A Bridge to Nowhere:
British Columbia's Capitalist Nature and the Carmanah Walbran War in the Woods (1988-1994)

by

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B.A., McGill University, 2012

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

From 1988 to 1994, the Carmanah and Walbran valleys on southern Vancouver Island emerged from obscurity to inspire international newspaper headlines, ecotage, and election platforms, and figure in British Columbia's Commission on Resources and the Environment (CORE), the genesis of the current provincial land-use status quo. With Canada's tallest tree, first marbled murrelet nest, and proximity to Victoria, the area's old-growth forests became the site of a touchstone conflict in BC's War in the Woods (ca. 1980-1995), one which resulted in Carmanah and the Upper Walbran and Lower Walbran becoming designated as Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park in 1995. The Central Walbran remains open to logging, which as recently as 2016 has incited backwoods blockades not dissimilar to those from July and August 1991, the climax of my narrative. This thesis explores how and why the Walbran land-use resolution disappointed Victoria-based environmentalists, Cowichan Lake forest workers, the Nuu-chah-nulth, and the nation-state of Qwa-Ba-Diwa, and why the fate of the watershed remains subject to debate.

Analyzing the roots of BC's wood "exploitation axis" helps contextualize why Carmanah Walbran campaigns in Cowichan Lake and Victoria failed to produce satisfactory outcomes despite significant compromises from provincial governments after much deliberation. In short, dissidence failed to engender land-use consensus because forest capitalism and its co-constitutive partner, colonialism, have since the nineteenth century crafted policy based on a conception of the world rooted in forestry-based development, a durable ontological construct against which other imaginaries of nature have had to compete. The Tree Farm Licence system brought the International Woodworkers of America into a Gomperist bargain with companies and the state after World War II, and contributed to decades of overharvesting, overoptimistic regrowth projections, and corporatization which culminated in falldown and forest community crisis before

environmentalists began to shape the public discourse regarding nature in the late 1980s.

A fundamental inability to produce a satisfactory vision of sustainable forestry and a narrow state narrow response—wilderness parks—to broad, diverse environmentalist demands allowed nature to remain envisioned as a store of raw material for industrial forestry. This thesis additionally seeks to problematize environmentalists' "wilderness" narratives to elaborate how green knowledge production can act as discursive violence. Our "natures" are more than workplaces, sites for recreation, or pristine ecosystems. They are environments within which to find and make meaning. Or perhaps more accurately, nature is a symbol with which to construct narratives; narratives which, in Carmanah Walbran, often left little room for work in the woods. Environmentalists' depictions of unpeopled nature advanced their wilderness-preservation cause at the expense of marginalizing Nuu-chah-nulth land claims, loggers' paycheques, *and* ecocentric worldviews based on holistic conceptions of interconnectedness and/or radical dissent against the forest industrial complex. In short, the Carmanah Walbran War in the Woods added 16,365 hectares of new parkland, contributed (along with log exports) to the 2001 closure of the Youbou mill, the last at Cowichan Lake, and ensured that an isolated gravel road still ends at a bridge to nowhere.

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List of Abbreviations

AAC: Allowable annual cut
BC: British Columbia
BCFP: British Columbia Forest Products Ltd.
BCFS: British Columbia Forest Service
BCWF: British Columbia Wildlife Federation
CCF: Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
CFMAC: Carmanah Forest Management Advisory Committee
CFS: Carmanah Forestry Society
COFI: Council of Forest Industries
CORE: Commission on Resources and Environment
CPR: Canadian Pacific Railway
CPU: Canadian Paperworkers Union
CVRD: Cowichan Valley Regional District
DIA: Department of Indian Affairs
E&N: Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Grant
ENGO: Environmental Non-Governmental Organization
EYA: Environmental Youth Alliance
FC: Fletcher Challenge Ltd.
FCCL: Fletcher Challenge Canada Ltd.
FOCS: Friends of Clayoquot Sound
FOCW: Friends of Carmanah Walbran
FRDA: Federal Resource Development Agency
FRC: Forest Resources Commission
FRRA: Forest Range and Resource Analysis
ICA: Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act
ITM: Industrial Timber Mills
IWA: International Woodworkers of America
LWIU: Lumber Workers Industrial Union
MB, MacBlo: MacMillan Bloedel Ltd.
MIPT: Meares Island Planning Team
MLA: Member of the British Columbian Legislative Assembly
MoE: Ministry of Environment
MoELP: Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks
MoF: Ministry of Forests
MP: Member of Canadian Parliament
MWP: Tree Farm Licence Five-year Management and Working Plan
NTC: Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council
NDP: New Democratic Party
NSR: Not Satisfactorily Restocked Lands
OGS: Old Growth Strategy
PAS: Protected Areas Strategy
PPWC: Pulp, Paper, and Woodworkers of Canada
PSG: Pacific Seabird Group
PSYU: Public Sustained Yield Unit

RCMP: Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SMZ: Special Management Zone
Socred: Social Credit Party
SPEC: Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control Society (Society Promoting Environmental Conservation, et al.)
SIFA: 1991 South Island Forest Accord
STL: Special Timber Licence
TFL: Tree Farm Licence
TLA: Truck Loggers' Association
TSA: Timber Supply Area
VL&M: Victoria Lumber & Manufacturing
UBC: University of British Columbia
UVic: University of Victoria
WAC: Wilderness Advisory Committee
WCWC: Western Canada Wilderness Committee
WFI: Western Forest Industries
WIUC: Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada
WLAC: Walbran Local Advisory Committee

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Dedication

For Mom, Dad, Chris, and Paul.

Introduction: A Bridge to Nowhere

"What needs to be questioned….is the *mode of representation of otherness*."[1]

July 1991. A long gravel road becomes a bridge to nowhere, terminating at an ancient forest. On either side of a ramshackle blockade stand environmentalists and loggers. News cameras capture the faces of youthful hippies, frustrated fallers, and resigned Lake Cowichan RCMP officers. These are the defining images of the Walbran Valley, one of the most hotly contested conflict sites in British Columbia's War in the Woods (ca. 1980-95). Along with Clayoquot Sound, the linked-yet-distinct Carmanah and Walbran campaigns marked an environmentalist apogee on southern Vancouver Island: a malleable moment to solve the problems of the past, satisfy the demands of the present, and produce a vision for the future. Yet the policy debates and stakeholder meetings informing the BC government's 1994 decision to preserve Carmanah and the Upper and Lower Walbran—and leave the Central Walbran open for logging—have faded into obscurity, and the blockades, tree sits, tree spikes, and thousand-person rallies at the BC Legislature, into legend. This thesis explores how and why the Walbran land-use resolution disappointed environmentalists, forest workers, and Nuu-chah-nulth, and why the conflict over the fate of the watershed persists.

The diverse Carmanah Walbran environmentalist campaigns elicited hope for systemic change. Environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) like the Sierra Club, Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC), and Carmanah Forestry Society (CFS) established the initial, legal campaigns to save the area. Civil disobedience followed with the increased presence of youthful, radical activists from Victoria and abroad, nominally represented by the Friends of Carmanah Walbran (FOCW), Environmental Youth Alliance (EYA), and Earth First! My thesis provides insight into why this dissidence failed to stimulate a resolution capable of overcoming divides between environmentalists and forest-dependent communities. In short, dissent failed

[1] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 97.

because industrial forest capitalism (and its co-constitutive partner, colonialism) has since the nineteenth century been the durable framework against which other imaginaries of nature compete.

Capitalist Nature and its Divided Others

Edward Said's *Orientalism* is a useful guide for understanding how BC and Canada define forests. Said writes that the Western-built Orient is not merely a "structure of lies or myths" that "simply blow[s] away" if its true essence is revealed. There is no true essence—it exists primarily as a negation, as an Other around which meaning is constructed. Likewise, Carmanah Walbran is a tantalizingly distant Other, a concept shaped by competing connotations of Nuu-chah-nulth territory, forestry, and preservation, to name but three. By recognizing the social construction of nature, we can better situate it as an indescribable totality and better navigate the layered struggle determining which ideas, words, maps, and imaginations are intelligible to people, and how.[2]

Said's Orient is "taught, researched, administered, and pronounced upon in certain discrete ways" palatable to Western senses and political predispositions. In the colonial mind, Said writes, "Truth" becomes tautological. A corollary of Orientalist theory is an ironic understanding of the "postcolonial present." In other words, Canadian colonialism did not only happen but *is* happening: land-use designations are just one of many ongoing processes of knowledge production that co-create the society from which they emerge. Acknowledging this draws our eye to the ephemerality of the mythical and abstracted "public" justifying its continued use of the forest.[3] Such knowledge production is complicated by myriad settler prerogatives, but overall it leaves little space for bottom-up management or re-imagining Carmanah Walbran as anything but Canadian territory. The performative enunciations of park designations and forest ministry licencing can only further

[2] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 6; David Demeritt, "What is the 'Social Construction of Nature'? A Typology and Sympathetic Critique," *Progress in Human Geography* 26, no. 6 (2002).
[3] Said, *Orientalism*, 202; Marcus Doel, *Poststructuralist Geographies: The Diabolical Art of Spatial Science* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 7, 16.

entrench the area into colonial discourses of nation-statehood and market commodification.

This thesis analyzes the roots of BC's forest industrial complex to contextualize why Carmanah Walbran campaigns in Cowichan Lake, Victoria, and (to a lesser extent) Qwa-Ba-Diwa failed to produce satisfactory outcomes for urban environmentalists, rural workers, or Indigenous peoples despite significant compromises from the province. At Cowichan, the corporate encoding of nature unfolded in several distinct stages between the 1850s and 1980s. Prior to 1900, unsophisticated technology, haphazard licencing, and limited capital investment meant that development was slow and intermittent. By the First World War, "wise use" conservationist policy defined forests in terms of efficient work, and technological advances made clearcutting standard practice, dramatically intensifying harvest rates.[4] Company towns like Youbou emerged during the interwar period to foster stable labour forces, combat union militancy, and provide a local base for converting timber into semi-finished wood products. After the Second World War, the forest industry enjoyed an unprecedented boom as Tree Farm Licences (TFLs) brought most of Vancouver Island's remaining forests into the discursive realm of lumbering, offering ever-larger operators economies of scale and opportunities for vertical integration. TFLs made Carmanah and Walbran "timber reserves" for Port Alberni and Lake Cowichan, bringing them into sustained yield calculations, allowable annual cut (AAC) schedules, and the discursive realm of woodwork.

By the 1980s, as roads from Alberni and Cowichan neared Carmanah Walbran, fears of forest famine proved justified with the onset of falldown. Industry had harvested too fast. Too few trees had been planted. Regrowth projections had been overly optimistic. The economy of coastal BC was in crisis in the context of global recession. Mills starved of timber closed in record numbers, throwing tens of thousands out of work. At the same time, environmentalism crested,

[4] To understand the "wise use" conservationism of Gifford Pinchot, see Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1959).

fueled by postmaterialist and ecocentric values that questioned both the legitimacy of logging old-growth forests *and* anthropocentric conceptions of nature. These factors, and the increasing boldness of Indigenous peoples to assert control over the land, sparked the War in the Woods.

Throughout this "war" loggers, environmentalists, firms, government, and (to a limited degree) Indigenous people debated colonial forest management—not conceptions of nature. Policy response and scholarly treatments of the War in the Woods have thus far been anchored by "interest-based" discussions and analysis which, while useful, overlook the degree to which competing visions of the forest inhibited intelligible debate, chiefly between environmentalists and workers—potential allies in the fight against corporate forestry. The 1992-94 Commission on Resource and the Environment's (CORE) failure to reach land-use consensus resulted in part from a fundamental inability to produce a satisfactory vision of sustainable forestry and in part from the state's narrow response—wilderness parks—to sweeping, ecocentric environmentalist demands. Such deadlock led to post-CORE policies which did not aim to disentangle the intrinsic connections between the colonial state and resource extraction funded by global capital, and so created space for a neoliberal deregulation backlash from the end of the millennium to the present.

Literature Review: Colonial Discourses and Thinking About Thinking About Forests

> "There are, in short, no transcendental or omnipresent messages to be gained from studying Nature—other than, of course, the message that there is no message. Nature is a contested terrain, a product of discourse, a semblance of our imaginations and desires."[5]

Situating my work in relevant literature raises two important questions. First, how does writing history create the reality it intends to describe? Second, to what degree can environmentalism (or unionism for that matter) be parsimoniously categorized into legible discourses, perspectives, and ontologies? Such questions offer a critical lens with which to analyze texts—such as this—that purport to recreate past events and the natural world.

[5] Mark Halsey, *Deleuze and Environmental Damage: Violence of the Text* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 33.

Initial treatments of BC political economy analyzed "cut-and-run" forestry in the early 1900s.[6] Company histories provided hagiographies rooted in a viewpoint of operational efficiency, global market forces, and share prices.[7] Neither tradition devoted many pages to Indigenous concerns, a tendency mirrored by early histories of BC parks, wilderness, and environmentalism.[8]

Patricia Marchak's 1983 *Green Gold* and former truck logger Ken Drushka's 1985 *Stumped* serve as the foundational political economic critiques of modern forest corporatism and tenure concentration. Marchak's analysis of the "staples trap" and "corporate capture" explains American investment capital dominance in the integration of the continental commodity market during the Fordist boom. Drushka conveys how overwhelming public forest ownership led to monopolies under the TFL system which marginalized small forest operators, who, in his conception would have been more responsible stewards of the land.[9] Labour histories describe struggles between workers and employers over working conditions, wage rates, and the Marxist

[6] Martin Robin, *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province, 1871-1933* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972); Martin Robin, *Pillars of Profit: The Company Province, 1934-1972* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973); Robert Edgar Cail, *Land, Man and the Law: the Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1974); Robert H. Morris, "Pretty Slack and Fat: The Genesis of Forest Policy in British Columbia, 1903-1914," (Master's Thesis, UBC, 1979).

