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Illegal logging: choosing carrots for change

Illegal logging is a problem of global proportions and far-reaching consequences, destroying forests, depriving wildlife of habitat, disrupting communities, and costing governments an estimated US\$15 billion in lost revenue annually. However, we need to acknowledge that it is riddled with incentives, in terms of personal gain for corrupt companies and officials, basic livelihood options in the face of few other alternatives for some local communities, and lower prices for consumers who pay less for illegal timber products.

It is these incentives that need to be directly addressed by any efforts to curb illegal logging. And, while 'sticks' are obviously needed to clamp down on the perpetrators, they can be blunt weapons to wield, hurting not only the criminals but also, for example, small businesses that cannot afford to comply with costly regulations, or communities whose forest-based livelihoods are often criminalized by the application of unfair or archaic laws. 'Carrots' are ultimately more effective at getting at the root of the problem and offering all actors real incentives to make the switch to equitable and effective forest governance arrangements. Hence, for instance, the switch from timber import bans, which primarily frame illegal logging as a "consumer's problem", to 'soft' instruments such as the Voluntary Partnership Agreements (VPAs) that are being developed under the EU action plan on forest law enforcement, governance and trade (FLEG). We also need a suite of tools that encourages industry to act responsibly. Among these are credible certification systems such as the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) and market-based initiatives such as the Global Forest & Trade Network (GFTN) which brings together responsible companies and communities that want to play by the rules.

Changing the attitudes, behaviour and expectations of those currently benefiting from illegal logging will take time and a good deal of trial and error. Nonetheless, we need to act now, and get behind locally-owned initiatives that involve government, industry and civil society stakeholders in order to produce lasting solutions for the world's forests.

Illegal logging
in Peru



The forests of Acre: moving towards legality

Sílvio Guedes of the Acre State Forest Department, Marcelo Argüelles of IUCN's project office in Brazil and Consuelo Espinosa of IUCN's Regional Office for South America, report on several important initiatives on forest governance in Acre, Brazil.

Many of Acre's logging companies are responding to the new norms of legality

The Brazilian state of Acre, at the extreme western part of the Brazilian Amazon, is of relatively little territorial and economic importance but has been a major leader in the search for environmental and social policy alternatives. Prior to 1999, the state's forest sector focused on exporting raw materials for use in other states' industries. This left Acre with an underperforming forest sector that was operating almost totally in illegality. This illegality was made possible by a lack of control by the state government, the availability of financial incentives for cattle ranching, and the economic crisis of the extractive sector that was driving local communities to sell their forests to farmers and loggers.

Then in 1999, Acre got a new Governor, Jorge Viana, who made conservation of the Amazon a priority from the start. Inspired by Chico Mendes, who led a civic action movement against deforestation in the 1980s, Viana has put in place an administration, known as the 'forest government', which has developed a series of policies to strengthen the capacity of the public sector to control deforestation and illegal logging.

A strong base for growth

The first period of the 'forest government', between 1999-2002, focused on the revitalization of the extractive economy through the subsidization of natural latex production, the reorganization of forest productive cooperatives and the construction of industrial plants for improving latex and Brazilian Chestnut industrialization (including the recent development of a condom-producing industry). During this time, the government also began the economic-ecological

zoning of the state, which established the basis for land-use planning. The government also invested in the state environmental body, firing corrupted employees and hiring newly trained professionals. It was during this period that the Federal government gave the state control and licensing authority for forest-clearing activities.

Impressive results

Since 2003, the 'forest government' has intensified its forest policies, with massive investments through its Sustainable Development Program, financed by the Inter-American Development Bank and the Brazilian Development Bank. These investments have generated an impressive set of outputs, including the creation of approximately two million hectares of Conservation Units, the declaration of three State Forests, the creation of a community-based forest management programme, fiscal incentives for companies that invest in sustainable forest management, and support for forest industries that produce high value-added products. Acre has now become the second state in the Amazon Region to obtain complete decentralization of its forest administration, enabling it to expand its control in private forest lands.

The results seen in the state's forests are equally impressive. Acre has maintained more than 90 percent of its original forest surface and kept its average deforestation rate down at around 0.3 percent per year. This is alongside an economic growth rate of 5.3 percent – twice as high as the national average. Some 49.2 percent of the state's territory is now within protected areas.

Within this context, the state government, with partners such as IUCN, WWF-Brazil and Greenpeace-Brazil, is developing a set of activities to make Acre the first state in the Amazon Region free of illegal logging. Beyond ensuring that there will be no illegal forest activity in Acre, the efforts of these institutions aim to create a forest governance model that could have positive social results. Interest shown by neighbouring areas in Peru and Bolivia may even provide the possibility of scaling up the governance model into a transboundary timber producer region.

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Liberia considers EU FLEGT action plan

Silas Siakor, Director of the Sustainable Development Institute (SDI) and winner of the Goldman Environmental Prize (Africa 2006), describes how Liberia is moving forward on forest law enforcement and governance.

Liberia still has an impressive forest cover

Liberians and Ghanaians have been exchanging views on Africa's forest law enforcement and governance (AFLEG) process, and how it could lead to sustainable forest management and reduce illegal timber trade in the region. Ghana is a leading country in the implementation of the AFLEG declaration and has experience to share about the EU forest law enforcement, governance and trade (FLEGT) Action Plan and the Voluntary Partnership Agreements (VPAs) (see article on page 5). Liberia, for its part, has recently completed an in-depth forest concession review, is

progressing with forest sector reform, and is considering its position on the EU FLEGT Action Plan and VPAs.

After two study tours, organized by IUCN and SDI and attended by multi-stakeholder representatives from both countries in April and October this year, Liberians have started discussions between the Forestry Development Authority (FDA), civil society groups and members of the private sector to reach a better understanding of the EU FLEGT Action Plan and VPAs. The FDA also invited a representative of the UK Department for International Development (DFID) to hold preliminary discussions on these initiatives. Hugh Speechly, DFID Senior Programme Coordinator on Forest Governance, visited Liberia in November and held discussions with government officials, national and international NGOs, the private sector, members of the Forest Reform Monitoring Committee, and other stakeholders.

Following these meetings, the general consensus was that, while Liberia is interested in following up these discussions with the EU, there is a need for broader and in-depth internal consultations on the action plan and VPAs. Liberia's engagement with the EU on FLEGT has significance for its ongoing forest sector reforms. It further demonstrates the country's commitment to combat illegal logging and the associated trade in illegal timber.

