservation and enhancement of the trapping industry for the benefit of aboriginal and northern peoples, and to humane wildlife management.

In the face of the anti-trapping campaign that, at least internationally, is well underway, lack of a formal position on the trapping issue suggests tacit acceptance by the Government of Canada of the end of trapping as a way of life.

Georges Erasmus, in his role as National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, points out the negative aspects of government reluctance to support the trapping industry and suggests the need for a reorientation of the federal approach:

> We do not think the federal government is doing enough really to create the extent of a market that we could have in this country. Rather than being defensive about the leghold trap... I do not think it is as big an issue. I think, in fact, that in centralizing on looking for a humane trap we are going in the wrong direction. We should be going in the other direction, with heads held high and very proud, and encouraging Canadians and Americans who live in a very cold climate to feel extremely proud about wearing fur as part of our collective heritage.(2)

If, as the Committee has noticed over the period of the hearings, the federal government is beginning to realize that efforts spent on humane trapping will not win the debate on harvesting and that it must gear its activities to counteracting a movement opposed not just to the leghold trap but to all trapping, then government must make good use of the tools available to it. It is important that the government actively state its policies and disseminate accurate information to educate the public about the issues. It should be able to assure the public that trapping is an accepted traditional activity, that it is environmentally sound and in harmony with nature, that it is compatible with Canada's conservation of her wildlife resources, that it is morally acceptable to wear fur and that this practice should not be allowed to tarnish the image of Canadians here or abroad. If the government is not convinced that trapping is a legitimate economic option, the public certainly won't be.

The federal government must also organize to meet the animal rights challenge more effectively. The first institutional response of the federal government to the anti-fur lobby was the establishment in 1984 of the Federal Interdepartmental Steering Committee on Humane Trapping (FISCHT), which brought together the many federal agencies concerned about the potential effects of the animal rights movement. Initially, the Committee acted as a catalyst and helped to establish the Fur Institute of Canada. Because of the controversy over the leghold trap, the Department of the Environment was identified as the lead agency, and the department's representative was made the chairperson of the Committee. This fact, the name of the Committee, and its promotion of trap research through the FIC suggested that, even as late as 1984, the federal government was still putting most of its efforts into humane trapping. DOE was also assigned responsibility for federal planning and development of strategy for Canadian public relations. As mentioned, DOE collaborated with the FIC in the production of a number of brochures promoting the fur industry, which were circulated in Europe in 1986. This activity was completed under the auspices of the FISCHT and appears to be the most obviously successful example of the Steering Committee's work.

Perhaps because it represented 18 departments, some of which had only a peripheral interest in trapping and fur, the Steering Committee met only six times over the past two years, basically for information exchange. As Dave Monture, a spokesperson for ISI who attended one of FISCHT's early meetings, stated, "We found it to be not a very efficient decision-making vehicle, to say the least."(3) Mainly at ISI's urging, an executive of this Committee was later formed comprising director-general level officials of the three major departments with an interest in the fur issue: the Departments of the Environment, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and External Affairs. This Executive Committee meets more regularly and makes most major interdepartmental decisions.

Questioning of the Interdepartmental Steering Committee representatives during the hearings revealed that, although that Committee discusses project proposals and policy directions, it has only a subsidiary role in making recommendations to the appropriate Minister. Our Committee members expressed some frustration with FISCHT's low profile and lack of power.

The Steering Committee is still debating where government money can best be spent, whereas the leading aboriginal organization in the international arena, ISI, has already demonstrated the persuasive powers of its international, educative and consultative approach. Valuable time is being lost while the government remains undecided about its approach.

The present federal funding arrangements are not conducive to ensuring an overall strategy. Funding requests go to individual departments, who have no financial resources to allocate for international activities, which must be the heart of the counter protest. This means that for a project such as ISI's proposed joint educational venture with the British Museum, designed for the British public and visitors to the United Kingdom, the only type of international assistance available from the Department of External Affairs (EA) is in the form of public relations and infrastructure support. The Committee believes that, without a coordinated financial and program approach to the fur issue, the government's efforts must remain unfocused.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has advised our Committee that it has assumed lead responsibility for the federal government's domestic pro-fur activities. This is appropriate, in view of the crucial role of aboriginal people in imparting the renewable resource harvesting message and in bearing the brunt of any successful anti-fur campaign. DIAND will take over the chairmanship of the FISCHT and proposes to reduce the size of that Committee to make it easier to further fur industry goals. Given that federal departmental objectives differ in emphasis, proposing a new course may be difficult for the small staff allotted by DIAND to focus that department's efforts in support of the fur industry. Even so, our Committee agrees that, in view of the impending impact on aboriginal people of the animal rights campaign, it is essential that DIAND become a more forceful presence in the fur debate. The strong leadership needed on the issue has been lacking and this must be corrected.