[7] Sue Baptie, *First Growth: The Story of British Columbia Forest Products Limited* (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1975); Donald Mackay, *Empire of Wood: The MacMillan Bloedel Story* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre: 1982).

[8] Dianne Draper, "Eco-activism: Issues and Strategies of Environmental Groups in BC" (Master's Thesis, UVic, 1972); Eric Owen Davies, "The Wilderness Myth: Wilderness in British Columbia" (Master's Thesis, UBC, 1972); Eric Michael Leonard, "Parks and Resource Policy: The Role of B.C. Provincial Parks" (Master's Thesis, SFU, 1974); Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1978); James Youds, "A Park System as an Evolving Cultural Institution: A Case Study of the BC Parks System, 1941-1976" (Master's Thesis, Univ. of Waterloo, 1978); John Terpenning, "The BC Wildlife Federation and Government: A Comparative Study of Pressure Groups and Government Interaction for Two Periods, 1947 to 1957, and 1958-1975" (Master's Thesis, UVic, 1982); Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987); Yasmeen Qureshi, "Environmental Issues in British Columbia, An Historical-Geographical Perspective" (Master's Thesis, UBC, 1988).

[9] Patricia Marchak, *Green Gold: The Forestry Industry in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1983); Patricia Marchak, *The Integrated Circus: The New Right and the Restructuring of Global Markets* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1991); Patricia Marchak, *Logging the Globe* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1995); Patricia Marchak, Deborah Herbert, and Scott Aycock, *Falldown: Forest Policy in British Columbia* (Vancouver: David Suzuki Foundation and Ecotrust, 1999); Ken Drushka, *Stumped: The Forest Industry in Transition* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985); *Touch Wood: BC Forests at the Crossroads*, eds. Ken Drushka, Bob Nixon, and Ray Travers (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1991); Ken Drushka, *Working in the Woods: A History of Logging on the West Coast* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1992); Ken Drushka, *HR: A Biography of HR MacMillan* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1995); Ken Drushka, *In the Bight: The BC Forest Industry Today* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1999); Ken Drushka, *Canada's Forests: A History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2003).

footing of BC forest unionism.[10] John Bellamy Foster's Marxist analyses of old-growth conflict in the US Pacific Northwest give a broadly valid lens for BC's War in the Woods: a narrow conservationist thrust, a "business union response" from the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) to potential park withdrawals, and "divide and conquer" tactics by timber capital and government that pitted labour and environmentalists against each other.[11] Richard Rajala's histories of technological change demonstrate how a vision of "forest as factory" led to clearcutting which exploited both nature and workers in the service of harvest efficiency. His later work shows how "multiple use" rhetoric was, as Roderick Haig-Brown put it, "nonsensical and a contradiction in terms," particularly in relation to BC fisheries.[12] In all, these works articulate the economics underlying corporate decisions causing forest employment decline, but do not adequately explore how distinctive visions of forests—and their appropriate use—impeded anti-corporate alliances.

[10] IWA 1-80, *International Woodworkers of America, Local 1-80* (Duncan: IWA 1-80, 1982); Jerry Lembcke and William Tattam, *One Union in Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1984); Jack Munro and Jane O'Hara, *Union Jack: Labour Leader Jack Munro* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1988); Andrew Neufeld and Andrew Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada: The Life and Times of an Industrial Union* (Vancouver: IWA Canada/New Star Books, 2000).

[11] Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984); Robert Paehlke, *Environmentalism and the Future of Progressive Politics* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989); David Brooks and Robert Paehlke, "Environmental Issues and Democratic Socialism in Canada or Seeing Green Through Pink-Tinted Glasses," in *Debating Canada's Future: Views from the Left*, eds. Simon Rosenblum and Peter Findlay (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1991); John Bellamy Foster, "Capitalism and the Ancient Forest," *Monthly* Review 43, no. 5 (1991); John Bellamy Foster, "The Limits of Environmentalism without Class: Lessons from the Ancient Forest Struggle of the Pacific Northwest," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 4, no. 1 (1993); Elaine Bernard, "Labour and the Environment: A Look at British Columbia's 'War in the Woods,'" in *Getting on Track: Social Democratic Strategies for Ontario,* eds. Daniel Drache and Leo O'Grady (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1992); Alexander Simon, "A Comparative Historical Explanation of the Environmental Policies of Two Woodworkers' Unions in Canada," *Organization & Environment* 16, no. 3 (2003); Alexander Simon, "Backlash! Corporate Front Groups and the Struggle for Sustainable Forestry in British Columbia," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 9, no. 4 (1998); Benjamin Isitt, *Militant Minority, BC Workers and the Rise of the New Left, 1948-1972* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2011).

[12] Richard Rajala, "Bill and the Boss: Labor Protest, Technological Change, and the Transformation of the West Coast Logging Camp, 1890–1930," *Forest & Conservation History* 33, no. 4 (1989); Richard Rajala, "The Forest as Factory: Technological Change and Worker Control in the West Coast Logging Industry, 1880-1930," *Labour/Le Travail* 32 (1993); Richard Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science and Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998); Richard Rajala, *Up-coast: Forests and Industry on British Columbia's North Coast, 1870-2005* (Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2006); Richard Rajala, "Forests and Fish: The 1972 Coast Logging Guidelines and British Columbia's First NDP Government," *BC Studies* 159 (2008); Richard Rajala, "Nonsensical and a Contradiction in terms: Multiple-Use Forestry, Clearcutting, and the Politics of Fish Habitat in British Columbia, 1945-70," *BC Studies* 183 (2014); Richard Rajala and Robert Griffin, *The Sustainability Dilemma: Essays on British Columbia Forest and Environmental History* (Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2016).

Typical depictions of the War in the Woods frame it as a fight between "a development coalition representing industry, labour, and some parts of the government; and an environmental coalition in opposition."[13] Yet collapsing the complexity of environmental interlocutors too narrowly risks missing crucial aspects of activism. **"**No codified rubric can accommodate, nor any axiology contain, the ethos of radical environmentalism," writes philosopher Mick Smith, in language equally befitting labour movement activism. "The problem of how to express and communicate [a] radically different ethos cannot be solved by enclosing it within the logic of the system it seeks to subvert." Critiquing the BC forest industry is a well-travelled path and has long been easy. Thinking of creative, implementable solutions that satisfy all comers has not.[14]

As Smith asserts, environments should not only be used to ground narratives, but as means of contextualizing the discourses which emerge out of such narratives. His "ethical architecture of the 'open road'" is a fitting analogy to understand the relevant historiography. For Smith, roads encapsulate the "industrialization of time and space" and thus can be used to articulate the ethos of radical environmentalism in ways that are otherwise disregarded or distorted by hegemonic discourses. Smith's road is a "non-place" which compresses the social and natural complexity of a journey into an inherently functional line. Roads are not neutral—they have "instrumental rationality," rules which ensure that users can "go about their (and capitalism's) business." Blockading, then, is an ideal challenge to the instrumental, one-dimensional, and codified ethos of extraction-based logging roads tied to production centres, ports, and ultimately, markets.[15]

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[13] Benjamin Cashore, "Policy Cycles and Policy Regimes: A Framework for Policy Change," in *In Search of Sustainability: British Columbia Forest Policy in the 1990s,* eds. Benjamin Cashore, Michael Howlett, Jeremy Wilson, George Hoberg, and Jeremy Rayner (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 21.

[14] Mick Smith, *An Ethics of Place: Radical Ecology, Postmodernity, and Social Theory* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 2001), 164.

[15] Smith, *An Ethics of Place,* 6, 110, 126, 160-162; Mick Smith, "The Ethical Architecture of the 'Open Road,'" *Worldviews: Environment, Religion, Culture* 2, no. 3 (1998); Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso Books, 1995); this is nothing new to Indigenous people, Geoffrey York and Loreen Pindera, *The People of the Pines: the Warriors and the Legacy of Oka* (Toronto: Little, Brown, 1991).

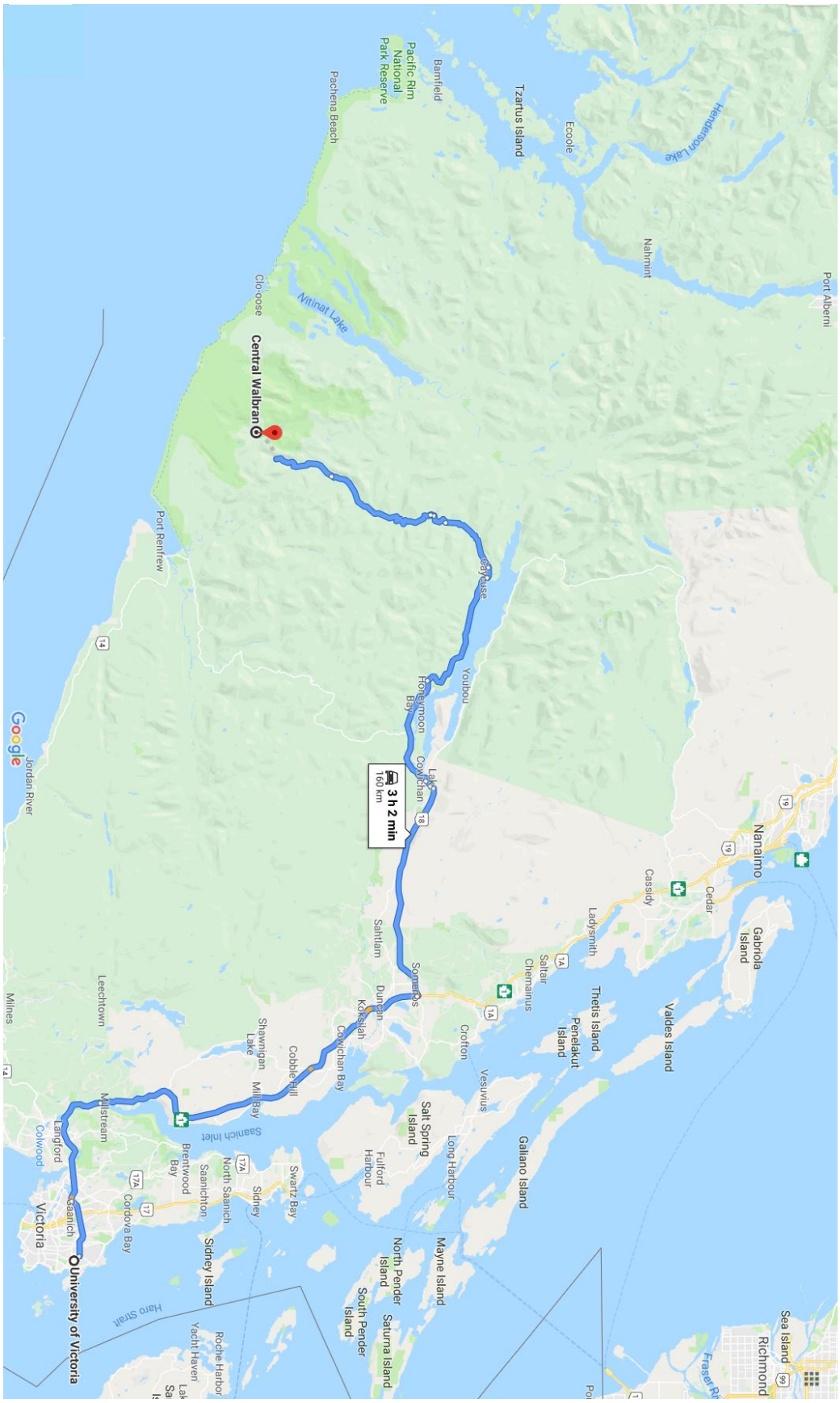

Fig. 1: A Road to the Central Walbran (Google Maps, 2019).

Roughly grouped between the two schools of "social" and "deep" ecology, modern environmentalism has a diverse and multifaceted history. Social constructivist accounts of nature first emerged in the 1960s through the work of Murray Bookchin, who framed ecological problems as social problems and called for an embrace of co-operative, complementary values. Building off more conventional environmental concerns, Arne Næss called for "biocentric" (or "ecocentric") perspectives rather than a "shallow ecology" focused on pollution, resource depletion, and "the health and affluence of people in developed societies."[16] Such ecocentrism was taken to its misanthropic extreme by Earth First!, a loose movement advocating "monkeywrenching" and "ecotage" in defense of wilderness in the 1980s. Keith Makato Woodhouse's *The Ecocentrists: A History of Radical Environmentalism* provides a contemporary, erudite handling of the US genesis of Earth First![17] While seemingly complementary discourses rejecting the technocratic, managerial approach to the natural world, social ecology and deep ecology in fact polarized environmental thought. The former was accused of being anthropocentric and overly focused on "leftist" or elitist social issues, the latter of ignoring the social and historical bases of ecological crisis. These schools of thought emerge throughout my work in entangled and nebulous forms. An understudied aspect of environmentalism, one obscured by overstating activists' affiliation to ENGO dogma, is the idiosyncratic motivations of environmentalists, green-leaning workers—and indeed, all interests.

[16] Murray Bookchin, "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought," in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1986); Murray Bookchin, *The Ecology of Freedom* (Palo Alto: Cheshire Books, 1982); Murray Bookchin, "What is Social Ecology?" in *The Modern Crisis* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987); Arne Næss, "The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement. A Summary," *Inquiry* 16 (1973), 95-100.

[17] *Ecotage!* eds. Sam Love and David Obst (New York: Pocket Books, 1972); Edward Abbey, *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (New York: Avon Books, 1975); *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching* eds. Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood (Tucson: Ned Ludd Books, 1985); *Earth First! Journal*; Brian Tokar, "Exploring the New Ecologies: Social Ecology, Deep Ecology and the Future of Green Political Thought," *Alternatives: Perspectives on Society, Technology and Environment* 15, no. 4 (Nov/Dec 1988); Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1985); *Deep Ecology,* ed. Michael Tobias (San Diego: Avant Books 1985); Frank Zelko, *Make It a Green Peace!: The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013); Keith Makato Woodhouse, *The Ecocentrists: A History of Radical Environmentalism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2018).

