

# The World Wide Fund For Nature: Financing a New Noah's Ark

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## Introduction

While many environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) tend to be small and operate on the local level, a few groups have become multi-national enterprises with thousands of professionals operating in field offices all over the world. Although it began as a small, fledgling conservation group working on endangered species and habitat destruction 36 years ago, World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF)<sup>1</sup> has become the most global if not the most important conservation NGO in the world. With an International Secretariat based in Gland, Switzerland, WWF has developed into a global network composed of 5 million individual members, 24 national organizations, and 26 programme offices, managed and operated by 3,500 professionals in 130 countries.<sup>2</sup>

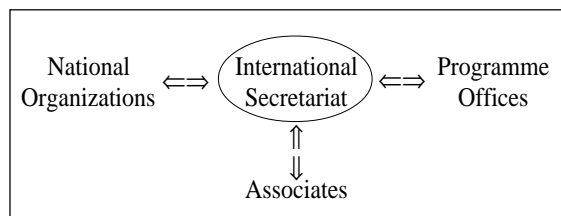


Fig. 1. WWF network

Notes: National Organizations carry out conservation activities in their own countries and contribute technical expertise and funding to WWF's international conservation programme. There are 24 national organizations.

Programme Offices implement WWF's fieldwork, advise national and local governments, and raise public understanding of conservation issues. There are 26 programme offices.

Associates: as independent NGOs, they work closely with WWF and promote shared conservation objectives. They do not, however, contribute to WWF's international conservation programme

In terms of setting the conservation agenda for the WWF, however, the highest programme body (akin to the role of the Security Council in the UN) may be the **Programme Committee**, which is composed of the four largest contributing national organizations (in terms of money given to the Secretariat) and rotating number of national organizations. The Secretariat has the key role of developing a consensus at the level of the Programme Committee.

Source: 1995 WWF Annual Report and Personal Communication, WWF Programme Office.

WWF's 1995 operating income of \$US270 million is nearly the double comparable figure of the UN Environment Programme (\$US150 million) and Greenpeace (\$US140 million). Although there are a number of important conservation groups such as the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and the Nature Conservancy and several environmental NGOs with a high name recognition like Greenpeace, no single group can match WWF's combined global conservation project experience and the high name recognition. It would indeed be difficult to discuss the state of global biodiversity, species protection, or conservation policies without at some point examining the activities and future prospects of the WWF.

## Responding to the Wildlife Crisis

After returning from a trip to East Africa in the early 1960s, Sir Julian Huxley, a renowned British biologist and the first Director-General of United Nations Education and Science Organization (UNESCO), wrote a series of articles for the *Observer* newspaper in London in which he warned that the habitat was being destroyed and animals hunted at such a rate that much of the region's wildlife could disappear within the next twenty years. Huxley received a number of letters from the British public, one of which pointed out the urgent need for an international organization to raise funds for conservation. At the request of Huxley, Max Nicholson, Director-General of Britain's Nature Conservancy, convened a meeting made up of scientists, business executives, and NGO officials to establish an organization that could 'harness public opinion and educate the world about the necessity for conservation'.<sup>3</sup>

With Chi-Chi the panda arriving at the London Zoo at this time, the group also found a strong, recognizable symbol for their small, start-up organization that would eventually become identified with the global conservation movement as a whole. After establishing its headquarters in the small town of Morges on the northern shores of Lake Geneva, WWF raised and donated almost \$US2 million to conservation projects in its first three years. While some of the early grants, such as those to the Charles Darwin Foundation for the Galapagos Islands, were large, many initial grants were only couple of hundred of dollars or less.

In 1962 WWF gave \$US131 to 'enable Mr. E. P. Gee of Upper Shillong, Assam, to visit the Rann of Kutch to ascertain the total numbers and present trends of the population of Indian wild ass'.<sup>4</sup>

Due to its many successful global conservation campaigns on the Indian tigers, tropical rainforests, marine life, and others, WWF's operating income has more than quintupled to \$US270 million in 1995, an impressive record that would be the envy of any publicly traded company on the New York Stock Exchange.<sup>5</sup>

**Table 1. WWF operating income for selected years (\$USm.)**

1980	1985	1990	1995
26	48	185	270

Source: WWF Finance Department.