The Committee considers that the FISCHT, whose present mandate is too limited to the leghold trap issue, must be completely restructured to reflect the commitment of the federal government to preserving the trapping industry and counteracting the threat posed by the animal rights activists. Individual departments have committed meagre human resources to the fur question, while the Steering Committee has no financial resources at its disposal, since projects are funded through individual departments and the Committee representatives at present report through individual Ministers. The Steering Committee has no strategic role or any power in evaluating programs or funding proposals or ensuring that they are coordinated to a defined goal. Some valuable public relations work has been done but more is needed. This will depend on better data collection by both industry and government. Simply reducing the Steering Committee's size, as DIAND intends to do, will not overcome these handicaps.

To correct this situation, the Committee considers that the FISCHT must be replaced by a senior-level body with new terms of reference which expand its mandate, provide it with its own budget and adequate personnel, and give it direction. The Committee intends to monitor its progress.

The Committee recommends that:

20. The Government of Canada create immediately a new Interdepartmental Committee on the Fur Issue consisting of senior officials of the departments of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Environment, and External Affairs, the Committee to be chaired by DIAND with a mandate to: develop domestic and international fur strategies; evaluate and coordinate all program and funding proposals by aboriginal and fur industry groups; be responsible for allocating all federal fur-issue funding; and perform an educative function to disseminate to the public accurate information in relation to the fur issue.

21. The Government of Canada provide an adequate budget to this Committee to perform its duties.

22. The Departments of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Environment and External Affairs allocate sufficient personnel to the Interdepartmental Committee to fulfill its mandate.

23. The Government of Canada designate the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as the lead agency in federal government activities in support of the fur industry.

24. The Interdepartmental Committee on the Fur Issue report within six months to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and, through the Minister, to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development on its membership, progress and future directions, and thereafter annually or at the call of the Chair.

Since the new Interdepartmental Committee would be evaluating departmental, aboriginal organization and Fur Institute funding proposals it is advisable that, unlike its predecessor, its membership should be restricted to government personnel. Nevertheless, the new Interdepartmental Committee will need to maintain close liaison with other fur industry interests.

The Committee therefore recommends that:

25. The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development establish a body to advise the Interdepartmental Committee consisting of representatives from Indigenous Survival International, Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada, the Fur Institute and other national umbrella fur industry representatives.

Despite the efforts of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans to provide factual information about the seal hunt, the Committee learned that according to Gallup polls, very little concrete information about the seal hunt has passed to the public. "The majority of the public still thought last year that the harp seals were endangered."(4) This finding suggests government must step up dissemination of information on the importance of trapping to the livelihood of aboriginal people. This may not render harmless the emotional appeal of the anti-trapping lobby but it should ensure that information is available to those members of the public who desire to hear both sides of the question. There is some onus on the fur industry and aboriginal groups to assist in collecting relevant data.

The Committee therefore recommends that:

26. The Interdepartmental Committee on the Fur Issue work with the fur industry in collecting data on the various facets of the industry including numbers of trappers, aboriginal participation and economic reliance on trapping.

27. The Interdepartmental Committee on the Fur Issue increase the federal government's public education function in regard to the aboriginal fur issue and place more emphasis on dissemination of accurate documentation.

The following sections outline the mandate and activities of the three main departments involved in the fur debate, the Departments of the Environment, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and External Affairs.