In the 1990s, environmental histories analyzed intersections between ecology, politics, wilderness, and activism. The most important of these is Jeremy Wilson's *Talk and Log,* which remains a touchstone text for BC wilderness politics and land-use planning. His cabinet-level analysis shows how activism gradually expanded the ways forests were conceived and valued. For Wilson, however, the essential policy story is one of "lock-in," where the inertia of historic decisions limited the potential for alternate forest futures. Meanwhile, activist autobiographies dropped any pretense of objectivity in favour of campaigning. Paul George's history of the WCWC, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* elaborates the group's countless environmental campaigns since 1980, and the ways in which public education remains a benchmark strategy for encouraging perspectives which value the natural world. To essentialize, environmentalist texts like *Big Trees Not Big Stumps* and Ric Careless' *To Save the Wild Earth* use ecological sensibilities to posit park and ecological reserves as necessary alternatives to widespread industrial forest devastation.[18]

William Cronon's classic "The Trouble with Wilderness" critiques such narratives for reproducing a false Nature/Culture dualism which distracts from humans' interconnectedness with the world. The narrow focus of "wilderness," he argues, distracts from the necessity of changing our urban lifestyles so that we can live *with* nature sustainably, ethically, and honorably. This thesis shows how the United Nations sustainable development goal to protect 12 percent of the Earth—

[18] Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993); Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998); Arn Keeling, "Ecological Ideas in the BC Conservation Movement, 1945-1970" (Master's Thesis, UBC, 1998); Arn Keeling, "'A Dynamic, Not Static Conception': The Conservation Thought of Roderick Haig-Brown," *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 2 (2002); Sarah B. Pralle, *Branching Out, Digging In: Environmental Advocacy and Agenda Setting* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Univ. Press, 2006); David Tindall and Noreen Begoray, "Old Growth Defenders: The Battle for the Carmanah Valley," in ed. Sally Lerner *Environmental Stewardship: Studies in Active Earth Keeping* (Kitchener: Univ. of Waterloo Geography Series, 1993); Debra J. Salazar and Donald K. Alper, "Beyond the Politics of Left and Right: Beliefs and Values of Environmental Activists in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 121 (1999); Jenny Clayton, Ben Bradley and Graeme Wynn, "One Hundred Years of Struggle: Parks and Protected Areas in BC," *BC Studies* 170 (2011); Paul George, *Big Trees not Big Stumps: 25 Years of Campaigning to Save Wilderness with the Wilderness Committee* (Vancouver: WCWC, 2005); Ric Careless, *To Save the Wild Earth: Field Notes from the Environmental Frontline* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 1997).

and develop the rest—led to CORE's wilderness solution, and trouble. Richard White's "Are you an environmentalist or do you work for a living?" explores how, by dichotomizing nature and work, environmentalists ignore an essential "way of knowing nature" and cede the "so-called wise-use movement valuable cultural terrain," from which the "loss of natural terrain can only follow" as rural workers' concerns are perverted into defending corporate property rights. With a class-based analysis of Greenpeace, John-Henry Harter's "Environmental Justice for Whom?" shows how environmentalists' disregard for proletarian concerns—even within ENGOs—has inhibited a seemingly natural coalition against the capitalist exploitation of workers and the environment.[19]

Navigating these sources has led me to draw upon several intersecting anti-essentialist disciplines grouped under the umbrella of political ecology: poststructuralism, discourse analysis, and anthropology. Pablo Escobar defines political ecology as "the study of the manifold articulations of history and biology and the cultural mediations through which such articulations are necessarily established." It is "bound by history to modern capitalist nature" but attempts to cultivate "alternative discourses of nature and culture." An example of political ecology, Bruce Braun's *The Intemperate Rainforest* utilizes poststructuralist theory to show the discursive marginalization of Indigenous peoples implicit in the way places like Clayoquot Sound "enter history" through colonial forest management and how epistemic erasures justify territorial erasures. Carmanah Walbran "entered history" through forest legislation, mapping, timber licencing, and royal commissions as a store of raw material for industrial forestry, emptying Nuu-

[19] Warren Magnusson and R. Walker, "De-Centring the State: Political Theory and Canadian Political Economy," *Studies in Political Economy* 26 (1988); William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (1996); Richard White, "Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?: Work and Nature," in ed. William Cronon, *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), 171-4; John-Henry Harter, "Environmental Justice for Whom?: Class, New Social Movements, and the Environment: A Case Study of Greenpeace Canada, 1971-2000," *Labour/Le Travail* 54 (2004); John-Henry Harter, *New Social Movements, Class, and the Environment: A Case Study of Greenpeace Canada* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011).

chah-nulth presence with a space-based management system predicated on a Nature/Culture dualism. Following Braun, the forest was "removed from the domain of politics and resituated in the domain of ontology." The "scientific" management of the forest which followed its ontological resituation as tree farm was neither objective nor innocent but a violent act of colonial knowledge production which rendered the discursive and historical practices that constructed a commodity view of the forest as natural, and therefore invisible. For over a century, the central preoccupation of the provincial state has been divvying up the land base for colonial settlement, not debating the authority to govern and produce meaning. For just as long, in various ways Indigenous peoples, loggers, small operators, conservationists, and environmentalists have sought to disrupt such "common sense." Drawing attention to these alternative social natures guides my history.[20]

Scott Prudham's "Sustaining Sustained Yield" offers a framework for understanding how capitalist forestry gained union consent after WWII. Prudham illustrates the process of corporate assimilation—the way companies and government redirected Co-operative Commonwealth Federation demands for forest nationalization into Gomperist debates over wages and benefits. Forests remained sources of raw materials owned by the state, destined to produce corporate profits; *not* the basis of community-run forestry controlled by local decision-makers. Quantitative analyses from economic geographers Roger Hayter and Trevor Barnes show how a restructuring global economy predicated forest town calamity. Their "British Columbia's Private Sector in

[20] Arturo Escobar, "After Nature: Steps to an Antiessentialist Political Ecology," *Current Anthropology* 40, no. 1 (1999), 3-6; Bruce Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2002), 3, 8, 11-12, 31-33, 41-42; for a discussion of the coloniality of scientific forestry see Bruce Willems-Braun "Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in (Post) Colonial British Columbia," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 1 (1997); for critiques of the ways ENGOs use science to construct "wilderness" social natures, see: David Rossiter, "The Nature of Protest: Constructing the Spaces of British Columbia's Rainforests," *Cultural Geographies* 11, no. 2 (2004); David Rossiter, "Producing Provincial Space: Crown Forests, the State, and Territorial Control in British Columbia," *Space and Polity* 12, no. 2 (2008); David Rossiter, "British Columbia: Geographies of a Province on the Edge" in *The Geographies of Canada* eds. R. Tremblay and H. Chicoine (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2013); Jessica Dempsey, "The Politics of Nature in British Columbia's Great Bear Rainforest," *Geoforum* 42, no. 2 (2011).

Recession 1981-1986" and Hayter's *Flexible Crossroads* discuss the transition from a Fordist model of production based on economies of scale to a post-Fordist model of flexibility following the global recessions of the 1970s and '80s, which stemmed from global market constrictions, mechanization, timber shortage, US softwood lumber tariffs, and vitally, capitalist ideologies of nature that allowed forests to circulate as financial capital. Eric Grass provides evidence of the downward trend of the Youbou mill *prior* to the War in the Woods, but his teleological "life cycle" analogy exaggerates the path-dependency of its closure. Hayter's two articles on the War in the Woods metaphor describe conflict *and* cooperation between the "forces of neoliberalism, environmentalism and aboriginalism" as they struggled to solve structural factors causing forest conflict and community crisis. His charge that "remappers" in BC re-centred control over forest management to society (via environmental activism) and the federal government (via Indigenous land claims) seems overstated, however, given the continued primacy of the province over land use. Prudham's "Tall Among the Trees" depicts the tragic 2001 closure of the Youbou mill as the result of sustained-yield policy written with shareholders—not communities—in mind.[21]

Terre Satterfield's assessment of the conflict over Oregon old-growth in the 1990s through a cultural lens led her to question how loggers and environmentalists "talked-past-yet-sounded-similar" about science, nature, and economic victimization. She found that dominant cultural discourses of capitalist nature, the interplay of competing worker and environmentalist discourses,

[21] Eric Grass, "Employment and Production: The Mature Stage in the Lifecycle of a Sawmill: Youbou, British Columbia 1929-1989," (PhD diss., SFU, 1991); Trevor Barnes and Roger Hayter, "British Columbia's Private Sector in Recession 1981-1986: Employment Flexibility Without Trade Diversification?," *BC Studies* 98 (1993); *Troubles in the Rainforest: BC's Forest Economy in Transition* eds. Roger Hayter and Trevor Barnes (Victoria: Western Geographical Press, 1997); Roger Hayter, *Flexible Crossroads: The Restructuring of British Columbia's Forest Economy* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); Roger Hayter, "The War in the Woods: Globalization, Post-Fordist Restructuring and the Contested Remapping of British Columbia's Forest Economy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, no. 3 (2003), 706; Roger Hayter, "The Contested Restructuring qua Remapping of BC's Forest Economy: Reflections on the 'Crossroads' and 'War in the Woods Metaphors,'" *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 27, no. 3 (2004); Scott Prudham, "Sustaining Sustained Yield: Class, Politics, and Post-War Forest Regulation in British Columbia," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25, no. 2 (2007); Scott Prudham, "Tall Among the Trees: Organizing Against Global Forestry in Rural British Columbia," *Journal of Rural Studies* 24, no. 2 (2008).

and the fact that both discursive layers were dynamically intertwined allowed for always-evolving points of view and vastly different understandings of shared terminology such as sustained yield. Out of this multidimensional discourse emerged new processes for defining nature *and* who was able to define it. In short, she concludes that "the differences between the groups are profound, morally rooted, and ethically challenging," yet impossible to pin down. My work, too, tries to tell different sides of a story while problematizing dichotomization.[22]

Environmental histories and political ecology scholarship in the twenty-first century have tried to bridge the "red/green" divide. Joseph Moore's sociology dissertation traces how early twentieth-century social movements critiqued capitalist accumulation from both conservationist and labour perspectives. Gordon Hak's *Turning Trees into Dollars* provides a similar critique of the entwined exploitation of labour and nature by capital in the context of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century commodification of forests. His *Capital and Labour* delves into the place-specific "work routine" normalized in the Fordist "glory days," and *The Left in British Columbia* analyzes the overlap of labour and "new social movements" emerging in the 1960s. Breaking down narratives which posit workers as a static bloc, Eryk Martin's *When Red Meets Green* and Erik Loomis's *When Loggers Were Green* push back the timeframe for worker environmentalism to mid-century before, as Loomis shows in *Empire of Timber,* the IWA in the American Pacific Northwest withdrew into an alliance with employers in the late 1980s. Kelly Black's self-reflexive dissertation embodies how "shared, personal, and conflictual" events entrenched settler connection to southern Vancouver Island, but devotes few pages to Carmanah Walbran. In all, these works historicize corporatism but only gesture toward the ontological underpinning of forest extraction.[23]

[22] Terre Satterfield, *Anatomy of a Conflict: Identity, Knowledge, and Emotion in Old-Growth Forests* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 7-8, 160-5.
[23] Katrin MacPhee, "Canadian Working-Class Environmentalism, 1965–1985," *Labour/Le Travail* 74 (2014); Joseph G. Moore, "Two Struggles into One?: Labour and Environmental Movement Relations and the Challenge to Capitalist

A loss of faith in statist solutions to land-use conflict birthed eco-forestry discourses in the early 1990s. Eco-forestry toes the line between preservationism and "wise use" conservation by attempting to find places for work in nature. Herb Hammond remains a maven in the discipline, with Michael M'Gonigle and Ben Parfitt's *Forestopia* and M'Gonigle, Burda, and Gale's "Eco-Forestry Versus the State(us) Quo" innovative examples of thinking beyond clearcuts to envision models of forestry rooted in intensive silviculture, selective logging, and value-added production.[24] James McCarthy's political ecology of the US Wise Use movement shows how the misrepresentation of rural demands by environmentalists inhibited opposition to corporate capitalism, with analytical relevance for understanding Share BC groups. Studies on neoliberalism and nature help explain how value-added production and ecoforestry remain footnotes in forest management textbooks, and deregulated, results-based planning frameworks the norm, as shown, for example, by the ongoing closures of BC sawmills as the province exports ever-more logs.[25]

Forestry in British Columbia, 1900-2000" (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2002); Eryk Martin, "When Red Meets Green: Perceptions of Environmental Change in the B.C. Communist Left, 1937-1978" (Master's Thesis, UVic, 2008); Erik Loomis, "When Loggers Were Green: Lumber, Labor, and Conservation," *Western Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (2015); Erik Loomis, *Empire of Timber: Labor Unions and the Pacific Northwest Forests* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2016); Gordon Hak, *Turning Trees into Dollars: The British Columbia Coastal Lumber Industry, 1858-1913* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2000); Gordon Hak, *Capital and Labour in the British Columbia Forest Industry, 1934-74* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); Gordon Hak, *The Left in British Columbia: A History of Struggle* (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2013); Kelly Black, "An Archive of Settler Belonging: Local Feeling, Land, and the Forest Resource on Vancouver Island" (PhD diss., Carleton University, 2017), 1; *Political Space: Reading the Global Through Clayoquot Sound* eds. Warren Magnusson and Karena Shaw (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2003); Fred Rose, *Coalitions across the Class Divide: Lessons from the Labor, Peace, and Environmental Movements* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2000); Brian Obach, *Labor and the Environmental Movement: The Quest for Common Ground* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004).