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news in brief

The world's biggest protected area... has been created in Para State, Brazil after the Governor, Simão Jatene, earmarked more than 16 million hectares of Amazon rainforest for protection. These new PAs will connect with other protected areas, to form the world's largest conservation corridor in an area of exceptional biodiversity which has been under threat from illegal mining, wildlife poaching and unsustainable logging. "The creation of these new protected areas is of enormous relevance for conservation of the Amazon," said Denise Hamú, CEO of WWF-Brazil.

Source: www.panda.org, December 4, 2006.

"The line between... a good fireman and an arsonist is a fine line," confessed the former commander of an elite US wildfire management team, as he pleaded guilty to starting a fire in a national forest back in 2004. The firefighter, Van Bateman, who has said he had no idea why he started the fire, risks up to five years in prison when he is sentenced in January next year. He joins several other US firefighters who have pleaded guilty this year to starting fires.

Source: www.alertnet.org, November 21, 2006; www.news.findlaw.com, October 31, 2006

Forest fringe benefits: Forest sector corruption seems to be rife in Lithuania, a country ranked as one of the most corrupt new EU member states in a World Bank study last year. In April this year, a survey by Transparency International's Lithuanian Chapter, commissioned by The Lithuanian Fund for Nature, found that more than half of the forest sector company directors polled believe that giving bribes to forestry officials helps solve problems in the country's timber business. Bribes were most frequently demanded for the control of felling sites and the preparation and approval of forest management plans.

Source: www.transparency.lt/new/Images//misku_prezentacija_glis_eng.pdf

Policy push: The G-8 illegal logging dialogue was launched in September to provide a forum for legislators, senior timber industry representatives and other key decision-makers to agree a practical plan to address illegal logging. Its International Advisory Board met in November and gave itself 18 months to come up with policy proposals for the G-8 summit in Tokyo in mid-2008. British biodiversity minister, Barry Gardiner told the Board "We need policies that are practical, deliverable, politically acceptable and have the agreement of all sides of the industry."

Source: www.planetark.com, November 14, 2006.

Bushfires hit koalas: Bushfires in Australia's Pilliga scrub nature reserve may have wiped out one of the country's last healthy koala colonies, according to park rangers and specialist rescue teams who searched for surviving koalas in a vast area where wildfires had been burning uncontrolled for several days in early December. "The Pilliga scrub contains thousands of koalas and is one of the healthiest colonies in genetic terms," said a spokeswoman from Sydney's Taronga Zoo. "The hope is that some will have been able to break across firebreaks." Australia's koala population, while not threatened nationally, is at risk locally as the arboreal animals need large areas of connected native forest to survive.

Source: www.planetark.com, December 4, 2006

Ebola extinction threat: The Ebola virus may have killed more than 5,000 gorillas in West Africa, according to a study published in *Science* in December. The virus is spreading fast between groups, though it is not known if they are infecting each other directly or being repeatedly infected by another species of animal, such as a bat. "Add commercial hunting to the mix, and we have a recipe for rapid ecological extinction," wrote the researchers. One of the scientists, Peter Walsh, said that a quarter of the world's gorilla population has died from Ebola in the last 12 years.

Source: www.planetark.com, December 8, 2006.

Forest law enforcement and governance

Laura Ivers of the Program on Forests (PROFOR) and Tapani Oksanen and Nalin Kishor of the World Bank Forests Team report on some recent efforts in forest law enforcement and governance.

Widespread failure of forest governance – characterized by illegal logging, associated illegal trade and corruption – puts at risk poor and forest-dependent populations and directly undermines any nation's attempts to achieve environmentally sustainable economic growth and social progress. Illegal logging depletes forests, destroys habitats and contributes to climate change.

Illegally harvested logs in front of a sawmill, Indonesia



In recent years, illegal logging has shifted from an almost taboo subject to part of an open dialogue on sustainable forest management. Efforts to curtail forest sector crime have increased dramatically, including through high-level ministerial regional forest law enforcement and governance (FLEG) processes in East Asia (2001), Africa (2003) and Europe and North Asia (ENA) (2005). The World Bank has played a key role in facilitating these regional processes, which yielded commitments in the form of Ministerial Declarations endorsed by participating producer and consumer nations, private sector, and civil society. The World Bank is also helping governments to develop national illegal logging action plans, establish independent forest monitoring and log tracking tools.

A recent World Bank report, *Strengthening Forest Law Enforcement and Governance – Addressing a Systemic Constraint to Sustainable Development*, takes stock of both the Bank's efforts and those of the broader community involved in FLEG. The report addresses the full range of illegal behaviour in the forest sector from timber theft to evasion of taxes and fees to non-compliance with labour or environmental laws. It emphasizes that failures of law and of enforcement must be addressed to improve forest sector governance and ensure that forest-dependent poor are not unfairly punished. The report affirms that the drivers of illegal logging both within and outside the forest sector must be tackled. The authors suggest exploring the potential of anti-money-laundering and asset forfeiture laws to strengthen the fight against forest crime and related corruption.

The report stresses that while credible penalties, effective enforcement, and fair and just legal systems are essential ingredients to the control of forest crime, the world's problems of forest law enforcement will not be solved only by jails, courts, and arrests. Dramatically improved resource management, effective rural development services, poverty reduction, and all the other components of sustainable forest sector development and just and equitable economic and social development will, in the end, be more important.

Investigating and prosecuting illegal logging cases: sharing lessons learned

Globally, there is very little successful experience in prosecuting violations of forestry law. An international experts' meeting in Manila in March 2006, organized by the World Bank, was the first attempt to assemble lessons learned and assess capacity building and related needs in investigating and prosecuting illegal logging. The Manila meeting focused on a number of issues including statutes of limitations, evidentiary use of photographs and computer analysis, corporate liability, use of circumstantial evidence, and proof of intent. The meeting also identified possible next steps including specific ways to use anti-money laundering and asset forfeiture laws, and ways to strengthen international cooperation in illegal logging cases.

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The VPA process in Ghana

Chris Beeko, VPA Coordinator in the Forestry Commission, Ghana, sets out some of the key issues facing Ghana in its VPA negotiations.