In the past 36 years, WWF has spent more than half a billion dollars in more than 11,000 projects, including a community-based eco-forestry project in Papua New Guinea, an environmental education programme in Madagascar, and an industry-sponsored energy-efficiency initiative in Germany. WWF has played an important role in the development of green economic and accounting systems by sponsoring the Taking Nature into Account Conference in 1995 in co-operation with the European Commission and the Club of Rome, and has provided critical technical and financial support to Trade Records Analysis of Flora and Fauna in Commerce (TRAFFIC), which plays a key role in monitoring the \$US5 billion world-wide illegal wildlife trade. According to Gordon Shepherd, WWF's Director of International Policy, 'there have been major seizures of tigers bones in Australia, Belgium, India, and a number of other countries, while the introduction of strict import controls in East Asia has reduced the availability of tiger bones for medicines'.<sup>6</sup>

### Crafting a New Ecological Message

For the first twenty years, WWF devoted its energies to setting up an organization that would effectively raise funds from individual members and then channel them to conservation projects all over the world. It is not an accident that WWF devotes so much of its energy to raising money for conservation projects. Although WWF officials do not like to publicize this point, its original *raison d'être* was to raise to raise money for IUCN and other conservation groups and it is fair to say that Max Nicholson and other founding

### History of WWF

- 1961 WWF is officially formed and registers as a charity on 11 September and a global fund-raising campaign begins.
- 1964 WWF raises and donates almost \$US1.9m. to conservation projects.
- 1969 WWF joins forces with the Spanish government to purchase a section of the Guadalquivir delta marshes and establishes the Coto Donana National Park.
- 1973 WWF helps the Indian government to launch Project Tiger.
- 1975 Tropical Rainforest Campaign is launched, raising money for national parks and reserves in Central and West Africa, South-east Asia, and Latin America.
- 1976 The Seas Must Live campaign enables WWF to set up marine sanctuaries for whales, dolphins, seals, and turtles.
- 1980 *World Conservation Strategy* is published, in co-operation with IUCN and UNEP.
- 1981 Membership reaches 1m. regular supporters.
- 1986 WWF 'family' decides to change its name from World Wildlife Fund to World Wide Fund For Nature, but US and Canada retain the old name.
- 1991 WWF joins forces with IUCN and UNEP again to publish *Caring for the Earth*.
- 1993 Claude Martin takes over as the Director-General of WWF, replacing Charles de Haes, who had served in this position for the previous 18 years.
- 1993 Global Priorities to the Year 2000, a two-year programme evaluation of WWF, is completed.

Source: Sarah Russell (1994), *A History of WWF* (Gland: WWF).

members of WWF would be more than surprised to see how it is operating today.<sup>7</sup>

It is undoubtedly clear, however, that WWF has done a brilliant job of raising money and global conservation awareness among its 5 million members. Part of its marketing brilliance comes from the way WWF packages the message in its many public campaigns. Unlike Greenpeace, which tends to target corporations like Royal Dutch Shell in the case of the *Brent Spar* incident,<sup>8</sup> WWF campaigns try to create a link between people and the environment, and stress that the solution to resolving the ecological crisis centres on those who created the problems, that is, us—our children, your friend, and one's parents. WWF's 1976 *The Seas Must Live* campaign to set up marine sanctuaries for whales, dolphins, and seals, and to protect marine turtle nesting-sites is a good example of this strategy. The campaign did not try to depict Exxon or Royal Dutch Shell as the problem, but rather the general wasteful and greedy habits of the consumers. Instead of anger, WWF used altruism and ecological concerns mixed together with a liberal dose of personal guilt as the basis of its fund raising appeal. This appeal worked particularly well when it involved lovable animals like tigers, elephants, and above all, the big furry animal with the appealing, black-patched eyes.

By the middle of the 1980s, however, the limitation of this strategy began to surface. First, with the national organizations largely responsible for fund raising and programme offices increasingly in charge of the group's conservation policy, it became obvious that the role of the WWF's International Secretariat had to be refashioned. In response to these changes, WWF has had to decentralize its overall governance to the national organizations, who now hold a majority on the WWF International Board and all its committees, and transfer the day-to-day responsibility for managing the conservation campaigns and projects to the relevant programme offices in the field. Given that national organizations shoulder three-fourths of the cost of maintaining the staff and activities at the WWF Secretariat, it became inevitable that national organizations would seek a greater voice in the group's overall decision-making process.<sup>9</sup> According to Peter Dickinson, WWF International's Director of Programme Services and Evaluations, 'the effect of this [decentralizing] trend on the work of the Secretariat has been significant. Much of our capacity to manage international projects is no longer required and the role has switched very much to an advisory and coordinating function. [And as the result of this change] There has been a downsizing of the staff capacity of the Secretariat by about 25% over the past 18 months.'<sup>10</sup>