[24] Herb Hammond, *Seeing the Forest Among the Trees: The Case for Wholistic Forest Use* (Vancouver: Polestar, 1991); Michael M'Gonigle and Ben Parfitt, *Forestopia: A Practical Guide to the New Forest Economy* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1994); Cheri Burda, Fred Gale, and Michael M'Gonigle, "Eco-Forestry Versus the State(us) Quo or Why Innovative Forestry is Neither Contemplated nor Permitted within the State Structure of British Columbia," *BC Studies* 119 (1998); Michael M'Gonigle and Jessica Dempsey, "Ecological Innovation in the Age of Bureaucratic Closure: The Case of the Global Forest," *Studies in Political Economy* 70, no. 1 (2003).

[25] James McCarthy, "First World Political Ecology: Lessons from the Wise Use Movement," *Environment and Planning A* 34, no. 7 (2002); Alexander Simon, "Backlash! Corporate front groups and the struggle for sustainable forestry in British Columbia," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 9, no. 4 (1998); James McCarthy and Scott Prudham, "Neoliberal Nature and the Nature of Neoliberalism," *Geoforum* 35, no. 3 (2004); Jim Igoe and Dan Brockington, "Neoliberal Conservation: A Brief Introduction," *Conservation and Society* 5, no. 4 (2007); Nathan Young, "Radical Neoliberalism in British Columbia: Remaking Rural Geographies," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens De Sociologie* 33, no. 1 (2008); Noel Castree, "Neoliberalising Nature: The Logics of Deregulation and

The most specifically relevant secondary literature comes from Richard Rajala, Lorna Stefanick, and Harley Rustad. Rajala's 1993 *The Legacy and the Challenge* charts the growth of the forest industry in the Cowichan Valley and reveals how corporate imperatives foreshadowed the falldown crisis. Rajala provides both a Cowichan perspective and an incisive historical focus, but his work is limited by temporality: the Walbran conflict is an epilogue. Stefanick's "Baby Stumpy and the War in the Woods" focuses on media coverage of an old-growth stump barnstormed around Europe by the WCWC to raise awareness about BC clearcutting. She analyzes how environmentalists and workers "framed" Carmanah, but a broad scope leaves little room for discussion of civil disobedience in the Walbran. Carmanah Walbran merely sets the stage for Harley Rustad's *Big Lonely Doug*, a history of Port Renfrew logging and ENGO campaigns in the 2010s that shows the conflicted motivations of forest workers.[26] These studies do not address the radical activism of the Walbran campaign, one that lacked the coherent organization of Carmanah or Clayoquot. This untidy insurgence is why straightforward narratives are difficult to craft for the Walbran. It did not have Canada's tallest tree, nor was it home to hundreds of Indigenous people, allowing settlers to craft various visions of its future, whether to be left alone, hiked through, or transformed into mortgage payments, shareholder dividends, and provincial revenues.

Learning to Read the Signs

How do I produce a vision of the Walbran forest, and what are my underlying motives? Two terms help clarify the ways in which sources deceive: sign and ontology. Nineteenth-century biologist and proto-semiotician Jakob von Uexküll coined the term *Umwelt* (literally

Regulation," *Environment and Planning A* 40, no. 1 (2008); Noel Castree, "Neoliberalising Nature: Processes, Effects, and Evaluations," *Environment and Planning A* 40, no. 1 (2008); Robert Fletcher, "Neoliberal Environmentality: Towards a Poststructuralist Political Ecology of the Conservation Debate," *Conservation & Society* 8, no. 3 (2010).

[26] Richard Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge: A Century of the Forest Industry at Cowichan Lake* (Lake Cowichan: Lake Cowichan Heritage Advisory Committee, 1993); Lorna Stefanick, "Baby Stumpy and the War in the Woods: Competing Frames of British Columbia Forests," *BC Studies* 130 (2001); Harley Rustad, *Big Lonely Doug: The Story of One of Canada's Last Great Trees* (Toronto: Walrus Books, 2018).

"environment" in German, translated as milieu, situation, or embedding) to describe the species-specific subjectivity of animal cognition and perception. Through sense, reflex, instinct, education, culture, and prejudice humans translate physical stimuli into legible "signs." These simplified snapshots of experience combine to inform intimately personal and subjective worldviews: ontologies. My framework uses "ontology" to convey a multitude of points of view on Carmanah Walbran. In an endless cycle, the connotations we associate with "forests" inform our ontologies, which inform our understanding of appropriate use, which then define connotations. The fact that most BC forests have become known to settlers through the edge of an axe, crosscut saw, or chainsaw has limited our capacity to conceive of forests as anything other than future stumps, or more optimistically, plantations. Parks too limit our capacity to think of old growth in forms other than recreation sites or wilderness preserves. Given the loaded, biased, or propagandized aspects of discursive material, attempting to think beyond ontologies is difficult if not impossible. Even if we recognize that depictions of nature are constructed, problematic, and ultimately poor renditions, we are still left with the legacy of the images we consume. There is no alternative *truth* against which to verify the degree of misrepresentation in objects that we *know* carry social, ecological, technological, and colonial implications and limitations.[27] Understanding the historical process—and coloniality—of knowledge production is as important as its artefactual legacy. Foregrounding the plasticity of history disrupts depictions of static, discrete stakeholders. Just as each brush stroke in a painting is the condensation of a mix of colours, each ontology represents a personalized set of influences condensed into a point of view. This multitude of ontologies and actions they inspire variously create, sustain, and destroy societal epistemologies.

[27] Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest,* 14-5; Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1976).

Stephen K. White's "weak ontology" theory provides a framework for understanding that there is no "progressive" postmodern "truth" about forests. "Weak" ontologies contest overarching "strong" ontologies such as religious orthodoxy. Yet "[t]he weak ontologist does not know with certainty that strong foundations are false," writes White, "rather she can merely point to the lack of success of any given foundation in being wholly and universally affirmed by humankind." While weak ontology theory rejects the idea of objective truth, it implies that "explicit actions, judgments, and choices are continually animated by one's background sources," given meaning through individual engagements with reality. We embrace images of the world as much through an "aesthetic-affective" sense ("like a work of art") as we do a rational one, with performativity guiding our ways of knowing. Thus, while depictions of the capitalist forest remain piecemeal, incomplete, and insufficient, they are also persuasive, durable, and mystifying. White's "nonfoundationalist" insight helps explain why—beyond the lack of capital—crafting alternative models of forestry even among groups with similar critiques of capitalism has been so difficult. The ephemerality of "knowing" forests contributes to the resiliency of liquidation forestry: logging makes dollars *and* sense. An underappreciated aspect of the power of capitalist nature lies in its foundational obscurity; systemic linkages between colonialism and capitalism presuppose certain power structures that allow for the deflection of criticism. Politics and power matter, but the people who constructed these political, economic, and forestry systems did so piecemeal, in an arena built through successive iterations of colonial discourses with particular articulations of the world.[28] In the context of Carmanah Walbran, the most visible weak ontologists are the Nuu-chah-nulth, IWA, Cowichan residents, and representatives from the WCWC, Sierra Club, and CFS: charity ENGOs.

[28] Stephen K. White, "Violence, Weak Ontology, and Late-Modernity," *Political Theory* 27, no. 6 (2009), 811, 814; White, *Sustaining Affirmation: The Strengths of Weak Ontology in Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), 15-16; White, *The Ethos of a Late-Modern Citizen* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2009), 30-1, 60-2, 94-7.

Primary Sources: Old Maps, Trail Markers, and Texts

Determining which primary sources to utilize has been an ongoing challenge. From 1910 to 1994, BC's five major forest commissions produced countless briefs, memoranda, and reports. Company newsletters like *Timberline/Newsline* and *MB Journal* and the IWA periodical, the *Western Canadian Lumberworker* (*Lumber Worker* post-1985), flesh out the contested and negotiated extractive alliance. Coverage in the *Vancouver Sun* and *Province*, the Victoria *Times-Colonist* and *Monday Magazine*, and the Cowichan *Lake News* and *Leader* exploded with the 1988 discovery of the world's tallest Sitka spruce in Carmanah. The WCWC's *Carmanah: Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest* and *Big Trees Not Big Stumps* are particularly relevant preservationist sources, while the *Earth First! Journal* and Christine Lowther's *A Cabin in Clayoquot* give first-hand accounts of Walbran tree sits, blockades, and social networks. Beyond these texts, empirical weight comes from WCWC head office memoranda and archival material, and the WCWC, Sierra Club, and Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control (SPEC) Society fonds at the University of Victoria, sources scarcely referenced in secondary literature. Carmanah material dwarfs that of the Walbran in ENGO archives, with glaring silences in summer 1991 and spring 1992, suggesting the minor role played by charity ENGOs or their reticence to take credit for illegal acts. The Port Alberni newspaper *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, produced by the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC), provides invaluable Indigenous perspective on the Meares Island dispute, but barely any coverage of Carmanah Walbran—evidence of the area's relative unimportance to the Nuu-chah-nulth, isolation, and settler-crafted social nature. Lastly, semi-structured interviews with environmentalists involved in Walbran direct action provide new insight into the motivations and impacts of individual activists operating outside the framework of established ENGOs.[29]

[29] WCWC, *Carmanah: Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest* (Vancouver: WCWC and Raincoast Books, 1989); Christine Lowther, *A Cabin in Clayoquot* (Gabriola Island: Quadra Printing/Pacific Edge, 1997).

Where My Work Fits: Why Study the Walbran War in the Woods?

Utilizing understudied activist primary sources and taking a long view of BC forest policy, this thesis expands on Braun's poststructuralist framework. Written histories of Carmanah exist, yet stories of the messier, less-heralded Walbran are more likely heard around a campfire than in a graduate seminar and, as such, will be my focus. Parsing through untidy memories of blockades and ecotage, War in the Woods media mire, and ongoing contestation of the historical present reveals that the underlying hegemony of settler capitalism persists despite challenges to its legitimacy. Studying the particular tenor of the Walbran War in the Woods—a place and time where different natures came *so close* to the surface before receding—reveals the multiplicity of worker and environmental activism and the capacity of corporate and state managers to use this dissonance to envelop red and green critiques alike within the processes of capital accumulation and colonialism. Situating Carmanah Walbran in the longer history of capitalist exploitation reveals that concerns for long-term stability have been consistently validated by state resource commissions only to be subverted by policy favouring investment attractiveness and short-term profits by provincial governments since before the first *Forest Act* in 1912. Questions of forest famine, (un)sustainable yield, and non-timber values have been answered with language palatable to the extractive, colonial narrative, neutralizing dissent through integration rather than rejection. Analyzing both the Cowichan Valley union-inspired critique of capitalism and metropolitan environmentalist wilderness-preservationism reveals the justified bitterness of each group, the ways their anger is misdirected at each other, and why both old-growth and second-growth logging for corporate profits continues to this day on un-ceded Indigenous land. While it remains difficult to see forest debate as anything other than logging vs. preservation, the Walbran case study reveals unlikely divisions and alliances between and among environmentalists, workers, unions,

companies, contractors, Nuu-chah-nulth, and government, fighting over an area visited by almost no one prior to the 1980s. As former Nanaimo-Cowichan MP Jean Crowder said at the opening of the tellingly named TimberWest Archives Room at the Lake Cowichan Kaatza museum in 2005: "Knowing your history is the first step in knowing your place."[30] Knowing my history requires knowing my place—and trying to understand the problems with my depictions.

Situating the Author: Constructing Trails and Social Nature in the Walbran

Fifty million years ago, the Earth's crust coalesced as undivided sedimentary rock. Oceanic storms eroded channels in limestone karst and marble, creating sinkholes, stalagmites, and emerald green rivers. Over the millennia, climate fluctuated, glaciers advanced and retreated, ecological niches came and went, nutrients recycled over seasons of life and death. Now, hemlock, Douglas fir, Sitka spruce, and western redcedar dominate, towering over salal, berry bushes, and a thick humus floor. Mycorrhizal fungi in the soil link root systems and create nodal communication networks. Detritus lands on broad canopy branches, soon digested by minute arthropods to create suspended-soil microclimates. Flowers bloom. Bears, elk, and deer forage. Squirrels dash. Fish swim. Wolves howl. Free birds sing.

March 2016. 8:15 a.m. I arrive at Discovery Coffee in Victoria. Twelve volunteers and Torrance, the Wilderness Committee forest campaigner, separate into vehicles and head off. Three hours later we rendezvous at the Pacheedaht campground on the outskirts of Port Renfrew. Asphalt turns to gravel. Potholes, slumping road shoulders, and thoughts about the price of new shocks and which spur roads had been blockaded several months earlier by civil dissenters give way to the monotonous calamity of logging roads. After an hour of unmarked turns, clearcuts, and loaded logging trucks going the opposite way, we descend to the "bridge to nowhere" across the Walbran creek—the site of such animosity 25-years prior. The bridge—like so many roads before it—was built by a logging company seeking to recoup its investment with value extracted from the forest. It also gave access to the north side of the creek for trail builders, scientists, and activists. After a short orientation, we make our way to the riverside to set up camp. Walking over wooden boardwalks in various states of decay, we pass the first giants. Two days later, we had pushed the boardwalk slightly farther. In doing so, everyone affirmed their belief that the area was worth preserving.