The Department of the Environment

This department's prime responsibilities are for research, development, and field testing of humane trapping systems and for assisting in the adoption of trapping standards. In 1984, a three-year federal government program was launched to neutralize the anti-trapping movement, with a focus on trap research and development. Under this program, DOE is providing the Fur Institute of Canada with $1.5 million of the $2.1 million to be spent on humane trap research between 1984 and 1987. (The International Fur Trade Federation is contributing $600,000 over three years.) The DOE, through the Canadian Wildlife Service representative, sits on the executive board of the FIC, chairs the FIC's Humane Trap Research and Development Committee and has allotted one person-year to handle the department's humane trapping responsibilities.

The involvement of the Canadian Wildlife Service in humane trap research goes back to 1956 when, in conjunction with the National Research Council, a number of quick-kill prototype traps were manufactured and tested. Later, in 1973, when the Federal Provincial Committee for Humane Trapping was continuing the valuable work begun by the animal welfare organizations on evaluating "humaneness," the Canadian Wildlife Service provided technical advice on biological and mechanical testing and financed the initial series of trials.

A parliamentary report issued by the Standing Committee on Fisheries and Forestry in April 1978, however, revealed that the differing goals of the Canadian Wildlife Service and the FPCHT were hampering the research effort of the latter. Initially, the CWS funded and directed the FPCHT's trap testing program so that the FPCHT was not in a position to influence the nature of the testing program or to report the results of that testing to interested parties.

The Canadian Wildlife Service is heading the Fur Institute's Humane Trap Research and Development Committee and funding the research program at Vegreville, Alberta which will be testing the field effectiveness of the 16 potentially humane traps identified by the FPCHT. It is important that DOE, through the Canadian Wildlife Service, share the same goals in relation to humane trap testing as the FIC and that government and industry work cooperatively in the interests of animal welfare.

Under the present funding arrangements, provision was made for three years of research and development in humane trapping systems. Though funding expires in March 1987, testing only began in December 1985 after completion of the Vegreville facility. The DOE is seeking funding to extend the research program. The Committee urges the importance of the continuation of this work towards a unified goal.

The Committee recommends that:

28. The Humane Trap Research and Development Committee of the Fur Institute of Canada clearly define its terms of reference.

29. The Canadian Wildlife Service continue to support the trap research activities of the Fur Institute of Canada being conducted at the Alberta Environmental Centre in Vegreville, Alberta.

The Canadian Government has consistently supported the concept of the humane treatment and killing of those animals which we consume for food and clothing. In the harvesting of wild animal resources, the Canadian Government employs sound wildlife management principles. Wise management is essential to ensure that wildlife will always exist in something like its present diversity and distribution. Indeed, significant reduction in the numbers of some species of wildlife would cause direct and probably permanent losses to lifestyles and to the economy. It is incumbent on Canada to explain to the world why regulated trapping is a wise use of fur resources and why the animal rights doctrine is misguided.

Canada has adopted the widely-accepted World Conservation Strategy of 1980, which defines conservation as the management of human use of the biosphere so that it may yield the greatest sustainable benefit to present and future generations. This allows human use of wildlife resources but requires human responsibility in managing them. As the Canadian Wildlife Federation emphasized, living resources are renewable if managed and conserved and they are destructible if not.

Management of wildlife, which is aimed at sustaining wildlife for its own sake and for human benefit, is a complex matter, particularly in Canada where responsibility is shared among federal and provincial agencies. The World Conservation Strategy offers an ecological approach to wildlife management which recognizes the interdependence of man, living resources and the environmental elements of soil, water and air.

The Committee recommends that:

30. The Department of the Environment play an active role in promoting the World Conservation Strategy.

Indigenous Survival International is also participating in the World Conservation Strategy and is urging within the strategy that the important role of indigenous peoples in furthering conservation and sustainable development be recognized. ISI is seeking the adoption of new provisions on these matters by 1987.

The Committee recommends that:

31. The Department of the Environment support the inclusion of indigenous renewable resource activities in the World Conservation Strategy.

The DOE also has the opportunity to educate the public on conservation principles.

Conservation of wildlife relies upon a well-informed public. In 1982, Statistics Canada conducted a survey sponsored by federal, provincial and territorial government wildlife agencies which questioned approximately 100,000 Canadians from all regions and walks of life. It investigated attitudes towards wildlife populations and public participation during 1981 in a number of wildlife-related activities.