A timber processing plant in Ghana

The European Commission's Action Plan on Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade (FLEGT) envisages the signing of Voluntary Partnership Agreements (VPAs) between the EU and 'partner' timber producing countries. These VPAs are bilateral agreements that set out the commitments and actions of both parties to tackle illegal logging. Under VPAs, EU customs agencies would be authorized to exclude timber from partner countries that does not carry agreed certification to verify its legality.

As Ghana prepares to formalize the VPA negotiation process, it faces two main challenges: first, to ensure that equity issues are addressed during policy formulation and second, to bring about an attitudinal shift within the country towards good forest governance.

Equity and participation in policy formulation

Ghana has a history of state domination in policy formulation and a bias towards industry in the policy consultation process. Those involved in the VPA process need to counter these trends by:

- building significant stakeholder consensus so that a common vision emerges on the objectives and strategies for the negotiations; and
- building multi-stakeholder consultation mechanisms into the preparatory process.

The VPA will give a bite to law enforcement. However, the enforcement of existing laws alone will not be sufficient to remove the inequities that exist in Ghana's forest sector. Special efforts will need to be made to address the rights of stakeholders who have been 'short changed' through unjust laws. These efforts will take time but are essential if the legal standard is to adequately address issues of equity.

Capacity for change

The discerning purchasing habits that are being exhibited on the major consumer markets have been achieved over time through the raising of awareness. A critical mass has been generated which is reflected in consumer purchasing patterns. The change that the international market for timber is experiencing therefore has a good chance of being sustained. A similar level of awareness raising is also required in producer countries to create a critical mass that triggers a change in the law enforcement environment towards one that upholds all the tenets of good governance. The issue of legal timber supply to the domestic market in Ghana is one area requiring radical re-thinking on the policy side, accompanied by a change in attitude on the consumer side. Proponents of the VPA ought to consider this socio-political dynamic, as they try to ensure a sustainable shift to good governance.

Alongside these two major challenges, two other issues stand out as critical elements for real progress in strengthening forest governance in Ghana and other African countries. The first is the need to develop technical and managerial infrastructure to effectively regulate, monitor and report compliance under a legality assurance regime. Forest sector institutional reforms must continue at a calculated pace to achieve this institutional competence. The second issue is the need to build wider networks between government, industry and civil society stakeholder groups in the Africa region to bring broader pressure on the EU to better inform producer countries of the VPAs and respond to their development needs more substantively.

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African Parliamentarians discuss forest governance

The first International Parliamentarians' Conference on the Sustainable Management of Central African Forests was held in Yaoundé, Cameroon from 24 to 27 October. This conference, organized by the Network of Parliamentarians for the Sustainable Management of Central African forest ecosystems and the Cameroonian National Assembly, with support from IUCN, aimed at defining the role of national parliaments in ensuring good governance and improved programme implementation in forest management. One of the three priority actions identified by participants was the need to combat transboundary forest crime by, for example, encouraging countries to harmonize their national sanctions and prepare a common file of forest crimes.

For more information on this meeting, please see www.iisd.ca/yimb/psmcafe1.

Defining legal timber

Hugh Speechly and Agus Setyarso of DFID discuss timber legality standards.



Legal logging operation in Siberia

The need for timber-importing countries to take measures to address demand for illegally-produced timber is well recognized. Such measures, including the European Union's FLEGT Action Plan, which aims to eliminate illegal timber from bilateral trade with timber-producing countries, an increasing number of government procurement policies specifying legal timber for public contracts, and private sector codes of conduct with their commitments to avoid buying illegal timber products, all require definitions of 'legal timber'.

These demand-side initiatives see legality as a first step towards sustainable forest management. Defining legal timber so that this goal is fulfilled therefore requires more than just listing forest sector laws. Firstly, not all laws relating to forests and timber production are relevant

to addressing the most serious impacts of illegal logging. For example, stealing timber from a protected area is a serious crime, while driving an overloaded logging truck is probably less relevant to SFM goals. Secondly, laws may be inconsistent, particularly where legislation is enacted at both national and regional levels. In Indonesia, for example, a recent review found numerous inconsistencies between laws and government department decrees. Decisions therefore need to be taken on which law takes precedence. Finally, in some countries, existing forest laws work against SFM. For example, by excluding local people from access to the forest resources they need for subsistence, laws may force them to operate illegally.

What should a legality definition include?

A legality definition supporting SFM would be expected to include laws relating to:

- Harvesting timber within legally-gazetted boundaries by the holder of the applicable harvest rights.

- Compliance with forest management requirements – including laws covering permitted harvest levels, environmental protection, labour rights and community welfare.
- Payment of royalties and taxes applicable to timber harvesting and trade.
- Respect for other existing tenure or use rights that may be affected by timber harvesting.
- Compliance with trade and customs requirements.

But deciding exactly which laws are relevant is primarily a matter for stakeholders in the country concerned.

How can a legality definition be decided?

Laws aim to protect rights – either of a country's population as a whole, or of individuals, groups or corporations. Stakeholders are likely to regard some laws as more important than others and in some cases, stakeholder groups may consider they have rights that aren't actually protected by existing laws. Thus defining legality in a way acceptable to a country's stakeholders should involve consultation with all interested parties – the government, the timber industry and a broad range of civil society groups. And if a definition is intended to underpin a trade arrangement, it must ultimately be endorsed by the producing country's government.

Achieving a definition - the process in Indonesia

The Indonesia-UK Memorandum of Understanding on Illegal Logging, signed in 2002, identified the need for a legality definition. Multi-stakeholder consultations on this definition began in early 2003, at the district and provincial levels. Consensus was not achieved and there were instances of unresolved disagreement, arising in particular from differing interpretation of laws. Nonetheless, the outputs of these consultations were developed into a draft standard by a small group of stakeholders and audit specialists. The link between the criteria and the laws relating to community tenure rights was identified as inadequate and an informal contact group was established to strengthen social protection aspects. Subsequent field testing of the standard in a concession in East Kalimantan indicated that, while most aspects of the standard were auditable, the main social protection – provided by a requirement for concession holders to gazette their boundaries through prior consultations with local affected communities – had not been implemented, a common situation in most concessions in Indonesia.

While the early work on the standard had been facilitated by the UK Department for International Development and The Nature Conservancy, the Indonesian Ecolabelling Institute, a multi-stakeholder NGO, later accepted the role of facilitating consultations and field tests and reconciling views. It is anticipated that a final standard and recommendations for an administrative structure will be ready by December 2006.