* * *

While the above narrative likely elicits eye rolls or envy, it also shows the risks of forest narrativization. There is something indescribable about old-growth forests. In my four years as a door-to-door canvasser for the WCWC, nodding heads and slammed doors have met my various attempts to recreate my understanding of their essence. Some stare blankly, politely intrigued, wondering why a bearded man is roaming their neighbourhood on a sopping-wet night, never having visited, nor considered visiting, an old-growth forest. For these people, provincial forest management is not common sense—it is not considered. Again, there is no objective nature: you find what you look for. If you are not looking, what is there to find? Clearly, my trail building

[30] Lexi Bainas, "Kaatza Museum Opens TimberWest Archives Room," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* May 29, 2005.

narrative is shot through with biogeomorphological observations. Gleaned from a trip organized by the WCWC to foster preservation through tourism, the terms, frames of reference, and language rest firmly in the canon of Western knowledge, with problematic colonial implications. Seemingly portraying an objective nature, my descriptions reveal more about my status as a white, male, urban environmentalist and colonial knowledge producer than they do of the "true" Walbran. Yet as anthropologist Terre Satterfield and ecocritic Scott Slovic argue, the way environmental values are narrativized in stories brings valuable perspectives, insights, and emotion to cold cost-benefit economic and policy debates. Narrative is not only the telling of stories, but a non-didactic means of relaying information and implicit value, particularly in the context of environmental use.[31]

I urge the reader to view capitalism through such a lens. As scholars and activists struggle to find language that escapes the scope of rationality imposed by economic discourse, it becomes necessary to move beyond traditional modes of understanding. J.K. Gibson-Graham writes that revealing the power of the diverse non-market economy requires stirring affective responses and "other kinds of visualizations" than those of "rational actors'" cost-benefit analyses to "dislocate capitalocentrism's hegemony." We need to practice new lexicons, rehearse anti-capitalocentric reading and speaking skills, and experiment with how to express the weakly theorized "dynamics" of "contingency, overdetermination, and ethical practice" to challenge discourse through praxis.[32] Muir hiked mountains. Thoreau retreated to the woods. Loggers fell trees, but as Rustad shows, also spare some giants. My forest values led me to canvass and build trails. All such efforts leave forms of discursive and/or physical violence, creating forest imaginaries with transformed nature.

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[31] *What's Nature Worth: Narrative Expressions of Environmental Values,* eds. Terre Satterfield and Scott Slovic (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2004), 12; see also: Jim Cheney, "Post-Modern Environmental Ethics as Bioregional Narrative," *Environmental Ethics* 11 (1989); Serenella Iovino, "Ecocriticism and a Non-Anthropocentric Humanism: Reflections on Local Natures and Global Responsibilities," in *Local Natures, Global Responsibilities: Ecocritical Perspectives on the New English Literatures*, eds. Laurenz Volkmann, Nancy Grimm, Ines Detmers, and Katrin Thomson (New York: Rodopi, 2010).

[32] J.K. Gibson-Graham, *A Postcapitalist Politics* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2006), 69.

More than providing tourist infrastructure, trails are a metaphor for accessing nature, showing its discursive past, present, and future, and providing a path to disrupt the ideological underpinnings of capitalist economic relations. The rationality imposed by logging roads and hiking trails is effervescent and temporary—untended, they are overgrown and reclaimed by the forest, the latter more quickly than the former. Similarly, forest discourse is comprised of moments of crystallized meaning, prone to epistemological shifts and decaying memory. Yet the malleability of such depictions stands in stark contrast to the tangible, concrete effects of logging, both socioeconomically and ecologically. In a sense, contested ontological debates and policy mediations are trails bushwhacked through unbroken forest, their violence effervescent and temporary. Capitalism is a highway: asphalted to transport unrelenting resource and tourist traffic.

This thesis offers no panacea, no brilliant solution to environmental collapse or the deepening inequalities of the global economic system. What it offers is evidence of the small diversions of weak ontological challengers to the path of unrestricted resource exploitation. "If living in history means that we cannot help leaving marks on a fallen world," Cronon writes, "then the dilemma we face is to decide what kinds of marks we wish to leave."[33] Our cultural creations of wilderness remain so important because they force us to ask about the Other, and whether it requires human intervention. Can and should we leave anyplace alone?

Tsawalk, the Capitalocene, and British Colonialism on the Pacific Coast

"The state does not have a relationship with nature, *it is a relationship with nature*."[34]

Human settlement near Carmanah Walbran dates to time immemorial. Beyond that, there is much disagreement between Indigenous and settler worldviews. While I hesitate to summarize, in *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview*, Umeek (E. Richard Atleo) interweaves origin stories,

[33] Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 88.
[34] Christian Parenti, "Environment-making in the Capitalocene: Political Ecology of the State," in *Anthropocene or Capitalocene?*: *Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, ed. Jason W. Moore (Oakland: PM Press, 2016), 166.

nature, ceremony, linguistics, and astrophysics to convey the interconnectedness of the spiritual, physical, and cognitive dimensions—*Heshook-ish tsawalk* (everything is one). Every life form is one, capable of changing essence as is required. Such a worldview facilitated the sustenance of an environment considered "pristine" by Europeans. According to settler archaeology, as the Pleistocene glaciation retreated over 14,000 years ago, humans moved into North America via the Beringia land bridge. New research shows that parts of BC remained unglaciated, with a coastal channel opening on the western edge of the continent. At the edge of glacial advance, on the west coast of what is now Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada, the ancestors of the Nuu-chah-nulth developed cosmologies, songs, dances, potlatches,[35] and traditions of fishing, whaling, hunting, harvesting, and woodworking embedded in land and water. Russian and Spanish explorers came in the eighteenth century, but Captain James Cook's 1778 arrival on Nootka Island eventually spurred settler colonization. He parleyed with locals, felled trees for masts and spars, and claimed the area for Britain. The Nuu-chah-nulth likely cared little that Spain formally ceded the "Island of Vancouver and its Dependencies" to Britain in the 1790s, integrating Europeans into their worldview and patterns of trade. European disease soon wrought havoc, however, with numerous smallpox and malaria outbreaks killing some 90 percent of Nuu-chah-nulth people by the 1830s. Only an estimated 2,000 remained by the 1930s. While nineteenth-century European settlement was limited, Europeans had already begun to transform the Island's human geography.[36]

[35] Derived from *pachitle* (to give), "potlatch" cannot be translated into Nuu-chah-nulth. Giving is a central component of *tsawalk*, manifesting in different forms with particular meanings that are minimized by the anglicization, after which point "it cannot be deduced…whether the ceremony was the *tloo-qua-nah*, a *yax-ma-thlit*, a memorial, a rite of passage, a celebration of life, a marriage, an adoption, or a transfer of a chieftainship seat," Umeek, *Tsawalk*, 3.

[36] Umeek (E. Richard Atleo), *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), xi-xx, 61-6, 126-7; Umeek (E. Richard Atleo), *Principles of Tsawalk: An Indigenous Approach to Global Crisis* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2011); Robert Boyd, "Smallpox in the Pacific Northwest: The First Epidemics," *BC Studies* 101 (1994), 17; E.Y. Arima, "Nuu-chah-nulth," Canadian Encyclopedia, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/nootka-nuu-chah-nulth, accessed Jan 2019; "Ancient B.C. footprints confirmed as earliest known in North America," *CBC News*, Mar 29, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/ancient-bc-footprints-earliest-known-north-america-1.4599568, accessed Jun 2019; R.E. Wells, *There's a Landing Today* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1988).

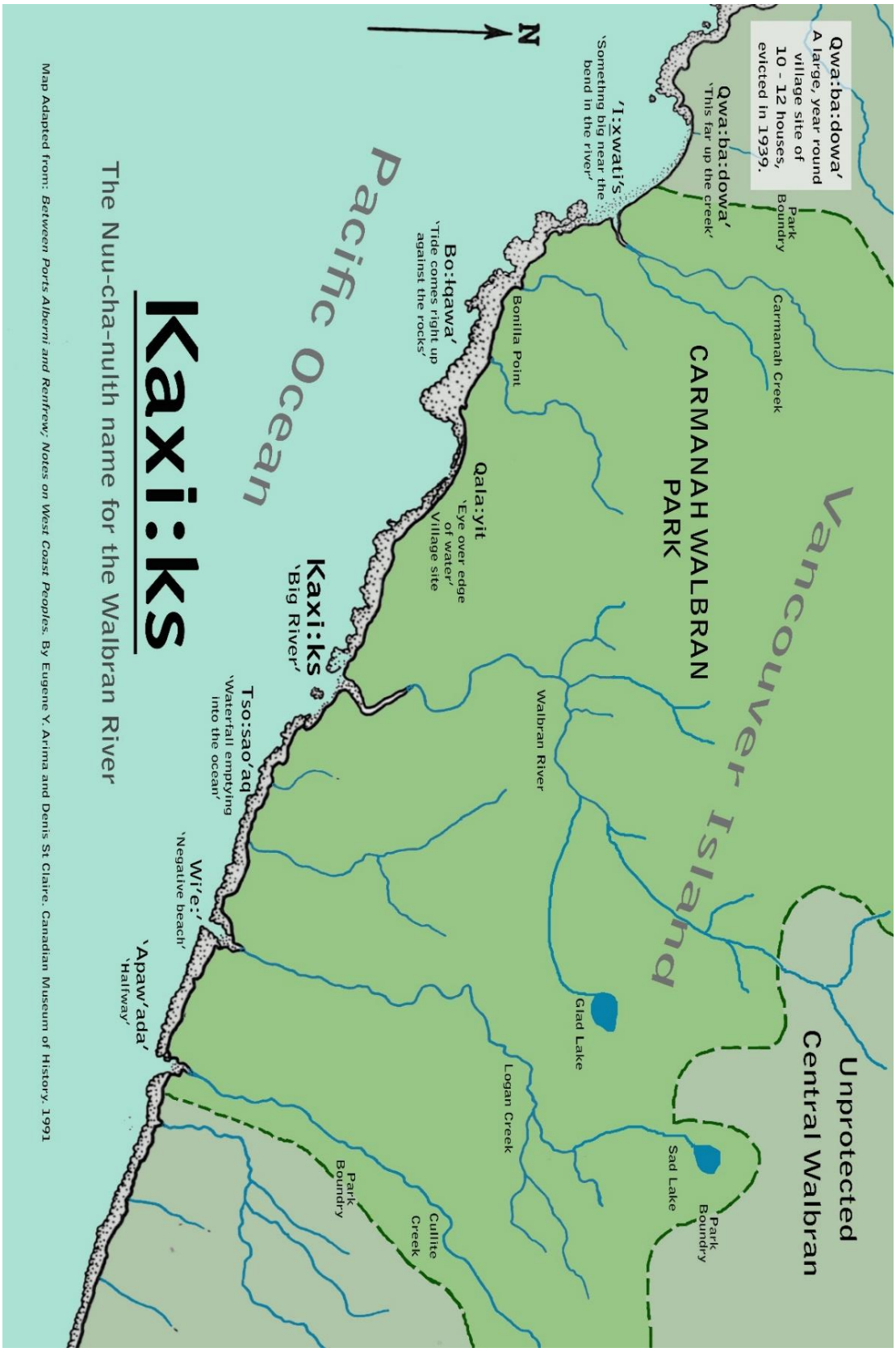

Fig. 2: FOCW, Nuu-chah-nulth place names for "Carmanah Walbran," adapted from E.Y. Arima and Denis St. Clair, *Between Ports Alberni and Renfrew: Notes on West Coast Peoples* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991).

Carmanah Walbran, the colonial signifier for the southern extent of the Nuu-chah-nulth, is the territory of the Qwa-Ba-Diwa and Pacheedaht. Both groups have Coast Salish ties and links to the Makah across the Juan de Fuca straight, with the latter residing at mouths of the San Juan and Gordon Rivers (what is now Port Renfrew) and the former around Qwa:ba:dowa', the basis of "Carmanah." The liminal mountainous headwaters were nearly inaccessible, wild, dense, wet, and bug-infested, with no village sites or culturally modified trees. The namesake for Kaxi:ks ("big river"), John Thomas Walbran, was the English-born, Victoria-buried author of *British Columbia Coast Names: 1592-1906*, a classic in cartographical maritime toponymy that constructed countless colonial signifiers on top of the Indigenous-named landscape that, as Dorothy Kennedy shows, remains an intricate tapestry rooted historically, linguistically, and spiritually.[37]

My research lacks many Indigenous voices, both due to the limited scope of a master's thesis, and the breadth of colonial discursive erasure. My "natural" history and brief overview of the Nuu-chah-nulth are not to imply a teleology of Nature→Nuu-chah-nulth→Canada, but to foreground the violence of knowledge production. Problematizing a depiction of a *pre-colonial, pre-Indigenous* Walbran, even in a superficial way, provides a lens to critique histories that project infinitely backwards. While there is a material natural world, there is no such thing as pre-discursive "nature."[38] Industrial capitalist resource extraction has not existed since time immemorial; it *became* foundational for Canada only recently in the long sweep of history.