The results suggested that the Canadian public is supportive of the current conservation principles. However, there is a need to publicize more widely the "sustainable use" policies which govern wildlife harvesting in Canada. It cannot be assumed that there is a general knowledge of these or about Canadian or aboriginal involvement in the World Conservation Strategy.

The better informed the public is about wildlife conservation and the part played by native people in harvesting Canada's furbearers, the better prepared it will be to form opinions when confronted by the arguments of animal rights proponents. The educative process ought to extend to the European and international public who may be especially vulnerable to emotional influence since their own knowledge of Canadian wildlife issues is likely to be limited.

The Committee recommends that:

32. The Department of the Environment take a higher profile in educating the public on conservation principles, and gain public endorsement for the application of such principles to harvesting Canada's fur-bearing animals in accordance with sustainable use.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

This department performs a liaison role in bringing together interested parties and promoting the importance of the fur issue. DIAND sees itself as a behind-the-scenes catalyst assisting the principal aboriginal organizations to coordinate their approach and build their own networks of public support and funding. DIAND is providing $150,000 a year between 1985-86 and 1987-88 to Indigenous Survival International as seed money and for building ties with other international organizations with fur interests. In addition, over the same period, DIAND is supporting special projects to the amount of $275,000 to assist the advocacy efforts of aboriginal groups like ISI, Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.

The department is requesting coordinated funding proposals from ISI, ATFC and ITC to encourage a cooperative approach to the fur issue. A similar request has been made to the two territorial governments. If the Committee's recommendations are accepted, such requests would be submitted to the proposed Interdepartmental Committee on the Fur Issue.

Since the native people of Canada would be severely affected by a collapse in the fur trade, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was also given responsibility for native trapper education. DIAND is spending approximately $100,000 annually in 1985-86 and 1987-88 on

courses to instruct native and northern trappers in the use of advanced trapping techniques which can then be taught to other trappers in their home communities.

Taking on the chairmanship of the new Interdepartmental Committee and lead responsibility for the federal government's domestic pro-fur activities may tax the financial and personnel resources of DIAND. The present staff to carry out DIAND's role in the three-year humane trapping program consists of two full-time and two part-time employees with a budget of $550,000 for both 1985-86 and 1987-88. The group's present responsibilities relate to funding requests, trapper education, aboriginal advocacy, government coordination, data gathering and public relations.

In addition, DIAND informed the Committee that during 1986-87 it will be investigating opportunities for extending native and northern participation in other sectors of the fur industry.

The department is also acutely aware of the lack of accurate data on the number, activities and economic contribution of aboriginal trappers. It has approached aboriginal organizations to determine their interest in conducting a survey to collect such information. If the Committee's recommendations are adopted, the proposed Interdepartmental Committee on the Fur Issue would be in a position to finance this activity.

The Committee has already made a recommendation on the need for each department on the Interdepartmental Committee to allocate sufficient personnel to allow the body to function efficiently. In the case of DIAND, there should also be sufficient personnel and financial resources to carry out the other functions itemized.

The Committee recommends that:

33. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development designate personnel and financial resources in order to carry out its mandate to take lead responsibility for the federal government's domestic pro-fur activities.

The Department of External Affairs

The Department of External Affairs is responsible for fostering Canada's international image and protecting Canadian international trade. In the present fur debate, as was the case with sealing, the department has not always found these responsibilities compatible. Moreover implementation of these responsibilities is fragmented; although several people each handle some aspect of the fur issue, there is no individual within the department in Ottawa who works solely on this matter.

Officers in overseas posts have been instructed to monitor the international situation and to supply information on trapping in response to serious requests. They have also been instructed to exercise caution in handling the issue so as to avoid giving it undue prominence and thereby making Canada a focus of controversy.

According to a brief presented to the Committee, External Affairs considers it would be inappropriate for the government to enter directly into international public debate on the fur issue, believing that the fur industry should speak on its own behalf. During the hearings this department was widely criticized for its reluctance to develop any public profile abroad and for its unwillingness to acknowledge the potential effects of the anti-trapping campaign.