Second, while WWF campaigns focused on protecting specific animal species like tigers and elephants in their natural habitats, the real environmental problem was much

more deep-rooted than just 'saving' the threatened species. Entire ecosystems were threatened by population pressures, deteriorating political conditions, and other socio-economic factors, and addressing these concerns on a long-term basis would obviously involve more than creating a number of wildlife sanctuaries. Many people, particularly those living in developing countries, began to raise concerns about the goals and priorities of the conservation programmes themselves. Since most of the biodiversity and endangered animal species are located in developing countries, WWF reasoned that the economic dimensions of ecological issues had to be addressed and that the idea of sustainable conservation could not be something imposed on developing countries by industrialized countries and international NGOs. It was these concerns that prompted the UN member States to insert the word 'development' into the title of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development.

### *Practising the Three Es: Environment, Ecology, and Equity*

Although a people-centred conservation strategy is not a new concept, *Global Priorities to the Year 2000*, a mission statement adopted by WWF four years ago, makes it clear that this strategy will be the guiding principle that governs all future conservation activities. *Global Priorities* emphasizes that 'central to the development of WWF's philosophy and programme is the recognition that although there is no one single solution to solving the world's environmental crisis, people play a crucial role—both in terms of their numbers, and in terms of what they do and what is done for them. WWF believes that conservation efforts which do not recognize human aspirations and needs are unrealistic and cannot hope to succeed.'<sup>11</sup> While the mission statement notes the importance of 'preserving genetic, species, and ecosystem diversity', it also emphasizes the need to 'listen carefully to local communities, respect their positions, and address their needs', and to 'seek dialogue and avoid unnecessary confrontation'.<sup>12</sup> *Global Priorities* represents an important document for WWF since this was the first major statement of policy to be published under Claude Martin, who replaced Charles de Haes as the Director-General of WWF in 1993. Mr de Haes had served in this position for the previous 18 years.

Despite its many successful global conservation campaigns, WWF's greatest contribution to the global environmental policy arena may be its attempt to raise the profile of the issue of social equity in the ecological sustainability debate. Although it is rather surprising that a conservation group known all over the world for its black-and-white panda logo has been so instrumental in raising awareness of the issue of social equity, the release of *World Conservation Strategy* and *Caring for the Earth*, both of

which were published in co-operation with the IUCN and UNEP, had precisely this effect.<sup>13</sup> For instance, more than 50 countries have formulated and initiated their own national conservation programmes based on the policy recommendations in the *World Conservation Strategy*. These two documents promoted the concept of ecological sustainability as ‘improving the quality of human life living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems’, while outlining three clear objectives for living resource conservation: to maintain essential ecological processes and life support systems; to preserve genetic diversity; and to ensure sustainable utilization of species and ecosystems. With their emphasis on social equity and people-centred conservation policies, these two documents had a profound impact on the conservation philosophy of WWF and on the overall concept of sustainable development. George Greene, IUCN’s Assistant Director-General, once observed that ‘The revolutionaries believe that only through fundamental change in how humans view and treat nature will ecological collapse, at both the ecosystem and global levels, be averted. The reformers believe that through gradual improvements in individual attitudes and behaviors and institutional policies and practices, ecological collapse can be averted and the quality of life can be improved. *Caring for the Earth* is unashamedly in the second camp.’<sup>14</sup>

#### *Defining the Environmental ‘Third Way’*

WWF has tried to forge a middle ground between preserving the ecosystem and listening carefully to the needs of local communities, particularly in developing countries. WWF’s ‘preserve but listen’ conservation philosophy can be best seen in its stance on two of the most contentious environmental policy controversies of the 1990s: the dolphin-tuna and the African elephants issues. In the first case, the USA started this global environment and trade controversy in 1990 by imposing an embargo on tuna caught by ships that negligently killed dolphins in their mile-long nets. In response, major American tuna canners such as Sunkist and Bumble Bee began to issue ‘dolphin-safe’ tuna cans to comply with the embargo, while a number of environmental NGOs launched a series of media campaigns to raise public awareness of this issue.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, although the embargo resulted in a dramatic reduction in the number of dolphin deaths,<sup>16</sup> many countries such as Mexico were still effectively barred from selling tuna in the US market and have threatened to abandon the existing voluntary agreement to comply with the embargo. To address this concern, in 1995 WWF, Greenpeace, and the US-based National Wildlife Federation proposed a multifaceted fisheries agreement known as the Panama Declaration. This Declaration sets strict limits for mortality for specific dolphin species in the eastern Pacific tuna fishery and at the same

time allows the US government to continue to restrict countries from its markets when they fail to comply with sound fishing practices. While some environmental NGO groups such as the Defenders of Wildlife oppose WWF’s efforts to revise the terms of the embargo, US President Bill Clinton is supporting the Panama Declaration and calling for rewarding those fishermen who have reduced the number of dolphins killed.<sup>17</sup>