As academic and journalist Christian Parenti writes, capital does not exist in isolation, nor is it a monolithic explication for the entirety of social relations. Rather, it is profoundly, even

[37] John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Place Names: 1592-1906* (Ottawa: Government Publishing Bureau, 1909); Dorothy Kennedy (in collaboration with the Ditidaht First Nation), "The Use of Toponyms in Locating the Culturally Salient Profile of the Aboriginal Ditidaht Landscape" (Victoria: Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants, (undated)), https://www.academia.edu/14264739/Topogeny_Among_the_Ditidaht, accessed June 2019.
[38] See Escobar, "After Nature."

existentially dependent on the unified collective action and planning underwritten by legal authority backed by organized violence. The survival of capital's world of self-interested accumulation is intimately linked to the exploitation of states' working populations and circumscribed territories, but also the subordination of non-capitalist values and institutions, and associated forms of production and reproduction under materialist economic frameworks. Canada and BC were essential precursors to capitalist industrial forest extraction, and the assertion of Crown land under the 1867 British North America Act, BC's entry into Canadian Confederation in 1871, and the 1881 creation of the West Coast agency of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) were tangible, vital steps in encoding Nuu-chah-nulth forests with capitalist nature.[39]

Beyond discursive marginalization, the colonization of the southern Nuu-chah-nulth was carried out through the DIA's 1924 institution of elected chieftainships and the creation of 16 Indian reserves (eventually set at two-acres per person) between Barkley Sound and the San Juan River. In 1939, Canada forcibly relocated the Qwa-Ba-Diwa from Carmanah Creek to the Ditidaht community at Clo-oose. Part administerial consolidation and part territory grab, these processes dovetailed with mandatory attendance at residential schools after 1920. A 1990s study reveals the horrors of the United-Church-run Alberni Indian Residential School and Tofino Christie Roman Catholic Church that operated until 1973 and 1983 respectively. Physical, sexual, emotional, and spiritual abuse are among the atrocities perpetrated during Canada's deliberate cultural genocide.[40]

Settler literature *on* Indigenous peoples shows a slow transition from concern over land claims in the 1980s to analyses of the potential for tribal parks co-management. Yet the

[39] Christian Parenti, "Environment-making in the Capitalocene," 166-171; Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), "Historical Timeline," https://www.ubcic.bc.ca/timeline, accessed June 2019.
[40] His-tah-too-quah (Peter Knighton), *Carmanah and Her Hereditary Guardians, a narrative account* (May 26, 1992) 1-4, https://friendsofcarmanahwalbran.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/carmanah-and-her-hereditary-guardians.pdf, accessed Jun 2019; Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, *Indian Residential Schools: The Nuu-chah-nulth Experience*, Indian Residential School Study, 1992-1994 (1996), vi-vii; 1, 11-2, 198; UBCIC, "Historical Timeline."

anthropological and archaeological roots of these works often fail to capture the distinctiveness of Nuu-chah-nulth worldviews portrayed by Atleo. Daniel Marshall's *Those Who Fell From the Sky: A History of the Cowichan Peoples* is an exception, conveying the calamity of colonization and distinctive Indigenous place-rooted worldviews through numerous interviews with members of the Hul'qumi'num treaty group.[41] Beyond Atleo, the (much smaller) canon *by* Indigenous authors centers on Peter Knighton, the recently deceased Qwa-Ba-Diwa chief (and former chief councillor of the Ditidaht First Nation) who asserted his nation's sovereignty over Carmanah Walbran in opposition to Canada and the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC), blockading with radical environmentalists and lauding tree spikers for challenging ecocide and genocide. His *Carmanah and her Hereditary Guardians* and 1992 address to the United Nations reveal contestation among Nuu-chah-nulth, complicating the simple narratives of ecological Indigeneity already punctured by NTC support for logging parts of Carmanah Walbran.[42]

As treaty processes have begun to reconcile Indigenous land claims within the Canadian legal framework, decolonization—that is, the rejection of Canadian paternalism and assertion of Indigenous self-determination—has become an increasingly fertile analytical framework for texts like *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, *Theorizing Natives Studies*,

[41] Frank Cassidy and Norman Dale, *After Native Claims?: The Implications of Comprehensive Claims Settlements for Natural Resources in British Columbia* (Lantzville: Oolichan Books, 1988); *Prospering Together: The Economic Impact of the Aboriginal Title Settlements in B.C.*, ed. Roslyn Kunin (Vancouver: Laurier Institution, 1998); Daniel Marshall, *Those Who Fell From the Sky: A History of the Cowichan Peoples* (Duncan: Rainshadow Press, 1999); Alan McMillian, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of Nuu-Chah-Nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Alan Hoover, *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys* (Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2000); Eugene Arima and Alan Hoover, *The Whaling People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery* (Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2011); Grant Murray and Leslie King, "First Nations Values in Protected Area Governance: Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve," *Human Ecology* 40, no. 3 (2012).

[42] Knighton, *Carmanah and her Hereditary Guardians*; "Eco-cide as Genocide Declaration" (1992), http://sisis.nativeweb.org/sov/ecogen1.html, http://sisis.nativeweb.org/sov/ecogen2.html#two, accessed Jun 2019; Eric Plummer, "Carmanah, My Carmanah: Peter Knighton leaves behind a legacy of advocacy for his territory," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, Jul 6, 2018; see also Chief Charles Jones with Stephan Bosustow, *Queesto, Pacheenaht Chief by Birthright* (Nanaimo: Theytus Books, 1981); Paul Nadasdy, "Transcending the Debate over the Ecologically Noble Indian: Indigenous Peoples and Environmentalism," *Ethnohistory* 52, no. 2 (2005).

and *Red Skin, White Masks*. Decolonization has become enmeshed in environmentalist discourse after years of colonialism with a green mask from environmental interests which tended to conflate Indigenous culture with static, unchanging nature. Yet this has done little to shake state foundations, as shown by the recent injunction against the Unist'ot'en pipeline protest camp in Wet'suwet'en territory. Resource extraction remains the status quo, and the deflection of colonial critiques through recognition and apology continues to be borne out in a sinister fashion with resource megaprojects on un-ceded land concomitant with Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and signing of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Keeping investors happy remains more foundational for Canada than treaties. In short, while this thesis focuses on corporatism more than colonialism, it is important to remember their linkages.[43]

A Map of Thesis Wilderness

Challenges to the dominant capitalist forest ontology have emerged and failed numerous times in BC history. The first two chapters of this thesis trace the evolution of worker and environmental ontologies from the nineteenth century to the 1980s. Throughout, "wise use" conservationism manifested in state-sponsored "sustained yield" management based on old-growth liquidation. Chapters three and four cover the Carmanah Walbran War in the Woods, showing how "sustainable development" ascended as the rhetorical defense of old-growth logging by integrating green demands while rejecting their underlying critiques of perpetual economic growth.

To establish how corporate forestry became dominant in BC and forest work a way of life in the Cowichan Valley, chapter one charts forest policy from the nineteenth century until the shutdown of the Honeymoon Bay Mill in 1981, the beginning of falldown. The post-WWII Fordist

[43] Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2014); Audra Simpson, *Theorizing Native Studies* ed. Andrea Smith (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2014); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999); "People arrested at Gidimt'en anti-pipeline camp allege inappropriate use of force," *CBC News,* Jan 12, 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/gidimten-wetsuweten-unistoten-rcmp-injunction-1.4971999, accessed Jan 2019.

era was guided by a sustained yield ontology based on a Pinchotian "wise use" premise that plantations would replace old growth timber. Though "wise use" entailed old-growth liquidation, until the 1970s it served as a resource management philosophy that both legitimated clearcutting and embodied a critique of laissez-faire timber capitalism. Unions saw forests as the source of present and future wages, and a guarantor of a way of life—if managed properly. This chapter explores lumber worker perspectives *prior* to the advent of environmentalism to illustrate that the IWA was both predicated on and critical of corporate profit prerogatives, in the end becoming part what historian Viv Nelles called the forest "exploitation axis" of industry, labour, and the state.[44]

Chapter two considers conservation ontologies, particularly wilderness environmentalism. Originating in the musings of John Muir, environmentalism incubated in the recreation, pollution, student, women, pacifist, and anti-nuclear movements of the 1960s. By the 1980s, Greenpeace, SPEC, and the Sierra Club were household names, with the Nitinat Triangle, Meares Island, and Haida Gwaii bringing old growth activism to the fore. The chapter analyzes the early arc of ecosystem-based valuations and the ways in which wilderness narratives defined the social natures of BC environmentalism, concluding in 1988, the first year of the Carmanah campaign.

Covering 1989-90, chapter three unpacks the myriad land-use processes initiated by the sunsetting Social Credit government in response to demands for green worldviews to guide land-use planning. This chapter documents the first extensive dialogue between environmentalist and worker narratives, showing the discursive cacophony of the War in the Woods. Spanning the conclusion of the first phase of the Carmanah campaign and the beginning of Walbran activism, this chapter demonstrates how sustainable development offered, to all stakeholders, a vision for environmental, social, and economic protection, but failed to overcome its internal contradictions.

[44] Jeremy Wilson, "Forest Conservation in British Columbia, 1935-85: Reflections on a Barren Political Debate," *BC Studies* 76 (Winter 1987/88), 7.

Chapter four covers 1991 to 1994, from the "Hot Summer in the Walbran Valley" to the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE). Civil disobedience, ecotage, and radical ecocentrism disrupted the moderate ENGO narratives that helped the NDP come to power in fall 1991 on promises of peace in the woods. The failure of the Vancouver Island CORE stakeholder roundtable to reach consensus led to a widely condemned cabinet compromise that protected significant portions of Carmanah Walbran but did not address challenges to the the fundamental ontological conception of forests as Canadian territory and corporate assets.

In the 25 years since CORE, dissidence over old growth forests has ebbed as neoliberal planning policy has deepened corporate control of the BC forest industry. Log exports have increased, regulatory oversight has decreased, and local sawmills continue to close. Despite the overwhelming energy, research, and passion of southern Vancouver Island forest interlocutors, TFLs remain legitimated by the colonialist state, forest management reforms come haltingly, and old-growth liquidation continues apace. Small-scale eco-forestry initiatives, tribal parks like Wah-nah-jus—Hilthoois (Meares Island), a co-management scheme between the Lake Cowichan community forest co-operative and the Pacheedaht First Nation, and the forthcoming resolution of Ditidaht and Pacheedaht treaty negotiations offer hope that new alliances and local control can reorient area forestry toward long-term sustainability rather than short-term profits for multinational companies. Unfortunately, this optimism has emerged only after most Vancouver Island forests have been transformed into second-growth plantations, less profitable to log and unenticing to visit. In providing historical examples of the ways that provincial governments allowed this to happen, this thesis strives to understand why such policies were ever considered common sense in the first place.

Chapter One: Settling Colonial Forestry at Lake Cowichan

"Capitalist nature is far from normal, much less natural. Rather, capitalist nature and its significations are made (not found), enabled, and reproduced by politics and history."[45]

European settlement on southern Vancouver Island since the 1840s has been unavoidably linked to the commodification of nature. This chapter focuses on conservation, unionization, and tenure policy to demonstrate how a capitalist mindset made corporate forest liquidation the strong ontology guiding colonial settlement in the Cowichan Valley. In the aftermath of the Esquimalt & Nanaimo railway grant, Premier Richard McBride's 1905 forest licence amendments, and the Fulton Commission, BC's 1912 *Forest Act* created a corporate revenue-sharing framework based on "wise use" forestry. Clearcutting in the 1920s and '30s led to intense debate on "forest famine," cutting regulation, fire protection, and silviculture, but criticism petered out due to global war and the 1941 death of its champion, Chief Forester E.C. Manning. The postwar sustained yield Tree Farm Licence (TFL) system emerging from the first Sloan Commission ceded Crown timber to private interests in perpetuity, elevated harvest levels to foster a Fordist production regime defined by vertical integration, economies of scale, and sophisticated company propaganda, and brought the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) into a Gomperist bargain.

The Fordist model yielded benefits for decades after the war, as sustained-yield policy seemed to signal the end of cut-and-run logging. Yet it faltered at Cowichan Lake with the 1968 closure of the Hillcrest mill at Mesachie Lake and then crashed during the 1970s oil shock and ensuing sharp global recession. Distant ownership became pervasive, the relative labour peace of the Fordist Era dissolved, and mechanization, log exports, timber shortage, and a neoliberalizing global economy brought flexible production regimes, layoffs, and shuttered mills. The closure of Western Forest Industries' Honeymoon Bay mill in 1981 left British Columbia Forest Products'

[45] Scott Prudham, "Sustaining Sustained Yield: Class, Politics, and Post-War Forest Regulation in British Columbia," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25 (2007), 259.

(BCFP) Youbou mill the last at Cowichan Lake. A century of management based on capitalist nature culminated with the inevitable "falldown" of second-growth yields following old-growth liquidation, a looming timber supply crisis at Youbou, and the 1987 takeover of BCFP by New-Zealand-based multinational conglomerate Fletcher Challenge Ltd.

BC's First Timber Regulations and the Colonization of Southern Vancouver Island

The signing of the "Douglas Treaties" between Governor James Douglas and Indigenous peoples in the early 1850s provided a discursive basis for European sovereignty over the Victoria area by circumscribing Indigenous territory to small reserves. In effect, though, the treaties merely formalized colonization. As Indigenous author Thomas King sardonically writes, "the Songhees, according to the wisdom of the time, were only occupying the land. They didn't really own it. They hadn't improved it. They didn't appreciate its real value. Ergo, they didn't deserve it." In language that also describes the marginalization of Nuu-chah-nulth peoples in Barkley Sound and Alberni, Dan Marshall calls the Canadian assertion of sovereignty over the lands of the Cowichan peoples, which involved a gunboat and no compensation, a "sleight-of-hand that bordered on the absurd."[46]

Enacted in 1853, BC's first timber regulations embodied the assertion of British control over land and resources, denied Indigenous title, and strove to ensure lumbering that promoted colonial settlement. Governor Douglas stated that the regulations were "intended to prevent the waste and destruction of timber on the public lands, and to throw the timber trade, as much as possible, into the hands of actual Colonists" by requiring loggers to be subjects of the Crown. In 1857, J. Despard Pemberton led the first official expedition to Cowichan Lake, a 15-day journey up the Cowichan River from coastal Duncan. His expedition produced a rough map, speculation about mineral wealth, and tales of 28-foot-diameter trees felled by "Indians" for canoes. Two years

[46] BC signed only 14 treaties prior to 2000, Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2012), 91-2; Daniel P. Marshall, *Those Who Fell from the Sky: A History of the Cowichan People* (Duncan: Cultural and Educational Centre, Cowichan Tribes, 1999), 115.

later, Captain Edward Stamp proposed an export sawmill on Alberni Inlet, endeavouring to acquire private timber holdings and land for agriculture. Instead, in a precedent-setting agreement, BC kept title to the land and offered Stamp cutting rights to 15,000 acres at a nominal rate if he built and operated a sawmill with a daily capacity of 50,000 board feet (118 cubic metres). The coastal rainforest became central to the colonial project, a tool to promote European settlement through the global timber trade. In 1864, Robert Brown led the second official expedition up the Cowichan River, meeting Indigenous bands and surveying prospective settlement as far as Nitinat Lake.[47]

Colonial management shifted subtly with BC's 1871 entry into Canada; the province held title to the land and Canada held charge of tidal waters. Following the assertion of Crown land, colonialism in the Cowichan Valley relied on settler pre-emptions, timber leases, and railway grants rather than treaties. In 1879, William Sutton acquired a 7,079-acre timber lease at the Lake linked to his sawmill at Genoa Bay, near Duncan. In 1884, BC began the convoluted process of transferring 1,900,000 acres of eastern Vancouver Island Crown land, including much of the Cowichan Valley, to Canada to foster the construction of a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo. Contrary to Stamp's and Sutton's terms, BC ceded stumpage, royalties, and authority to set harvest or export regulations, giving interests led by coal magnate Robert Dunsmuir private ownership over some of the island's best timber. Despite the Esquimalt & Nanaimo (E&N) railway grant, the coming wave of speculators was slow to arrive. Cowichan lacked a railway to tidewater and logging was arduous work done by axe and crosscut saw, with draft animals yarding logs from the woods as shoreline timber was depleted. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Burrard Inlet in 1885 opened the Canadian prairies to immigrant farmers, increased demand by