Verification of legality in the forest sector

Will the verification of legal timber provide a way to address the severe governance problems that beset the forest sector while also securing the public interest and the livelihoods of the forest-dependent poor? **David Brown** of the Overseas Development Institute reviews this emerging field.

Governance reform is the major challenge for development policy in the forest sector. The current emphasis on the legality of internationally traded timber as a demand-side measure recognizes both the potential of consumer markets to influence industrial behaviour and the failure of many earlier, more supply-side attempts to reform forest governance. Knowledge to develop systems for the verification of legal timber is available from a number of sources. While none of these are sufficient alone to deliver a working legality assurance mechanism, collectively they do permit some of the basic building blocks to be constructed.

The first strand of knowledge comes from the various forest management and monitoring systems that have already been established in producer countries around the world. The Philippines 'Multi-sectoral Forest Protection Committees' provide one such model, the Ecuador 'Outsourced Forest Control System' another. These both provide institutional mechanisms for wide involvement in monitoring the sector and ensuring conformity with national standards of legality. Canada's Province of British Columbia has taken a rather different approach, in which a Forest Practices Board commissions periodic inspection activities from teams of independent professionals, and reports on them to the public without interference from the political authorities.

The second strand of knowledge comes from the experience of environmental rights monitors and NGO watchdogs. The two best-known cases both involve Global Witness working on contract to producer governments, in Cambodia and Cameroon, under strong donor conditionalities. Both of these had high short-term political impact, but it was only in the Cameroon case that the institutions and practices were developed to embed the innovation within the systems of government. However, weaknesses in the structure of state authority can still be a challenge even where the information gathering and validating institutions are in place, particularly the heavy concentration of powers in a single 'supreme authority' which is typical of forest ministries.



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The third strand is a decade or more of experience with forest certification. Many of the obstacles that the certification movement has had to confront (for example, construction of governance authorities, interpretation of conformity with often very complex and diverse national laws, selection of legality standards which address social issues as well as industry constraints, putting in place timber tracking systems, dealing with conflicts of interest, policy on percentage-based claims, etc.) are essentially very similar to those that verification now faces.

The final strand is from extra-sectoral experience. Outside of the forest sector, there are some instructive models on which to draw. For example, the Kimberley Process for conflict diamonds has used peer review as a confidence building measure. Conventions such as the UNFCCC and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty offer useful illustrations of how independence may be safeguarded in inspection regimes.

Not all of these approaches have been entirely successful, nor are they easily transferable outside of their original context. But they point to the importance of a clear conception of the 'regalian functions' which must be retained by the state (regulation, adjudication, sanctioning), and the activities that can be outsourced. They also underline the value of building a solid platform of public engagement to help ensure the robustness and sense of ownership which are likely to be required if they are to survive in very turbulent political environments. What they all have in common is the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders in verification decisions, and the credibility that is generated out of the checks and balances between state, industry and civil society.

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Verifying the legality of timber requires robust tracking systems



Illegal logging and the future of forests

Luca Tacconi, Associate Professor at the Australian National University and member of IUCN's Commission on Environmental, Economic, and Social Policy and World Commission on Protected Areas, looks at the root causes of illegal logging and some promising measures to tackle the problem.

Illegal logging is not a new problem. Williams (2003) describes how in 18th century France “[a]n underpaid bureaucracy of foresters accepted bribes to cut and sell wood illegally” and in New England, North America “[t]he years between 1722 and 1776 are muddled with illegal cutting on the part of the woodsmen, duplicity on the part of the Crown agents, and conniving on the part of the contractors.” However, it was only in the 1990s, with the rise of the good governance agenda among the development community, that illegal logging took centre stage on the global forest policy arena.

While the international debate has focused particularly on the illegal harvesting of logs, the actual range of illegal activities is much broader and includes violations of:

- indigenous people's rights and public or private ownership rights;
- forest management regulations and other contractual agreements;
- transport and trade regulations;
- timber processing regulations, including the use of illegally harvested logs; and
- financial, accounting and tax regulations.

Illegal logging is a problem that can cause the loss of biodiversity, government revenues and local livelihoods, as well as fostering bad governance, contributing to conflict and distorting forest product markets. It should be remembered, however, that illegal logging can also bring benefits, including those from alternative land-uses established on illegally-logged land, paybacks received by corrupt government officials, income derived by those involved, and increased competitiveness of national industries due to lower timber prices. These and other benefits go a long way in explaining why and how illegal logging persists despite so many governments and international organizations having declared their commitment to combating it.

There is still great uncertainty about the extent of illegal logging and its causes and how to address them. In many cases it is also unclear which stakeholders contribute most to the problem. In Cameroon, for instance, the illegal harvest by large-scale companies was thought to amount to 50 percent of total harvest. A closer analysis of the data reveals however that the illegal harvest is lower than previously assumed and that small-scale loggers, marginalized by arbitrary national regulations, account for a large share of the illegal harvest. It is obvious that we need to approach this complex problem with caution as we start untangling its most significant causes, as outlined below.

Financial and economic incentives. It is cheaper for large and small-scale logging operators to harvest illegally instead of following the law. They save on taxes and often access timber that would otherwise be unavailable because of restrictions on harvestable volumes in forest concessions, or because the timber is located in protected areas. Conversion

of forests to agriculture is the leading cause of deforestation, showing that its private and social benefits often are higher than its costs, at least at the national level. Local and national governments often condone or support (illegal) deforestation to promote economic development.

Government policies. Governments may sanction unsustainable and often illegal forest practices because they seek concessionaires' support for their political objectives and, in a few cases, to fund intra or interstate conflict. Lack of capacity to regulate and monitor logging is often cited as a cause of illegal logging. There are certainly cases of weak states, but often under-funding of forest monitoring is intentional because it suits the government's agenda.

Corruption. Many practitioners and scholars with experience in low-income and some middle-income forested countries have probably observed or heard evidence of corruption in the forest sector. Corruption is a criminal act and can be classified as a forest-related crime. However, it is more useful to think of it as a possible cause of illegal timber harvest and illegal deforestation. There is some evidence that this may be the case, although it is hard to distinguish the impact of corruption from the other causes of illegal logging.

Community-level factors. Illegal logging is often said to negatively impact local people's livelihoods, at least in developing countries. While this is often true, communities can support or actively participate in illegal logging due to the financial incentives mentioned above, the involvement of outside interests (see article on page 10), or the existence of laws that do not recognize their customary rights to live in the forest and access forest resources.