In the early days of the counter protest in 1984, this departmental reluctance had a major influence on the leading aboriginal organization on the international scene. Indigenous Survival International, in its testimony before the Committee, cited a case in which travel abroad had had to be cancelled because the department had withdrawn funding at the last moment. ISI maintained that this

was an example of the need for a change in attitude. Dave Monture, an ISI spokesman, described the behaviour of External Affairs as that: "of an ostrich that would really prefer the problem to go away ... they were ambivalent from the start... External Affairs is content at this time just to stay out of our way."(5) ISI reported greater cooperation during its successful international lobby tour that resulted in Greenpeace U.K.'s suspension of its anti-fur campaign in the fall of 1985. Mr. Monture elaborated: "Once we were proven to be winners in enhancing Canada's image abroad, they were more than cooperative. Where the going gets tough, I do not have a great deal of confidence in External's staying power."(6)

Industry spokesmen, however, expressed optimism about government's ability to offset a negative Canadian public image such as that created by the seal debate. They stated that there was a need for the Department of External Affairs to deliver Canada's fur-related conservation message to governments and international organizations.

The Committee believes that if External Affairts is to assist in revitalizing Canada's image abroad, the trapping issue must cease to be an embarrassment in the eyes of the Canadian government's overseas representative. With the principal responsibility for fostering Canada's international image, that department should view trapping as a respectable profession and not be so easily intimidated by the fear of a negative international response which may be based on a poor understanding of the issues. Instead, it should promote better comprehension of the issues.

The Committee recommends that:

34. The Department of External Affairs undergo an attitudinal change in favour of recognizing the legitimacy of trapping as an economic activity, and actively promote the fur industry in overseas posts.

The new more active role the Committee suggests for the Department of External Affairs requires thorough briefings of departmental officials so that they may be in a good position to present and document Canada's case.

The Committee therefore recommends that:

35. In cooperation with the fur industry, the federal government provide appropriate briefings to External Affairs personnel in the home office and overseas to assist them in providing the facts about trapping to the international public.

There are some specific actions the Committee believes can be taken to assist the efforts of groups like ISI. The Department of External Affairs could provide practical support to groups like ISI during international lobbies by offering use of its facilities abroad. Since the animal rights campaign moves around Europe, it might make sense to use overseas post facilities rather than setting up an office in one fixed location. Trade sections of Canadian embassies already contain offices for the use of visiting businessmen. Although the External Affairs representative argued against involving the Canadian government so directly in the issue, the Committee does not share his reservations.

The Committee recommends that:

36. The Department of External Affairs make facilities and other assistance available in its overseas embassies to aboriginal and fur industry representatives to counter the threat to the fur industry posed by the animal rights campaign.

External Affairs' international mandate would involve that department heavily in the proposed Interdepartmental Committee on the Fur Issue. Currently, the department must deal with the fur issue as it relates to export markets, international aboriginal issues, international environmental

organizations, external communications, trade communications, individual country interests and 31 overseas posts. Although EA's defence of the fur trade comes under "export trade," all these other interests have to be taken into account. While this complicates a cohesive approach to the trapping issue, the Committee trusts that the attitudinal change called for will be translated into action by all groups within External Affairs.

The Committee also has some concerns about conflicting federal attitudes towards the trapping issue and aboriginal involvement in the fur trade. It is important that domestic and international approaches coincide. It is hoped differences would be resolved in the forum of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Fur Issue.

Summation

It can be seen that the three departments discussed have very different mandates in relation to the fur issue. The proposed Interdepartmental Committee on the subject should play a major role in ensuring that the various policies are publicly stated and are mutually supportive, so as to facilitate the required action. Government can openly state its position and support it with facts but the major message about the need for a fur industry in Canada will have to come from the industry itself.

Both industry and government have exhibited fragmentation in the past. The Committee notes with some unease continued evidence of this within the fur and trapping industries and within government, despite moves to rectify the situation. This problem must be addressed promptly. Canada has learned more than one lesson from the anti-sealing campaign, perhaps the most important being that now that the "whitecoat" seal issue is over, animal rights groups will focus on questions that can attract similar mass public interest. The need to remain vigilant cannot be overemphasized. The protest forces are unlikely simply to melt away.