[47] Gordon Hak, *Turning Trees into Dollars: The British Columbia Coastal Lumber Industry, 1858-1913* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2000), 65-9 Douglas quoted on p. 67; Lindsay Elms, *Beyond Nootka, A Historical Perspective of Vancouver Island Mountains* (Courtenay: Misthorn Press, 1996), 21-2; *Robert Brown and the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition*, ed. John Hayman (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989); 1 board foot = 0.00236 cubic metres.

creating a vast domestic market, and piqued interest in Cowichan timber. Hewitt & McIntyre bought Sutton's holdings in 1887 and three years later contracted Angus Fraser to drive one million board feet of timber down the Cowichan River to Genoa Bay. In 1889, a group led by American J.A. Humbird bought 100,000 acres of E&N timber (30,000 of it in the Cowichan Valley) and a small Chemainus sawmill which was soon replaced by the Humbird syndicate's Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing (VL&M) plant, one of BC's largest. In 1897, Ontarian Mossom Boyd bought out Hewitt & McIntyre, heralding both the arrival of eastern capital seeking fresh timber and the shift from pioneer homesteading to industrialism as engines, or steam "donkeys," replaced draft animals as the primary yarding method. BC's population grew from 50,000 to 180,000 between 1881 and 1901, by which point several themes in provincial forests were already coming into sharp relief: colonization, licencing, and increasingly sophisticated technology guided policy written to boost investment, revenue, and settlement.[48]

Nineteenth-century mills and logging camps often shuttered after only a few years of operation because they failed to find markets for their products or quickly exhausted accessible timber. Since few loggers could afford sawmill construction and operation, and the E&N grant alienated much of the accessible forestland on southern Vancouver Island, political outcry over the specter of monopolization led to 1884 *Land Act* amendments that produced a new form of timber allocation: four-year, non-transferrable licences covering 100 acres. In 1886, the licences

[48] W.A. Taylor, *Crown Land Grants: A History of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Land Grants, the Railway Belt and the Peace River Block* (Victoria: MoELP, 1997), 4-11; G.W. Taylor, *Timber: A History of the Forest Industry in BC* (Vancouver: JJ Douglas, 1975), 48; VL&M used the first "donkey" at Cowichan Lake in 1892. See Richard Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge: A Century of the Forest Industry at Cowichan Lake* (Lake Cowichan: Lake Cowichan Heritage Advisory Committee, 1993), 16-20; Richard Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 10-9; Gordon Hak, *Turning Trees into Dollars*, 4, 16-7, 23-4, 42-8, 67-71; Joseph G. Moore, "Two Struggles into One? Labour and Environmental Movement Relations and the Challenge to Capitalist Forestry in British Columbia, 1900-2000" (PhD diss., McMaster Univ., 2002), 92; Eric Grass, "Employment and Production: The Mature Stage in the Lifecycle of a Sawmill: Youbou, British Columbia 1929-1989" (PhD diss., SFU, 1991), 71-84; Cowichan River log drives destroyed traditional fishing weirs and marginalized Indigenous use and occupation, see Marshall, *Those Who Fell from the Sky*, 143-5.

were divided into two categories: Special Timber Licences (STLs) for specific areas and General Timber Licences which let handloggers roam the coastline harvesting timber on unclaimed Crown land. Neither tenure proved particularly attractive to investors, so in 1905 Conservative Premier Richard McBride amended STL terms to foster development. McBride extended STLs to 21-year terms, made them transferable, and removed restrictions on the number of licences an individual or corporation could control. Over the next two years, genuine investors and speculators scooped up over 15,000 square miles (38,850 square kilometres) in STLs, including 30 percent of the Carmanah watershed. McBride placed a moratorium on timberland alienation in 1907, but foreign ventures had already saturated the forest market. A 1910 estimate put US investment at $65 million—about 75 percent of the industry's total value. While the increased investment pleased McBride, he was concerned that the absence of formal revenue-sharing policy or a Forest Service to set regulations inhibited rational management. Harvested or not, STL lands would return to the Crown after their 21-year terms, so banks did not accept them as collateral. This put firms under intense pressure to log quickly. In light of this, McBride called a royal commission in 1909 to make STLs renewable in perpetuity, clarify Crown revenue provisions, and create a scientific forestry apparatus; in short, to rationalize capitalist social nature.[49]

A state/industry partnership rooted in scientific forestry emerged from the 1909-10 *Royal Commission of Inquiry on Timber and Forestry*, chaired by Conservative Minister of Lands Frederick Fulton. BC sought rational administration over the mix of leased, licenced, and Crown-grant land; industry saw the commission as an opportunity to achieve perpetuity of tenure, price

[49] Moore, "Two Struggles into One," 92; Hak, *Turning Trees into Dollars,* 30, 69-72, 85-106; Stephen Gray, "The Government's Timber Business: BC Forest Policy and Administration in British Columbia, 1912-1928," *BC Studies* 81 (1989), 26; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge,* 16; WCWC, "Carmanah: Canadian Rainforest," *Educ. Report* 8, no. 3 (1989); Jamie Swift, *Cut and Run: The Assault on Canada's Forests* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1983), 58-9; Donald MacKay, *Empire of Wood: The MacMillan Bloedel Story* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1982), 33.

stability, and improved fire protection. STLs were made renewable in perpetuity amid proceedings in 1910, betraying the priorities of the commission. Focus was then directed toward creating a model forest agency. For Thomas Roach, the 1912 *Forest Act* was a progressive policy based on the "astute assimilation" of scientific and administrative principles from Europe and eastern North America. To this end, the new British Columbia Forest Service (BCFS) had a broad mandate for "fire protection, insect and disease control, forest reconnaissance, efficient forest use, public education, and the collection and dissemination of statistical information on silviculture, forest conditions, forest use, and markets for wood products." While Rajala and Stephen Gray offer a more critical perspective, the McBride government had created an agency, as Hak puts it, to efficiently turn trees into dollars.[50]

The Conservative government steered BCFS "wise use" toward industrial development. As Royal Commissioner A.C. Flumerfelt wrote, conservation meant "the application of ordinary business principles to natural resources." The BCFS was a tool for the provincial state to protect forests for future exploitation, albeit one with no purview over Crown-grant land and only limited powers on tenures approved prior to 1912. Full agency authority was confined to the relatively small amount of logging under the new timber sale policy. That said, H.R. MacMillan's mandate as BC's first chief forester was not to constrain, but to promote rapid development by large, foreign-owned companies. An acolyte of Bernard Fernhow's school of *normalbaum* forestry grounded in replacing "decadent" old-growth with "vigorous" second-growth plantations, MacMillan believed that, due to the inevitability of rot, fire, and pests, "what is not cut is wasted in the end." Ken Drushka argues that World War I timber demands and the 1917 replacement of

[50] Rajala, *Clearcutting*, 116; Hak, *Turning Trees into Dollars*, 113-4; Thomas Roach, "Stewards of the People's Wealth: The Founding of British Columbia's Forest Branch," *Journal of Forest History* 28, no. 1 (1984), 14-23; Stephen Gray, "Forest Policy and Administration in British Columbia, 1912-1928" (Master's Thesis, SFU, 1982), 8, 31-2, 47-9, 53-7; for more on turn-of-the-century conservationism, see David Brownstein, "Sunday Walks and Seed Traps: The Many Natural Histories of British Columbia Forest Conservation, 1890-1925" (PhD diss., UBC, 2006).

MacMillan by Martin Allerdale Grainger compromised a truly conservationist ethic in the BCFS, but analyzing its genesis shows its true—capitalist—nature. As Gray sums up, nuancing Roach's depiction of BCFS progressivism, from 1912-28 "the provincial state, in spite of a substantial amount of conflict between industry members and department officials, served largely as an instrument of the forest capitalist class, rather than an institution responsible to the people of the province." Thus, while Joseph Moore claims that the abrupt shift from "frontier capitalism" to "modern" scientific forestry resulted in part from social movements advocating the preservation of places like Strathcona Provincial Park, the swift changes to STLs and commodity-driven role of BCFS forestry suggests that the commission's pre-eminent concerns were tenure security and the specifics of rational management to ensure industry profitability.[51]

Corporate Capture, the Flying Machine, and Worker Resistance at Cowichan Lake

In the 1910s, three interrelated developments made mass production for global markets a reality for the Cowichan Lake forest industry: the Canadian Pacific Railway's (CPR) E&N line linked Cowichan to tidewater at Crofton in 1913, overhead yarding systems and clearcutting became standard practice, and workers began unionizing. Having bought out the Dunsmuir interests in 1905, the CPR initiated E&N land sales to well-capitalized firms. New York based Empire Lumber Co. and Humbird's VL&M held 54,000 and 30,000 acres, respectively, by the 1910s. The Boyd interests controlled 15,000 acres via renewable sawmill leases. Assured control over large tracts of timber, these firms introduced costly overhead yarding systems. Cables rigged to the tops of de-limbed "spar trees" ran through pulley systems to lift logs' lead ends off the ground, avoiding stumps, sinkholes, and saplings, greatly amplifying the speed and intensity of

[51] Gray, "Forest Policy and Administration in British Columbia," iv, Flumerfelt quoted on p. iv; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 29; MacMillan quoted in Ken Drushka, *In the Bight: The BC Forest Industry Today* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1999), 39-40; Moore, "Two Struggles into One?" 89-90.

operations and ushering in the era of clearcutting which denuded entire valleys. The speedup of machine pacing dramatically boosted productivity—and added another hardship to loggers already suffering squalid camp conditions, lax safety standards, and wages which failed to keep pace with the high rate of wartime inflation. As a result, workers began to organize.[52]

Prior to the First World War, BC forest worker strikes were scattered, intermittent, and largely ineffective. Divided between the woods and the mills, loggers and millworkers were unable to achieve wide-ranging unionization. For loggers especially, organizing disparate, far-flung camps was daunting enough *notwithstanding* employer hostility. From 1915 to 1919—catalyzed by a war that made clear the links between imperialism, capitalism, and the exploitation of the proletariat—the number of unionized workers in all sectors of the BC economy rose from 10,750 to 40,000. Though union agitation across Canada receded after the 1919 Winnipeg General strike, logger unionism had just begun. In 1918, the BC Federation of Labour launched organizing drives and Genoa Bay Co. loggers struck, but it was the emergence of the Lumber Workers Industrial Union (LWIU) in 1919 that spurred collective action. By year end the union had over 11,000 members—70 percent of BC loggers—triggering 31 strikes. Though the socialist LWIU executive counselled against striking, preferring that workers educate themselves in class consciousness in preparation for revolution, the next year saw 50 strikes, and exceptional militancy from Cowichan loggers. In response, the operators' BC Loggers Association started an open-shop drive through its new employment agency which in effect blacklisted organizers. International market disruptions and a faltering postwar economy then plunged BC into a two-year depression. Camp closures and unsynchronized mill and woods strikes undermined worker solidarity. By the 1923 bull market, the LWIU was in shambles due to high unemployment, conflict over strategy, and the

[52] One of the first BC firms to use the system, Empire Lumber Co. began clearcutting in Cowichan by the early 1910s, Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 22-3; Rajala, *Clearcutting*, 110-8.

determined operator offensive. It took until the 1930s for militant unionism to re-emerge.[53]

The coordinated response of lumbermen to post-WWI strike fever also included nominal improvements in camp conditions and the formation of company towns to create settled, placid workforces. Empire Lumber Co. officers C.C. Yount and G.B. Bouton sought to employ married men rather than transient loggers at Cottonwood Creek on the north shore of Cowichan Lake. Combining their names, Yount and Bouton rechristened the area "Youbou" (see Fig. 3) and by the early 1920s 12 families had taken up residence at the site of a small sawmill. A classic company town developed. With its large boarding house for single workers and family dwellings featuring electric lights, running water, and indoor plumbing, Youbou provides an example of the corporate character of Cowichan communities. In 1925 the Canadian National Railway reached Cottonwood, providing a second transportation link to the lake. The 1927 purchase of Empire Logging Co. holdings by Industrial Timber Mills (ITM) brought a degree of community to Caycuse, the 200-person "Camp 6" at the southwestern end of Cowichan Lake, a source of timber for processing at Youbou. A new, larger Youbou sawmill began turning out lumber in July 1929 as an eight-mile (thirteen-kilometre) highway linked the community to the town of Lake Cowichan. Its saws fell silent from 1931-33 as the Great Depression closed Caycuse but Youbou grew to a population of 700 by 1939 as markets improved. ITM provided decent wages, schools, a community hall, and an interdenominational church but was far less willing to cede managerial control, with a revived woodworkers union in the 1930s heralding post-WWII Fordism. The lack of forest regeneration and receding timberline indicated that Youbou served its corporate sponsors, not the contrary.[54]

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[53] Richard Rajala, "Bill and the Boss: Labor Protest, Technological Change, and the Transformation of the West Coast Logging Camp, 1890–1930, *Forest & Conservation History* 33, no. 4 (1989), 168-79; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 37-8; Gordon Hak, *Capital and Labour in the British Columbia Forest Industry, 1934-74* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 67; Gordon Hak, *The Left in British Columbia: A History of Struggle* (Vancouver: Ronsdale, 2013), 52-6; Gordon Hak, "British Columbia Loggers and the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, 1919-1922," *Labour/Le Travail* 23 (1989), 67, 73, 78-9, 83; Gray "Forest Policy and Administration in British Columbia," 51-62.
[54] Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 27, 39-48, 60; Grass, "Employment and Production," 71-104.