Promising directions

Effective efforts to reduce illegal logging will need to address both the supply and demand of illegal logs. A range of short, medium and long-term policies and other measures is required. Let's consider the key ones here.

Country-level initiatives need to be based on detailed studies of the extent of illegal logging and the most significant stakeholders involved. We certainly have to act on illegal logging rather than just research it, but the case of Cameroon described above shows the need for improved knowledge of the problem.

Complex and often biased forest regulatory frameworks need to be reformed. They should be designed in ways that minimize the marginalization of the rural population, reduce the costs of compliance for large and small logging operators, and improve accountability and transparency, thus minimizing opportunities for corruption.

Market-based plantation development should be supported. It can contribute to a reduction in the incentives to illegally log natural forests (although it is unlikely to do this on its own), if the appropriate timber species are produced.

Trade measures such as public procurement policies and verification of the legality of forest products reduce market

opportunities for illegally harvested timber while increasing the incentives for the production of legal timber products. Most countries importing finished forest products need to adopt these measures, otherwise they will have very limited effectiveness.

Ecosystem service payments provided to timber producer countries can affect the economics of sustainable and legal forest management. These payments can also support initiatives aimed at providing development opportunities around protected areas in order to decrease illegal logging and deforestation.

History shows that rising incomes lead to a transition from deforestation to a stable or increasing forest cover. Higher incomes outside the forestry sector reduce the incentives for illegal logging. Higher incomes are also associated with improved governance, including better rule of law. This is obviously good news. The bad news is that several countries experiencing illegal logging currently have rather low incomes and may be years away from completing the forest transition. Therefore, the policy options mentioned above should be implemented aggressively with the knowledge that there are long-term trends that support the cause of reducing illegal logging to achieve forest conservation.

Williams (2003) *Deforesting the Earth: From Prehistory to Global Crisis*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

This article draws on: Tacconi, L. (ed) 2007. *Illegal Logging: Law Enforcement, Livelihoods and the Timber Trade*. Earthscan Publications and Center for International Forestry Research, London and Bogor. See review on page 16.

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Children cooking bushmeat in illegal logging camp, Peru. Local benefits of illegal logging can be significant





Marcus Colchester of the Forest Peoples Programme looks at the impacts of illegal logging on local people's livelihoods.

According to the World Bank, as many as 1.2 billion people – many of them among the world's poorest – make their livelihoods from forests. They live in a myriad different ways, as hunters, fisherfolk, farmers, herders, forest product gatherers, fuel-wood collectors, charcoal makers, carvers, weavers, craft workers, curers, canoe makers, out-growers, labourers and, last but not least, loggers. About a fifth of the world's forests has now been officially entrusted to these people under a range of tenures or co-management regimes. Even more of the forests are used, claimed and owned under customary laws by rural people, without official sanction. Indeed there is very little forest that is not inhabited. So how forests are allocated and used by third parties has major implications for poor peoples' rights and welfare, and when those outside interests act illegally, local people are even more vulnerable.

Legal snares

The picture is far from simple however. True, illegal logging can have devastating impacts on poor people. It is the big sharks who make most of the profits while the locals are

Illegal logging and rural livelihoods

left behind to scratch a living from the degraded ecosystems that remain. But the logging booms, both legal and illegal, also offer jobs and income, and bring cash into local markets. Moreover, when peoples' rights in forests are unrecognized and community forestry laws impose impossible administrative burdens, many forest users are forced into illegality to make a living. Examples of communities getting snarled up in wider illegal logging networks are all too widespread. In Honduras, for example, illegal log-merchants, who also deal in drugs and illegal arms, prey on vulnerable communities to get access to timber. In Indonesia it is an open secret, though hard to prove, that illegal logging networks are closely linked to political elites and funds from logging (legal and otherwise) are used to underwrite political parties' election campaigns.

Cracking down on the poor?

All this makes local people even more vulnerable when government agencies, some under international pressure, decide to crack down. Studies show that, when done clumsily, narrow forest law enforcement tends to hit the poor and politically weak hardest, while the politically protected dealers behind the trade are unaffected. As a forest ranger from British Columbia, Canada ruefully reflected: *"We have always pushed the little guys around because they have no political clout. It has always been our way of convincing ourselves and the public that we are doing our jobs. Yet the real crimes... the real damage is committed by the big corporations. They are the ones who need to be hammered! It will never happen in a meaningful way... they are too powerful."*

Ways forward

Part of the problem is that 'Forest Law Enforcement and Governance' (FLEG) initiatives focus too sharply on forestry laws, rather than considering wider laws related to forests, such as land tenure regimes and human rights legislation. Many FLEG policy-makers now agree that law enforcement measures need to be complemented with steps to review and revise inappropriate laws, to secure people's livelihoods and rights to their lands and forests. Local people and NGOs need to be included in forest monitoring and FLEG discussions, not left out. The idea, after all, is that FLEG should help the poor, not harm them.

Contact: Marcus Colchester, marcus@forestpeoples.org. For further details download *Justice in the forest: rural livelihoods and forest law enforcement* by Marcus Colchester et al. at www.cifor.cgiar.org/publications/pdf_files/Books/BColchester0601.pdf.



Indonesia: eyes on the forest

Eyes on the Forest is a collaborative initiative of three Indonesian environmental organizations in Riau Province, Sumatra: WWF Indonesia's Tesso Nilo Programme, Jikalahari and Walhi Riau. The project, sponsored by WWF Japan, was set up to investigate the state of Riau's forests and those who influence it. These forests are under severe threat from forest fires, conversion and logging, some of it illegal.

Eyes on the Forest regularly monitors forest clearance and investigates purchasers of the timber harvested. Monthly investigative reports are published on the project website (www.eyesontheforest.or.id), detailing alleged breaches committed by the Asia Pulp & Paper Company (APP) and Asia Pacific Resources International Holdings Ltd. (APRIL) inside the remaining eight forest blocks in the province. In October this year, the project's investigations into APP were published as a WWF monitoring brief, *Asia Pulp & Paper (APP): Hiding Destruction behind False Advertisements*. The report revealed that, despite APP's global advertising campaign that has claimed "conservation beyond compliance" and its previous commitment to protect some small blocks of high conservation value forests (HCVF), the company is preparing to clear the peat swamp forests of the Kampar Peninsula in Riau which provide important habitat for the Sumatran tiger. *Eyes on the Forest* is calling on all pulp and paper producers and buyers to avoid suppliers such as APP who use any fibre from legally questionable sources or from clear-cutting HCVF, and is working closely with the Indonesian government to encourage effective implementation of its ban on the conversion of natural forests.