WWF’s stance on the African elephants issue at the 1994 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) Conference of the Parties also reflects this ‘preserve but listen’ ethos. Organized every two years to review progress in the restoration and conservation of protected species, CITES held its most recent Conference of the Parties in 1994, attracting more than 2,000 delegates from 124 countries. While there were a number of controversial issues discussed at this meeting, including restrictions on the sale of mahogany from South America and Mexico and Norway’s request to ease the ban on whaling by allowing trade in minke whales, none had the fire-power of the debate over South Africa’s petition to partially lift the 1989 ban on the elephant trade.<sup>18</sup> Illegal poaching caused a steep decline in the elephant population and later forced the international community to issue a global commercial embargo of all elephant products. South Africa, which is known for its strong conservation programmes, controls its herd of elephants by killing a couple of hundred of them every year and asked for a special waiver during the CITES meeting to sell the hides, hair, and meat from the culled elephants to companies in the US and other countries.<sup>19</sup>

Under the proposal, trading in ivory would remain forbidden, and South Africa promised to use all of the \$US1 million in revenues from the sale of the elephant products for its wildlife management programmes. Despite such assurances and the opinion of the World Conservation Union, the scientific adviser to CITES, that elephants in South Africa are well protected and its culling programme is based on sound scientific principles, many African nations were firmly opposed to the proposal on the grounds that it would undermine many of the advances made in containing elephant poaching. The USA and other Western nations opposed or abstained from voting on this controversial measure because of fears of a ‘backlash from their elephant-loving publics—raised on Dumbo and circuses and outraged by photos of carcasses with sawn-off tusks—if they opened the door even slightly to trade’.<sup>20</sup> According to Marshall Jones, Assistant Director of the US Fish and Wildlife Services and a member of the US delegation to CITES, ‘Elephants are not just a species. They are a totem. We’ve gotten far more letters from people in the United States about elephants than any species in the US, even spotted owls.’<sup>21</sup> The USA eventually declared that the South African proposal was scientifically

justified and would not threaten the elephant population, but announced that because of the importance of maintaining solidarity in Africa, it would abstain. Although elephants have become as much of a symbol of the global conservation movement as pandas, WWF, to its credit, never wavered from its support of the South African proposal nor from its key conservation premiss that governments, communities, and individuals must benefit economically from the use of wildlife in order to conserve it. WWF is currently working with the African Resources Trust, an environmental NGO based in Zimbabwe, to revive traditional conservation techniques used by rural communities and to show how proceeds from tourism and animal products can help to sustain both threatened animal species and impoverished human communities. According to B. J. Kelso, an information officer for TRAFFIC, 'Sustainable use—pruning wildlife to benefit governments and communities financially so that there will be an additional incentive to conserve the species as a whole—is becoming more accepted, especially as donor funds for conservation are drying up, leaving governments to find innovative ways to raise money.'<sup>22</sup>

### **Redesigning the Green Team**

WWF's attempt to forge a middle ground between protecting the ecosystem and the economic interests of local communities is commendable. However, this middle ground will no doubt be shaken by a number of divisive policy challenges in the coming years.

#### *The Future Role of the International Secretariat*

The first challenge is likely to focus on the future role of the International Secretariat in the WWF organizational chart. Since much of the programme and management tasks of the WWF have been transferred to national organizations and programme offices in recent years, it remains to be seen if the remaining advisory and co-ordinating role can justify the current staffing capacity of the WWF Secretariat. Even with the staff cut-backs of early 1995, there are still 50 per cent more people in the WWF Secretariat in 1996 than in 1990 and more than double the number in 1985.<sup>23</sup> As WWF national organizations contribute more than 75 per cent of the Secretariat's annual operating budget, they may simply decide that they want to take over yet more, or even eliminate, some of the advisory and co-ordinating responsibilities of the Secretariat. Leading the charge for this type of change are likely to be the USA and other wealthier WWF national organizations, which have their own international programmes and have less need for an International Secretariat than some of their poorer brethren.