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APPENDIX A

WITNESSES AT PUBLIC HEARINGS

ISSUE NO.	DATE	ORGANIZATIONS AND WITNESSES
44	Oct. 17, 1985	**Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development** Mr. John Hucker, Acting Assistant Deputy Minister Mr. Richard Kinley, Senior Advisor, Renewable Resources and Northern Environment Branch Mr. Brian Roberts, Acting Fur Harvesting and Trade Development Officer
45	Oct. 29, 1985	**Department of External Affairs** Mr. Dennis Browne, Director General, Agriculture, Fish and Food Products Bureau Mr. Richard Ablett, Deputy Director (Policy), Fisheries and Fish Products Division Mr. Brian Mackay, Desk Officer, Agriculture Products Division
45	Nov. 7, 1985	**Assembly of First Nations** Chief Georges Erasmus, National Chief Mr. Dave Monture, Director of International Relations Mr. Dan Gaspé, Director of Parliamentary Liaison Mr. Harold Tarbell, Assistant Director of Parliamentary Liaison
50	Nov. 28, 1985	**Department of the Environment** Mr. Doug Pollock, Director, Management and Administration Mr. Neal Jotham, Coordinator, Humane Trapping Program
52	Dec. 5, 1985	**Hudson's Bay Company** Mr. Bruno Tenaglia, Vice-President and Controller, Hudson's Bay Sales Canada Limited Mr. George Whitman, Manager, Public Relations
2	April 8, 1986	Mr. Alan Herscovici, Author
3	April 9, 1986	**Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada** Mr. Sterling Brass, Chairman Mr. Bob Stevenson, Executive Director
	April 9, 1986	**Animal Defence League of Canada** Ms. Esther Klein, Past President

4	April 10, 1986	**Indigenous Survival International** Chief Georges Erasmus, Canadian Co-Chairman Mr. Thomas Coon, Canadian Co-Chairman Mr. Dave Monture, Secretary/Treasurer Ms. Cindy Guilday, Media Advisor
9 (Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.)	April 21, 1986	**Keewatin Inuit Association** Mr. Peter Ernerk, President **Keewatin Wildlife Federation** Mr. Armand Angootealuk, President Mr. Lloyd Gamble, Regional Resources Manager **Nunasi Corporation** Mr. Peter Pilikapsi, Chairman
10 (Yellowknife, N.W.T.)	April 22, 1986	**Government of the Northwest Territories** The Hon. Nick Sibbeston, Government Leader **Indian Association of Alberta** Mr. Lawrence Courtoreille, Advisor Mr. Dan McLean, Elder
11 (Yellowknife, N.W.T.)	April 23, 1986	**Yellowknife Chamber of Commerce** Mr. David Talbot, Past President
12 (Inuvik, N.W.T.)	April 24, 1986	**MacKenzie Delta Regional Council** Mr. Johnny Charlie, Former Chief, Fort McPherson **Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement** Mr. Les Carpenter, Spokesman Mr. Bill Day, President Mr. Greg Smith, Executive Director of the Inuvialuit Communications Society Mr. Bill Goose, Spokesman
13 (Old Crow, Yukon)	April 25, 1986	**Old Crow Indian Band** Chief Alice Frost, Band Chief Mr. Howard Linklater, Band Manager Mr. Mr. Stanley Njootli, Councillor
14 (Whitehorse, Yukon)	April 26, 1986	**Council for Yukon Indians** Mr. Michael Smith, Chairman Mr. Albert James, Vice-Chairman Mr. Bill Webber, Vice-Chairman **Mayo Indian Band** Chief Robert Hager, Band Chief Mr. Mikolay Peter, Councillor