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Saving a butterfly reserve

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Monica Echeverria of WWF-US describes efforts to halt the illegal logging of critical butterfly habitat.

Each year at end of September, millions of monarch butterflies (*Danaus plexippus*) migrate from North America to the same remote spot in Central Mexico where previous generations have come to reach their winter habitat. This forest, which provides unique microclimatic conditions to support butterfly survival during the winter months, was designated the Monarch Butterfly Biosphere Reserve in 1986.

Deforestation (driven by illegal logging and land-use changes) has always been an issue for the reserve. In 2000, WWF helped to expand the protected area and to create an innovative scheme which offers economic incentives for forest conservation through the Monarch Butterfly Conservation Fund. This programme, which is jointly managed with the Mexican Fund for Nature Conservation, provides participating land owners (private and communal) with economic support for their efforts to conserve forest cover (as verified annually through aerial and satellite photographs). Currently 32 of the total 38 eligible properties in the reserve participate in the programme.



While this programme has been successful in maintaining forest cover in most participating communities, a recent WWF report, *Forest Loss and Deterioration in the Monarch Butterfly Biosphere Reserve 2005-2006*, indicates an alarming loss and deterioration of 576.5 hectares of forest in the core zone, which represents an increase of 140 percent compared to 2003-2005. The major part of this forest loss occurred on a property not participating in the conservation fund programme.

Tackling illegal logging in the reserve means helping communities to stop the interference by illegal logging syndicates based in nearby towns and cities. The WWF report thus provides recommendations such as establishing a permanent presence of the army in strategic areas; controlling access to the reserve and sawmills; strengthening community vigilance committees; and identifying illegal logging promoters and wood buyers.

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Top: Sumatran tiger habitat is under threat

Right: Monarch butterflies

Sri Lanka: building bridges and livelihoods

Shantha K Hennayake, of IUCN's Sri Lanka office, describes efforts to address the impacts on local communities following formal protection of a forest.

The designation of the Knuckles Conservation Zone in Sri Lanka in 2000 effectively outlawed traditional forest uses, especially *chena* (slash and burn) cultivation. Local communities, who had traditionally underplanted the forest for cardamom cultivation and cleared it for mixed cropping, lost this important part of their livelihoods, and private landowners inside the Conservation Zone were prohibited from any development on their lands. Lack of effective communication between the Forest Department and these stakeholders led to strained relationships and hindered the search for solutions.

The IUCN project *Strengthening Voices for Better Choices* (SVBC) is now helping communities develop sustainable livelihood activities suited to their needs. The project facilitated the identification of recipients of US\$500 small entrepreneurship grants to be awarded by the charity foundation of the Dilmah Tea Company. In selecting recipients, SVBC ensured that priority went to those who lost *chena* cultivation due to the declaration of the Conservation Zone.

When local farmers lost their *chena* cultivation, they resorted to growing vegetables in their paddy fields during the dry season to replace some of the lost income. However, middlemen running an exploitative credit scheme took much of their earnings. SVBC therefore facilitated the formation of a farmer cooperative to eliminate the middlemen and link the farmers directly with the wholesale market. This initiative means that the farmers now receive three to four times more income from their vegetable crops and, in the long run, this will help them become even less dependent on the forest.

Perhaps most importantly, the project is strengthening relationships between the various stakeholders and has been able to bring together the Forest Department, private landowners and the local community to discuss the future of the Conservation Zone. A highlight this year has been an agreement by the Conservator General of Forests to review the Knuckles Conservation Management Plan at a multi-stakeholder workshop early next year.

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Democratic Republic of Congo: village voices against illegal logging



The IUCN forest governance project, *Strengthening Voices for Better Choices*, is also operating in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Here, the project has included actions at the national and provincial levels, as well as selected activities in local communities. The main challenge for the project here is the increasing levels of corruption and the general climate of poor forest governance, particularly at the local level. Several social groups, including pygmies and women, are marginalized and there are few alternative livelihood options open to those involved in illegal logging.

For this reason, the project has engaged directly with local stakeholders, to raise their awareness of the problem of illegal logging and increase their capacity to become involved in the search for solutions. The town of Bikoro is one of the project's pilot sites. The project has facilitated the creation of seven village "dialogue and vigilance" committees which work with a whole range of actors including the local pygmy communities, local businesses, and the police and security forces, to tackle illegal logging. The project's slogan here is "*Akata atala te, akata, afuta te*" which translates as "*We're cutting without thinking about tomorrow; we're cutting without paying*". The awareness-raising activities include the use of interactive drama and the publishing of statistics on the production and marketing of timber. Future efforts will need to focus on bringing pressure to bear on local logging companies (by encouraging the denunciation of illegal logging) and public sector officials (whose involvement in corruption is fuelled by their low salaries), and finding alternative income-generating activities for those participating in illegal logging.

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The DRC project is also testing the application of the timber industry's voluntary code of conduct in and around some concessions

Fighting illegal logging in Paraguay: a matter of life or death

Lucy Aquino and Guillermo Terol of WWF's Paraguay office report on the extreme conditions facing park rangers in the country's San Rafael reserve.



The rangers' job is a dangerous one

The San Rafael Nature Reserve in south-eastern Paraguay makes up part of the last remnant of the Upper Paraná Atlantic Forest – one of the most biodiversity rich areas in the world. Covering 73,000 hectares, the reserve is the largest area of protected forest in the eco-region. To say that day-to-day protection of this reserve is a challenge would be a major understatement, as management of the forest is in the hands of the approximately 50 landowners, and the small team of only seven park rangers is poorly equipped to deal with the major threats of illegal logging and poaching.

These rangers, employed by a local NGO, Pro Cosara, have no bullet-proof vests or vehicles – they use a private family car to get around the huge area. During their night patrols to search for illegal loggers, they have been attacked and shot at. The rangers have also received death threats, which resulted in two of their team members having to abandon their work and relocate with their families out of the area a few months back. The rangers' work is made all the more difficult by the deeply-rooted corruption that involves the police, the National Forest Service officials and even some public prosecutors.