#### *Animal versus Human Welfare?*

Another challenge is likely to come from animal-rights-oriented conservation groups such as Defenders of Wildlife and the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW)<sup>24</sup> that view concepts such as sustainable use of wildlife less charitably than WWF and tend to regard them more or less as a licence to kill. For conservation groups, it has always been easier to insist on a complete ban on the killing of particular species, as in the case of harp seals and whales, than to advocate something as ambiguous as sustainable use. Although wildlife protection was the goal of some of the earliest environmental treaties, most countries historically negotiated to protect only those species with commercial value like fish and birds. Only in the last 30 years has there been a concerted effort to promote the conservation of non-commercial species and the protection of habitats, rather than individual species. The new crop of environmental groups like IFAW were formed during this time and, unlike WWF, focused on the intrinsic value of animals, which went beyond the benefits of human use. There has always been an uneasy Cold-War-like relationship between IFAW and WWF, but it has become particularly strained in recent years because of conflicts over such issues as dolphin-tuna and the African elephant-CITES. Since IFAW, Defenders of Wildlife, and other animal-rights-oriented conservation groups regard the basic conservation philosophy of WWF as unsustainable, relations between the two conservation camps could erupt into open warfare in the future.<sup>25</sup>

The controversy over sustainable resource use can be partly traced to the lack of a strong scientific basis for this concept, although it has been intoned by WWF like an eco-mantra. It is hard to disagree with the premiss that people and communities need to have a stake in their own ecological resources in order to live sustainably. On the other hand, this assumes that we actually know the fragile demarcation between unsustainable and sustainable use and that we know how to strike the right ecological balance between economic use and conservation. Ecologists and biologists need to understand the complex interplay between the animal species and their habitats, and there is a critical shortage of such scientific data. To address such concerns, WWF launched a study four years ago to examine how commercial and consumptive use of wild species is affecting biodiversity, and to investigate whether conservation biologists know enough about the ecosystems and wild species to design effective management programmes. Dr Curtis Freese, the principal investigator, concluded that 'scientists cannot anticipate when, why, how, or what rate changes in ecosystems or populations of wild species occur. A variety of economically important wild species, from seeds produced by tropical trees to fisheries, go through boom-and-bust cycles. What looks today like an abundant fishery may vanish

a few years hence.<sup>26</sup> Kathryn Fuller, President of WWF USA, adds that 'although exploiting some species for economic gain is problematic for many conservationists, the practice has existed since the first twig was sharpened into a spear. What Freese learned is that sustainable resource use—a key principle of the relatively recent alliance between conservation and economic development—rests on largely untested tenets. People do live and work in forest settings without cutting down trees or causing obvious damage. Yet nearly all the evidence suggests that once people begin exploiting an ecosystem, it loses a part of its natural diversity.'<sup>27</sup>

### *Appealing to the Public Sentiment*

WWF's thorniest challenge may come from its future fundraising strategy, in particular its ability to solicit funds from individual members. WWF's public campaigns were successful because they had a simple but a powerful message: we need to protect endangered species and their natural habitats, and your contribution will make a critical difference in resolving these problems. Individual members, who contribute nearly two-thirds of WWF's operating income, responded and donated generously to these public campaigns. As WWF abandon its simple but powerful protect-the-animal message in favour of an intricate environmental policy network of climate change protection, green accounting, and eco-forestry projects, there is a danger that this labyrinth of issues is going to confuse and turn off rather than appeal to individual members. While one can debate the merits of the group's tactics and strategy, Greenpeace, for instance, has never forgotten that 'the general public is not going to understand the science of ecology, so to get them to save the whale you have to get them to believe

that whales are good'.<sup>28</sup> Any decline in donations by individual members would pose a particular problem for WWF since other sources of funding are expected to stay flat or decline in the future. 17 per cent of WWF's operating income, or \$US46 million, comes from governments, foreign aid agencies, and multilateral institutions like the World Bank and UN Development Programme, and this figure is expected to decline in the coming years.<sup>29</sup>

WWF should be engaged in all important aspects of the sustainable development debate, including climate change and green accounting, but it has to be careful not to broaden its policy to the degree that individual members no longer see a clear connection between donations and ecological protection. Dennis Paulson, a WWF member in the USA, illustrates this problem very succinctly: 'Recent requests from WWF for donations contained appeals like, "you may already have won a trip to the Caribbean" and such like. I wrote back and told them I sent them money to conduct wildlife research, not to hire high-paid fundraising firms, and to please take me off their mailing list, but of course, I got no response other than more solicitations. No wonder respect for institutions is slipping away.'<sup>30</sup>