		Yukon Trappers Association Ms. Darline Richardson, Secretary/Manager Mr. Bill Sinclair, Past Secretary
15 (Whitehorse, Yukon)	April 28, 1986	**Government of the Yukon Territory** Mr. Dave Porter, Minister of Tourism, Minister of Renewable Resources The Hon. Tony Penikett, Government Leader
		Yukon Conservation Society Ms. Laurie Henderson, Manager
		Ross River Indian Band Chief Hammond Dick, Band Chief
21	May 22, 1986	**Fur Institute of Canada** Mr. Jim Bourque, Chairman Mr. Ray Gilbert, Executive Director Mr. Gus Mavridis, Fur Trade Association of Canada (Ontario) Inc. Mr. Ken Seabrook, Ontario Trappers Association
24	May 27, 1986	**International Wildlife Coalition** Mr. Stephen Best, Vice-Chairman
25	May 29, 1986	**Inuit Tapirisat of Canada** Ms. Rhoda Inuksuk, President Mr. John Illupalik, Secretary/Treasurer Ms. Nancy Doubleday, Legal Counsel
		Canadian Trappers Federation Mr. Art Lalonde, Executive Manager Mr. Ken Seabrook, Ontario Trappers Association
26	June 3, 1986	**Canadian Association for Humane Trapping** Ms. Marietta Lash, Executive Director
		Canadian Federation of Humane Societies Mr. J. Robert Gardiner, Vice President of the Canadian Association for Humane Trapping
27	June 5, 1986	**Association for the Protection of Fur-Bearing Animals** Mr. George Clements, Executive Director
28	June 10, 1986	**Canadian Arctic Resources Committee** Mr. Peter Burnet, Executive Director Ms. Shelagh Woods, Resources
		Canadian Wildlife Federation Mr. Stephen Hazell, Corporate Counsel

29	June 11, 1986	**Grand Council of the Crees** Ms. Violet Pachano, Executive Director Mr. Ignatius Larusic, Consultant and Anthropologist Mr. Robert Epstein, Consultant
30	June 12, 1986	**Assembly of First Nations of Quebec (Labrador and Quebec Innu)** Mr. Konrad Sioui, National Vice-Chief of Quebec Chief Basile Bellefleur, First Nations of la Romaine Councillor Guy Bellefleur, First Nations of la Romaine Mr. Dan Gaspé, Director of Parliamentary Relations (Assembly of First Nations)
33	June 26, 1986	**Federal Interdepartmental Steering Committee on Humane Trapping** Mr. Doug Pollock, Department of the Environment Ms. Danielle Wetherup, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Mr. Dennis Browne, Department of External Affairs

APPENDIX B

WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS RECEIVED

Aboriginal Trappers Federation of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

Action Volunteers for Animals, Willowdale, Ontario

Animal Defence League of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

Association for the Protection of Fur-Bearing Animals, Vancouver, British Columbia

Canadian Association for Humane Trapping, Toronto, Ontario

Canadian Federation of Humane Societies, Ottawa, Ontario

Canadian Trappers Federation, Noranda, Quebec

Canadian Wildlife Federation, Ottawa, Ontario

Cesar, Ed, Granum, Alberta

Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, Village des Hurons, Quebec

Cumming, Bruce Gordon, Fredericton, New Brunswick

Department of the Environment, Ottawa, Ontario

Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Ontario

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, Ontario

Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, Regina, Saskatchewan

Fur Institute of Canada, Toronto, Ontario

Government of New Brunswick — Department of Natural Resources, Fredericton, New Brunswick

Government of Nova Scotia — Department of Lands and Forests, Kentville, Nova Scotia

Government of Ontario — Ministry of Natural Resources, Toronto, Ontario

Government of Saskatchewan — Parks and Renewable Resources, Regina, Saskatchewan

Grand Council of the Crees (Quebec), Val d'Or, Quebec

Herscovici, Alan, Outremont, Quebec

Hudson's Bay Company, Rexdale, Ontario

Indian Association of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta

Indigenous Survival International, Ottawa, Ontario

International Wildlife Coalition, Toronto, Ontario

Keewatin Inuit Association, Rankin Inlet, Northwest Territories

Livingston, John A., North York, Ontario

MacKenzie Delta Regional Council, Inuvik, Northwest Territories

Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Inc., Winnipeg, Manitoba

Manitoba Registered Trappers' Association, Grand Rapids, Manitoba

Mason, Christine, Scarborough, Ontario

McDowell, Rita, Barrie, Ontario

Metis National Council, Ottawa, Ontario

National Animal Rights Association, Mississauga, Ontario

Newfoundland and Labrador Trappers Association, Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Ontario Humane Society, Toronto, Ontario

Ontario Trappers Association, North Bay, Ontario

Ross River Indian Band, Ross River, Yukon

Sierra Club of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario

Yukon Conservation Society, Whitehorse, Yukon

Yukon Trappers Association, Whitehorse, Yukon

Wenzel, George, Montreal, Quebec

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Wednesday, August 6, 1986

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development met *in camera* at 9:45 o'clock a.m., this day, the Chairman, Stan Schellenberger, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: John A. MacDougall, Jim Manly, Stan Schellenberger, Jack Scowen, Thomas Suluk.