WWF is working closely with other NGOs and public institutions in the area to support Pro Cosara's efforts to protect and consolidate this important reserve. With the financial support of WWF and the AVINA foundation, the rangers now have a micro-light aircraft which greatly assists their monitoring and patrolling efforts – particularly as some of the landowners in the reserve do not give the rangers access to their land for ground patrols.

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Tropical Forest Trust: wood legality verification

Björn Roberts of the Tropical Forest Trust reports on their legality verification system.

In helping its timber trading company members implement responsible wood procurement policies, the Tropical Forest Trust (TFT) works to ensure that no illegal wood enters their supply chains. The TFT's main criterion for legality is that wood can be traced back to known, legal logging operations. To verify legality, we monitor 'Wood Control Systems' (WCS) at factories linked to TFT-supported forest projects. TFT member companies operate WCS, monitored by TFT staff at every point where unknown wood could be introduced – from the standing tree, through the forest, to the factory, and at all stages of the manufacturing process. We don't do this selectively – we monitor 100 percent of TFT businesses' tropical wood orders.

It is often impossible to verify the origin of logs bought from traders on the open market, so we link factories to forest managers and help them to buy logs directly from the forest. Short supply chains are more transparent, and easier to monitor.

We first implemented WCS systems at Vietnamese garden furniture factories. In 1999, most of the industry doubted that any large factory could take control of its log supply chains. Within two years all TFT members buying garden furniture in Vietnam could trace their furniture back to known legal forest operations, via factories operating WCS systems independently certified by third-party auditors. Since then we have introduced WCS to Indonesian factories, linking our members' furniture and flooring suppliers to TFT forest projects throughout Indonesia.

New initiatives are underway, including the implementation of WCS at Chinese plymills, and field testing of 'TracElite' satellite and barcode timber tracking technology, developed by the TFT and Helveta Ltd.

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Fighting illegal logging on all fronts



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Karin Wessman and **Anke Schulmeister** of WWF describe the range of actions WWF is undertaking on illegal logging.

Trading in legal timber brings a market advantage

Illegal logging does not only concern forest-dependent people or endangered species; it also involves governments in timber producing and importing countries, and consumers. Hence WWF works on a number of fronts to fight illegal logging – from the quiet undercover of ageless trees to the corridors of power and busy aisles of retail stores.

Governments have overall responsibility for clamping down on illegal logging as they enact and enforce laws and policies, and ensure that the marketplace supports companies who want to play by the rules. Through their public procurement policies, governments can also encourage importing, processing and retail companies to make sure their supply chains contain only legal and sustainable timber products.

WWF annually evaluates and ranks the EU governments and Switzerland on their attitudes and actions against illegal logging. Called the *EU Government Barometer*, the 2006 ranking shows there has been little or no improvement over the last few years, even though the EU is a major consumer of illegal timber (see www.panda.org/barometer). WWF is also involved in advocacy work with governments and the international policy arena, such as the EU's Action Plan on Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) which aims to control illegal logging and the international trade in illegally logged timber. WWF believes it critical that the EC

takes action and puts into place legislation to make it illegal to import and sell illegally logged timber products in Europe. This would underpin and support voluntary commitments made by industry and national governments towards fighting the destruction of the world's forests through illegal logging.

European timber companies have also joined the call on the EU to outlaw imports of illegally sourced timber and associated wood products into the region. Over 90 companies have now signed on to the *FLEGT: Industry Statement* calling for clear rules in Europe for fair competition and sustainable markets.

WWF has been encouraging companies to adopt legal logging and responsible timber purchasing practices as a market advantage. The Global Forest & Trade Network (GFTN) is a WWF initiative that brings together buyers and sellers of forest products, including those at a community level, who are committed to legal and sustainable management and trade. There are now over 300 GFTN participants who in total have annual forest products sales exceeding US\$48 billion and manage nearly 20 million hectares of forests committed to certification. GFTN has recently produced two guides, *Keep It Legal* and *Responsible Purchasing of Forest Products (2nd edition)*, to help organizations wanting to develop or strengthen their responsible purchasing policies and address difficulties arising from the possible trade in illegal forest products.

WWF is also working on the ground with governments and other partner organizations in many countries to directly tackle illegal logging. Three field projects are described elsewhere in this issue of *arborvitæ* (see pages 11 and 13).

To seriously engage governments and timber producers in avoiding illegal wood, we need to raise consumer awareness about the need to choose products certified by the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC). Credible certification systems such as the FSC provide for the tracking and labelling of forest products from harvest to end-use, thus offering the consumer a means of knowing that these products originate in well-managed forests.

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WWF news in brief

Round Table: The 19th OECD Ministerial Round Table on Sustainable Development meeting in Paris on 8-9 January will discuss the economics of illegal logging. WWF is helping to prepare background papers and the agenda.
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New! A one-stop information web portal on the Forests of New Guinea is now available. Visit www.panda.org/newguineaforests to discover the world's third largest rainforest tract.

Combating illegal logging – democracy at work

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Stewart Maginnis and Guido Broekhoven review IUCN's approach to illegal logging.

What has kept illegal logging on the world agenda for so long? A common response is that successful lobbying has resulted in positive steps being taken in many consumer countries to eliminate illegal timber from domestic supply chains. This is undoubtedly a major factor but is not the whole story. What is happening in key producer countries is just as significant, though sadly under-reported.

It is easy to forget that the world has never been so democratic and many countries are shifting to more participatory and accountable forms of governance and as a result are increasingly receptive to their citizens' aspirations and expectations. Local civil society in many timber producing countries is playing a constructive and critical role by working with government and industry to shape home-grown solutions to combat illegal logging. It is within this encouraging framework that IUCN has, over the past few years, focused its contribution to combating illegal logging.

IUCN has a team of eight full-time staff working at the national or sub-national level in support of local multi-stakeholder FLEG processes in countries such as Ghana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Russia and Vietnam. In addition to a full-time presence in seven key timber producing countries, IUCN's regional forest teams are working with our members and partners on illegal logging in another 14 countries.

So what exactly is our approach? IUCN believes that illegal logging is too big an issue to be solved by any one actor working alone. It is also too complex an issue to be solved by a single one-size-fits-all solution such as international regulation while more draconian options such as import bans risk being counterproductive. Solutions therefore need to be home grown, reflect the conclusions of open and transparent dialogue between governments, local civil society and the private sector, be rooted in practical experience and result in the fair and equitable administration of land-use laws.