Private companies can look at their financial statements every day to see how they are doing: they are either earning a profit or they are not. Similarly, WWF knew very quickly how well they were doing in some of their public campaigns: people were either contributing their money or they were not. With the new policy focus on sustainable resource use, however, it will be exceedingly difficult for WWF to determine if its conservation programmes are meeting their objectives and easy to forget that its long-term success will depend first and foremost on the continuing generosity of Dennis Paulson and the 5 million individual members.

## Notes and References

1. In 1986 the WWF network decided to change its name from the World Wildlife Fund to the World Wide Fund For Nature. The US and Canadian national offices of WWF, however, retained the old name.
2. World Wide Fund For Nature (1995), *1995 WWF Annual Report* (Gland: WWF), 4. Additional information on WWF is available on Internet via <<http://www.panda.org>>
3. Sarah Russell (1994), *A History of WWF* (Gland: WWF), 2–3.
4. Ibid. 4–5.
5. World Wide Fund For Nature (1995), *1995 WWF Annual Report*, 1.
6. Ibid. 12.
7. The origins of WWF plus its historical ties to the World Conservation Union can be found in: Tony Mence (1981), *IUCN: How it Began, How it is Growing Up* (Gland: IUCN), 48; and IUCN (1988), 'Forty Years in Conservation', *IUCN Bulletin*, 19/7 (Dec.), 39.
8. In 1995 Greenpeace received international headlines when it successfully prevented the Royal Dutch Shell company from towing its redundant *Brent Spar* offshore oil platform from the North Sea and dumping it on the bottom of the North Atlantic Ocean off Scotland.
9. National organizations contributed \$US32m. out of the WWF Secretariat's operating budget of \$US42m. in 1995. The Secretariat raised the rest through its own fund-raising efforts.
10. Peter Dickinson (1996), personal communication (2 Aug.).
11. Claude Martin (1994), *Global Priorities to the Year 2000* (Gland: WWF), 9.
12. Ibid. 10.
13. IUCN, UNEP, and WWF (1980), *World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development* (Gland: IUCN); and IUCN, UNEP, and WWF (1992), *Caring for the Earth: A Strategy for Sustainable Living* (Gland: IUCN).
14. George Greene (1994), 'Caring for the Earth', *Environment*, 36 (Sept.), 25.
15. For reasons that are still unclear to marine biologists, huge schools of tuna consistently swim beneath dolphins.
16. While 133,000 dolphins were killed by tuna boats in the eastern Pacific in 1986, only 3,274 were killed in 1995 (San Dillon (1996), 'A New School of Tuna Thought', *New York Times Week in Review*, 30 June, 2).
17. Ibid.
18. The ban would, nevertheless, still apply to ivory.
19. Marla Cone (1994), 'Bid to Ease Ban on Elephant Products Dropped', *Los Angeles Times*, 16 Nov., A-21.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. B. J. Kelso (1995), 'The Ivory Controversy', *Africa Report* (Mar.), 50.
23. Peter Dickinson (1996), personal communication, 20 Aug. There were 52 (1985), 80 (1990), 163 (early 1995), and 123 (mid-1996) people in the WWF Secretariat.
24. Information on Defenders of Wildlife and International Fund for Animal Welfare can be found on the Internet via <<http://www.defenders.org/>> and <<http://www.easynet.co.uk/ifaw/>>
25. IFAW was denied membership in the World Conservation Union because of concerns that it was more interested in animal welfare than in conservation.
26. Jonathan S. Adams and Gordon Binder (1996), 'Is Sustainable Use Sustainable?', *Conservation Issues* 3/3 (June), 10.
27. Kathryn Fuller (1996), 'President's Note', *ibid.* 2.
28. A quote by Nick Gallie of Greenpeace as mentioned in Fred Pearce (1996), 'Greenpeace: Storm-Tossed on the High Seas', *Green Globe Yearbook of International Co-operation on Environment and Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 73.
29. WWF USA, for instance, receives 30% of its operating income from government sources.
30. Posting (3 Mar. 1995) in an e-mail discussion group maintained by the Biodiversity and Ecosystems Network by Dennis Paulson, Director of the Slater Museum of Natural History, University of Puget Sound.

