

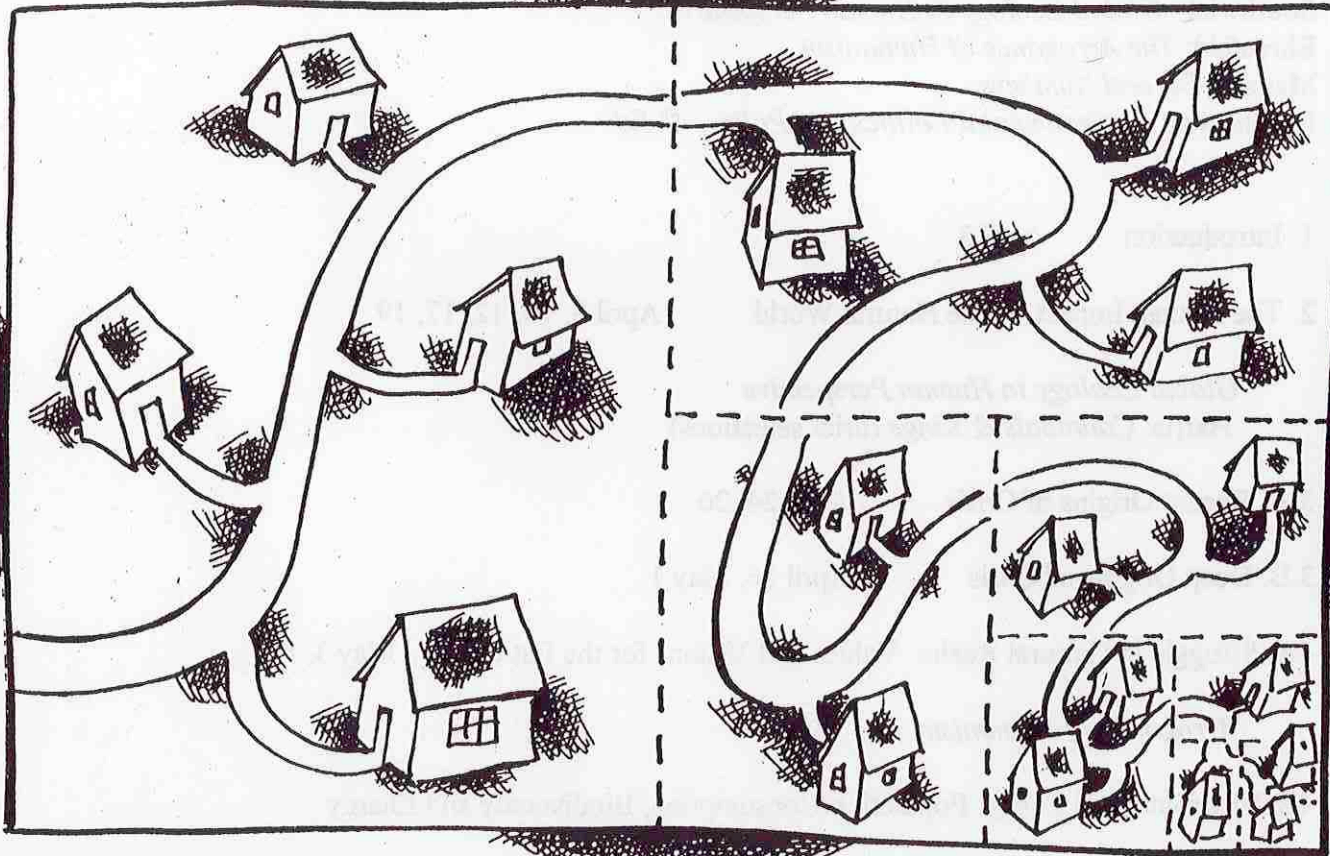
# The Politics of Ensuring the Survival of Wildlands

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GROSS  
WORLD  
PRODUCT



Compromise position on habitat preservation:



Develop only half of whatever natural habitat remains.



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PAVED WITH —  
GOOD INTENTIONS

# Political Effectiveness Requires:

Uncompromising on goals



But flexibility on means





# Political Effectiveness Requires:

Perseverance



# Not So Good At Other Aspects

- **Politics as the Art of the Possible**

  - Won't Get Us to Where We Need to Go.

- **Politics as the Art of Changing What's Possible**

  - Is the Only Politics that Can Get Us There.

# Is Changing What's Possible Possible?

Yes

Slavery and apartheid have been abolished.

Labor, women, and other groups have brought about major improvements in their lives.

Tyrannies have been toppled.

All against enormous odds.

# Attributes of Movements that Have Changed What is Possible

Greatly strengthen the capacity of NGOs to reward and punish decision-makers.



Have the will to use that capacity.



No one understood power better than abolitionist and former slave Frederick Douglass (1857):

“... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong that will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted...”

“Those who profess to favor freedom but depreciate agitation are men who ... want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.”

# Attributes of Movements that Have Changed What is Possible

In addition to  
Perseverance,  
Flexibility without compromise  
Enhancing & using our power

--

Clear & bold vision

# Attributes of Movements that Have Changed What is Possible

## Combination of Outsider and Insider Approaches

**Insider Strategies** depend on normal channels and connections to decision-makers; they are important but alone they cannot achieve goals that transcend the limits of what the powerful will tolerate.

**Outsider Strategies** depend on mass mobilization that pose a credible threat of, or actual disruption of, business as usual unless demands are met. Non-cooperation is usually enough.

# Attributes of Movements that Have Changed What is Possible

**Effective movements consist of  
NGOs that are embedded in  
community or communities.**

Community = strong ties among movement members, not just loyalty to a cause; and strong ties among movement members and those in other networks: schools, neighborhoods, churches, work places.

# Attributes of Movements that Have Changed What is Possible

Seize opportunities provided by crises  
and divisions among opponents.

# Attributes of Movements that Have Changed What is Possible

Strengthening conservation NGO capacity not enough.

Coalitions are effective & necessary--influence depends more on the quality of one's clout than argument.

Brokers critical to creating coalitions.





“Don’t expect me to do the right thing,  
make me do the right thing.”

Bruce Babbitt, former US Secretary of the Interior