The establishment of "tripartite" multi-stakeholder platforms to facilitate solutions-oriented dialogue and trust-building between different players on this politically sensitive issue is perhaps the best-known element of IUCN's FLEG activities. Tripartite action however is much more than a series of meetings – it is a process that actively works to create space for civil society and ensure that all who come to the table have access to the same reliable information. It begins by

exploring common ground (often different stakeholder groups do not even know they share similar views on specific issues) and then as individual positions are better understood it seeks to expand the dialogue into more difficult areas. This may take place over several months and involves a number of approaches including group meetings, one-on-one bilateral talks and, critically, real field-based, policy-orientated learning. Where possible it uses existing local structures. Here is how Kyeretwie Opoku of Forest Watch Ghana describes IUCN's role in promoting tripartite action in Ghana, which in this case is specifically associated with the preparations of the Voluntary Partnership Agreement (VPA) with the EU.

"IUCN has worked to facilitate better linkage between different levels of the forestry campaign. IUCN has been consistent and principled in demanding greater and more varied indigenous civil society representation on the Steering Committee set up by the Government to prepare Ghana for negotiations with the EU for a VPA. IUCN is necessarily independent of civil society because its membership includes not only Civil Society Organizations but also Governments and state agencies like the Forestry Commission. It has acted in consultation rather than in competition with Ghanaian civil society in not constricting our democratic space".

It is too early in the game to say how any "tripartite process" will play out. Early signs show that by bringing together state, civil society, and industry actors, new local partnerships form with a voice and influence greater than the sum of their parts. Our hope is that when producer countries act on illegal logging, through for example VPA negotiations, they will draw upon the voice and knowledge of local partnerships and, in return, gain broader societal confidence. Stronger local partnerships, societal confidence and government responsiveness are key elements for moving the forestry sector from crime and conflict to shared solutions and benefits.

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IUCN news in brief

New staff: IUCN welcomes Earl Saxon into the Forest Programme as the Climate Change & Ecosystems Programme Officer.

New publication: *The Forest Landscape Restoration Handbook*, a comprehensive, practical treatment of FLR (edited by Jennifer Rietbergen-McCracken, Stewart Maginnis and Alastair Sarre) has been published by Earthscan.

Reviews in brief

Logs, laws and livelihoods

Available soon from: www.earthscan.co.uk

Illegal Logging: Law Enforcement, Livelihoods and the Timber Trade, edited by Luca Tacconi and published by Earthscan with CIFOR, is wide-ranging in its coverage of the causes and impacts of illegal logging. Most of the chapters focus on a particular country, and together examine the sociology, politics, economics, legal and livelihood aspects of illegal logging and law enforcement. The country studies look at the US and Canada, Honduras, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Brazil, Indonesia, Cameroon and Finland. The editor (author of our feature article on pages 8-9) also contributes several chapters including a useful introduction to the issues and a wrap-up summary of the broad policy implications. While admitting he is sceptical about the commitment of timber producing countries to stop illegal logging, the editor considers how such commitment can be generated and strengthened.

Legal timber - on film

Available on request from cidt@wlv.ac.uk

The UK Department for International Development has sponsored the production of a DVD, *Above Board: Trading Legal Timber*, to highlight the advantages of trading solely in legal timber. The 14-minute DVD, available in English, French, German, Dutch, Spanish and Japanese, consists of interviews with timber importers, environmentalists, and UK government officials. The main message is that changing market trends and evolving timber purchasing companies mean that timber producers and importers need to be able to prove that their products all conform to stringent legality standards. The DVD is intended primarily for timber company managers, though others may find it useful as a visual tool for use in training or communications.

Illegal logging – on the web

A website offering comprehensive information on illegal logging (www.illegal-logging.info) is maintained by the Energy, Environment and Development Programme of Chatham House (a private UK-based institution), with funding from the UK Department for International Development. The site provides background information on key issues in the illegal logging debate, together with news stories, information on events, key documents and links to other relevant websites.

FAO has launched a new website on forest law enforcement (www.fao.org/forestry/site/law/en), to provide information on FAO's work in this area. As well as highlighting FAO's global and regional initiatives, the site includes details on national activities in Costa Rica, Honduras and Mozambique.

Illegal stories from the wild east

Available from: www.forest-trends.org

A new report by Forest Trends, *Logging in the Wild East: China and the Forest Crisis in the Russian Far East*, examines the burgeoning cross-border timber trade between Russia and China and the adverse impacts on forests and livelihoods in the Russian Far East. The author, Charlie Pye-Smith, follows the timber trail from the native forests of the Russian region to construction sites in China, describing the activities and people involved along the way. This very readable report includes photographs of the different actors and quotes that illustrate well the winners and losers on the Chinese and Russian sides of the border. The report includes an interesting calculation of who gains what from the sale of a cubic metre of illegally harvested timber – nearly a quarter of the US\$140 goes on bribes to the various officials, militia and gangs involved. Finally, the author suggests a series of measures which the Russian and Chinese authorities could put in place to ensure sustainable and legal forest management and timber trade, encourage the creation of sustainable livelihoods in the Russian Far East, and increase China's domestic timber production.

Demanding solutions

Available at: www.illegal-logging.info/textonly/papers/CH_Demand_side_options.doc

One of the focal areas of work of the Energy, Environment and Development Programme of Chatham House is the control of illegal logging and international trade in illegally logged timber. Chatham House researchers Duncan Brack and Jade Saunders recently published a report, *Demand-side Options: Policies and measures for reducing imports of illegal timber and timber products to consumer countries*. The report looks at the options open to governments of consumer countries to exclude illegal timber from their markets, encourage timber importing, processing and retailing companies to ensure illegal timber is excluded from their supply chains, and use their development assistance and capacity-building resources to encourage improved enforcement on the ground in producer countries.

CITES and illegal logging

Available at: www.traffic.org/content/704.pdf

A new report by TRAFFIC, the joint IUCN-WWF programme on wildlife trade monitoring, highlights the role of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) in tackling illegal logging. *The Role of CITES in Combating Illegal Logging – Current and Potential* reports on a study by TRAFFIC, commissioned by the World Bank, that looked at the opportunities and constraints of CITES for each of its three Appendices to reduce illegal logging and enhance forest governance. The author, Chen Hin Keong, also includes a set of recommendations on ways to link CITES to national level measures to control illegal logging.



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Back issues of arborvitae can be found on:
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