In attendance: Caroline Casselman, Stuart Herbert, Penny Muller, Susan Presley. From the Research Branch, Library of Parliament: Sonya Dakers, Debra Wright, Research Officers.

The Committee resumed consideration of its Order of Reference pursuant to S.O. 96(2) relating to the mandate of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development with regard to the fur issue. (*See Minutes of Proceedings, dated Tuesday, April 8, 1986, Issue No. 2.*)

The Committee proceeded to consider its draft Report on the fur issue.

At 12:00 o'clock noon, the sitting was suspended.

At 2:15 o'clock p.m., the sitting resumed.

On motion of John MacDougall, it was agreed,—That the draft report be adopted as the Committee's Third Report to the House and that the Chairman be authorized to make such typographical and editorial changes as may be necessary without changing the substance of the draft report; and that the Chairman be instructed to present the said report to the House.

On motion of John MacDougall, it was agreed,—That, pursuant to Standing Order 99(2), the Committee request that the Government table a comprehensive response to its Third Report.

On motion of John MacDougall, it was agreed,—That the Committee print 5,000 copies of its Third Report to the House in tumble bilingual format with a distinctive cover.

At 5:30 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Thursday, August 7, 1986

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development met *in camera* at 10:10 o'clock a.m., this day, the Chairman, Stan Schellenberger, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: John A. MacDougall, Jim Manly, Allan Pietz, Stan Schellenberger, Jack Scowen, Thomas Suluk.

In Attendance: Caroline Casselman, Stuart Herbert, Penny Muller, Susan Presley. From the Research Branch, Library of Parliament: Sonya Dakers, Debra Wright, Research Officers.

The Committee resumed consideration of its Order of Reference pursuant to S.O. 96(2) relating to the mandate of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development with regard to the fur issue. (*See Minutes of Proceedings, dated Tuesday, April 8, 1986, Issue No. 2.*)

By unanimous consent, the Committee reconsidered certain paragraphs of its Third Report to the House on the fur issue.

At 12:10 o'clock p.m., the sitting was suspended.

At 1:45 o'clock p.m., the sitting resumed.

At 4:20 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Luke Morton
Clerk of the Committee

Thursday, October 23, 1986

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development met at 9:42 o'clock a.m., this day, for the purpose of organization.

Members of the Committee present: André Harvey, Allan Pietz, Jack Scowen, Keith Penner and John Parry.

Acting Members present: Scott Fennell for Girve Fretz; Albert Cooper for Thomas Suluk.

In Attendance: From the Research Branch, Library of Parliament: Sonya Dakers and Debra Wright, Research Officers.

The Clerk presided over the election of a Chairman.

Keith Penner moved,—That Girve Fretz be elected as Chairman of the Committee.

After debate, the question being put on the motion, it was negatived on the following show of hands:

Yeas: 2 Nays: 4

On motion of Allan Pietz, André Harvey was elected as Chairman of the Committee.

On motion of Allan Pietz, Thomas Suluk was elected as Vice-Chairman of the Committee.

On motion of John Parry, it was agreed,—That the Chairman be authorized to hold meetings, to receive and authorize the printing of evidence when a quorum is not present, provided that at least two (2) Members are present, including one (1) from the Opposition.

On motion of John Parry, it was agreed,—That the Committee request the services of Research Staff from the Library of Parliament to assist in its work.

On motion of Albert Cooper, it was agreed,—That, at the discretion of the Chairman, reasonable travelling expenses and honoraria, as per the regulations established under the administration of the Speaker, be paid to witnesses invited to appear before the Committee, and that for such payment of expenses a limit of two (2) representatives per organization be established.

On motion of John Parry, it was agreed,—That the Third Report adopted by the Committee in the 1st Session of the 33rd Parliament be adopted as the Committee's First Report to the House in the 2nd Session; and that the Chairman be instructed to present the said report to the House.

At 10:02 o'clock a.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Eugene Morawski
Clerk of the Committee