Fig. 3: The Cowichan Valley (Google Maps, 2019).

Conservation, Communism, and the CCF Challenge Capitalist Nature

The first extensive challenge to capitalist nature came in the 1930s, when forest survey findings bolstered critiques from the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and International Woodworkers of America (IWA) which tied worker fatalities and environmental degradation to the forest industry's profit motive. Founded in Calgary in 1932, the CCF drew together much of the non-communist left in support of government regulation and an electoral transition to democratic socialism. The CCF asserted in its Regina Manifesto that "no CCF Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning," vowing to give the "welfare of the community" precedence over "private wealth." Conservative party infighting allowed the CCF to win seven seats in the 1933 BC election with 31.53 percent of the vote, becoming the Official Opposition to Duff Pattullo's Liberal government and giving a resurgent LWIU hope for a political ally on the left.[55]

Meanwhile, preliminary BC Forest Service research forecast a looming reforestation crisis brought on by unregulated clearcutting. The BC CCF took up the critique, proffering caterpillar-tractor selective logging as a modern alternative. In 1933, the CCF's Ernest Bakewell demanded a study of the selective approach to "allay the growing discontent among the public over the ruthless and unprofitable destruction of our forests." Independent Cowichan MLA and Cowichan *Leader* editor Hugh Savage advanced a similar critique in January 1934, asserting that clearcutting needed to be replaced with a logging regime which fit the speed requirements of modern operations while "conserv[ing] our heritage." Though he blamed American competition, Premier Pattullo admitted BC forests were being "mined" and announced an inquiry into logging methods, slash burning, reforestation, and royalty rates. Branding criticism of clearcutting as ill-informed, Chief

[55] Regina Manifesto cited in Hak, *The Left in BC,* 82; Rajala, *Clearcutting*, 154.

Forester P.Z. Caverhill cited studies from the US Pacific Northwest showing that selective logging was used to "cheapen the process and return greater profits," not conserve or reforest. Growing awareness of the alarming death and injury rate among coastal loggers added another dimension to the critique of overhead yarding and in 1934, citing imperilled human lives and forest health, the Associated Boards of Trade of Vancouver Island demanded a ban on the method. Ernest C. Manning's 1935 appointment as Chief Forester brought a voice backing moderate reforms to the BCFS and F.D. Mulholland's 1937 *The Forest Resources of British Columbia* documented the growing extent of non-regenerating cutover land, giving further support for regulation.[56] However, though 1930s foresters grasped the consequences of unregulated lumbering, neither development shifted the clearcut prerogatives of the firms rapidly industrializing provincial forests.

Amid these debates, a resurgent LWIU, including the Cowichan local (IWA 1-80), joined the IWA in 1937. An exchange that year in the *B.C. Lumber Worker* reflected the young union's concern with connecting the social and ecological costs of "high-ball" logging. A letter demanded an end to the "uncontrolled methods" that killed men and young growth alike in the name of profit. A pessimistic editor replied that he wanted to "help Mr. Manning chop the tentacles off the monster that is leaving a wasted country and a mangled humanity along their roads to profit," but warned that given the IWA's precarious position, socialism had to be a secondary goal. A 1938 strike at Blubber Bay won acclaim but few tangible gains: BC labour law did not recognize the IWA as a bargaining representative and operator resistance forestalled progress in achieving collective bargaining rights. By 1938 the union shrank to 226 members, validating the editor's restraint.[57]

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[56] Bakewell quoted in Rajala, *Clearcutting*, 157; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge,* 46-8, 70-1 Caverhill and Savage quoted on p. 67; Moore, "Two Struggles into One?" 151-2; Hak, *Capital and Labour*, 69; F.D. Mulholland, *The Forest Resources of British Columbia* (Victoria: Department of Lands, BCFS, 1937); Grass, "Employment and Production," 99.

[57] Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 60-78; Moore, "Two Struggles into One?" 154-7, *B.C. Lumber Worker* (Nov 24, 1937) quoted on pp. 152-3; Hak, *Capital and Labour,* 69-71; Jerry Lembcke and William Tattam, *One Union in*

Manning's campaign to regulate forest cutting practices also confronted industry resistance. In the end, he settled for meagre requirements for slash burning and fire control which operators decried as dictatorial and largely ignored. The largest hurdle to forest renewal was no longer a lack of knowledge; it was the prioritization of capital investment and profit over silviculture. Thus, in the face of mounting evidence to the contrary, Premier Pattullo deemed natural reforestation satisfactory, allowing clearcutting to continue apace after the regulation debate lost its most prominent voice when Manning died in a plane crash en route from Ottawa in 1941.[58]

The outbreak of World War II inhibited silvicultural regulation but contributed momentum to forest unionism. With a booming war economy, production ran at full capacity, giving loggers leverage to strike without fear of being blacklisted. A strike at Rounds camp near Gordon River in 1941 led to the IWA's first collective bargaining agreement and a closed shop for IWA 1-80 with the Lake Logging Co. Across BC, 1942-43 saw the most concerted job action since 1920. The union surge, coupled with growing national support for the CCF, pushed the Mackenzie King government to amend the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration (ICA) Act in 1943 to stabilize war production with state-supported collective bargaining. A strike on Haida Gwaii, the source of aircraft-grade Sitka spruce, saw the first use of the new ICA Act—and a historic IWA collective bargaining agreement. Alberni and Vancouver sawmills and 23 coastal logging camps soon joined the IWA, and by December 1943 the union had agreements covering over 8,000 coastal workers.[59]

Meanwhile, in the arena of provincial politics, the CCF called for nationalizing the forest industry. However, a Liberal-Conservative coalition outmaneuvered the CCF in the 1943 election, promising to stave off "forest famine" and overhaul policy for the first time since 1912. The

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Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1984), 46, 113, 177.

[58] EC Manning, *Address by the Chief Forester to the Forestry Committee of the British Columbia Legislature*, Nov 9, 1939 (Victoria: BCFS, 1939), BC Leg. Library, BC F59 D:A33M3 1939; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 67-8.

[59] Hak, *Capital and Labour*, 84-6, 95; Hak *The Left in BC*, 93-5; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 85-8, 94.

ensuing Sloan Commission saw two years of hearings, dozens of briefs, and much debate but, as Ken Drushka argues, ultimately aimed to sway BC residents to *accept* "sustained yield," not debate its character.[60]

The First Sloan Commission: Manufacturing Consent for Sustained Yield Development

"Just what are we trying to sustain anyway—tree growth, established operations, taxable wealth, jobs, communities, bureaucratic administration, virgin timber?"[61]

With post-WWI social and economic calamity in mind, BC's coalition government began planning for the post-WWII world long before the conflict ended. The *Royal Commission on Forest Resources* headed by lawyer, judge, and former Liberal MLA Gordon Sloan sought to address the unsolved issues of the 1930s regulation debate: forest protection, community stability, and long-term planning. Building on the "wise use" conservationism of the 1912 *Forest Act*, sustained yield took *normalbaum* forestry to its logical extreme. The commission created Forest Management Licences—soon renamed Tree Farm Licences (TFLs)—which joined Crown and private land into areas large enough for 80-year rotations, foresaw the conversion of natural forests into plantations, and required the operation of processing centres to sustain timber-dependent communities. The Crown retained land title but TFL holders received perpetually renewable harvesting rights, incentivizing companies to plant, tend, and cut forests on a crop rotation basis, in theory bringing public and private interests into accord.[62]

Yet even at the time, independent operators, the CCF, and the IWA pushed for guarantees that sustained yield management would sustain communities as well as profits, fearing TFLs would lead to the monopolization of tenures by large, corporate operators. In briefs to Sloan, Cowichan Valley business leaders, the CCF, and the Truck Loggers' Association (TLA) stated that TFLs

[60] Ken Drushka, *Stumped: The Forest Industry in Transition* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985), 42-4.
[61] L.S. Eckardt, Esq. Counsel, Truck Loggers' Association of British Columbia, *Argument submitted to Royal Commission on Forestry, British Columbia* (July 1956), 3, BC Archives GR-0668, Box 16, File 402.
[62] Hak, *Capital and Labour*, 50; Rajala, *Clearcutting*, 191-2.

would favour large operator profits at the expense of community stability. A 1944 Duncan Chamber of Commerce brief argued that insufficient silvicultural spending put the 1,400 jobs linked to the 16 Cowichan district mills, 1,200 jobs in area logging camps, and 5,000-6,000 dependent livelihoods at risk. Four-fifths of the 55,000 acres of cutover lands in the district were privately owned, meaning that TFL incentives would not bring about intensive silviculture on the required scale. The brief demanded a ban on log exports and that "all monies" from royalties and stumpage fees be used for "replenishing our forests." Comox CCF MLA Colin Cameron, whose party favoured sustained yield on nationalized forests, argued that by failing to invest in forest renewal, BC was acting like "an exiled Russian Grand Duchess who sells her jewels bit by bit to get the…necessities of life." Representing over 100 small operators, the TLA rightly felt that the requirement that TFL holders operate processing centres favoured well-capitalized firms that could afford to invest in pulp mills, portending forest tenure concentration and the death of independents. All three voices asserted that TFLs had insufficient provisions for re-growth, prioritized profits over people, and were designed not only to benefit, but to foster large integrated companies.[63]

The brief submitted by IWA District Council No. 1 saw president Harold Pritchett, a communist denied entry visas to the US after 1940, outline the tenuousness of workers' rights, deplorable camp conditions, and the unsafe working conditions and environmental degradation caused by overhead systems. Though he shared the CCF's alarm over unregulated logging, Pritchett did not back their nationalization agenda. As Lembcke and Tattam write, the mid-1940s were a time of intense debate on the left, and Communism was a key cleavage point. In 1945, IWA

[63] "Kaatza Musings: exerpts [sic] from a Forestry Brief, April 6, 1944, presented by the Duncan Chamber of Commerce," *Lake News*, Apr 20, 1994; Cameron quoted in Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 115; Hak, *Capital and Labour,* 52-4; Jim Girvan, "The TLA: 75 years of Innovation and Advocacy," *Truck Logger BC* (2018), 28-9; see David Brownstein, Jennifer Howes and TLA, *Timber Forever! Standing Tall & Strong for 75 Years: The Truck Loggers Association* (Vancouver: Klahanie, 2018).

1-80 sub-locals at Youbou and Chemainus petitioned to split from the Duncan district office, citing opposition to the union's wartime no-strike pledge and 1-80 leadership's communist bent. Such divisions were prevalent throughout District Council No. 1, so Pritchett, a devout communist since before he led the 1931 Fraser Mills LWIU strike, charted a moderate course, embracing sustained yield regulation and long-term planning based on "multiple-use values." Historian Eryk Martin suggests that Pritchett's vision of sustained yield valued wildlife habitat, soil preservation, healthy watersheds, recreation, and conservation, but increasing workers' share of profit was paramount.[64]

Sloan knew that cutting without ensuring regrowth would "jeopardize seriously the future development of our logging industry," and ensure "the decline of communities to ghost towns." Yet he asserted that "public welfare must take precedence" to justify *rejecting* forest nationalization and steps likely to provoke industry opposition to what they considered "their property rights." In the end he favoured the recommendations of new Chief Forester C.D. Orchard: the development of pulp mills funded by old-growth liquidation on a sustained yield basis. The lack of a strong dissenting voice within the forest bureaucracy after Manning's death, a left split between the IWA and CCF, and corporate control of the means of production hamstrung the creation of a worker-controlled forest industry based on silviculture and socialized profits.[65]

The 1947 coalition government's *Forest Act* crafted a sustained yield policy which (as in Orchard's vision) merged public and private holdings into perpetually renewable TFLs tied to mills. Public Sustained Yield Units (PSYU), managed by BCFS foresters, supplied timber for the open log market. The Forest Minister had the final authority to bestow TFLs, and grants to large operators became the norm, intended to attract capital to invest in pulp mills. Trusting perpetual

[64] Eryk Martin, "When Red Meets Green: Perceptions of Environmental Change in the B.C. Communist Left, 1937-1978" (Master's Thesis, UVic, 2008), 12-8, 55-6; Lembcke and Tattam, *One Union in Wood,* 108-9.
[65] Sloan quoted in Rajala, *Clearcutting,* 196; Prudham, "Sustaining Sustained Yield," 262-3.

tenure and company self-interest rather than stringent regulations to remedy barren cutover lands would prove folly, but on southern Vancouver Island, this remained a problem for the future, as the west coast offered a vast untouched timber reserve. TFL policies, combined with an underfunded forest bureaucracy which privileged development over sustainability, enshrined *normalbaum* forestry that promised the rapid liquidation of BC's old-growth forests, with sustained yield serving as a rhetorical flourish rather than guiding principle. Moore argues that the convergence of conservation and labour critiques in the 1930s and the CCF nationalization threat contributed to the sweeping changes of 1947 *Forest Act*, but the Fordist TFL system represented a transformation (and intensification) of capitalist nature, not a rejection.[66]

The persuasive symbolism of sustained yield and deepening Red Scare led to a purge of communists from the IWA by the early 1950s after a coordinated attack by social democratic "Whites," the state, and employers. Collective bargaining channeled militancy toward demands for benefits programs, higher wages, and safety standards rather than proletarian revolution. As Martin argues, the split between the Reds and Whites stemmed from the attempt of the former to "divorce the articulation of sustained yield from the promotion of private enterprise." After a 37-day IWA strike in 1946 that led to 40-hour weeks, mandatory dues checkoffs, a 15-cent wage increase—and expanded company blacklists of radicals—desperate communist leaders, Pritchett included, created the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada (WIUC). Few IWA members joined the WIUC before it folded in 1951, and the union retreated further from its early links to

[66] C.D. Schultz & Company Ltd, *Synopsis of the Report of the Commission relating to The Forest Resources of British Columbia, 1956* (Vancouver: Sept 1957), 15, BC Archives GR-0668, Box 1, File 3; Rajala, "Nonsensical and a contradiction in terms," 92; Richard Rajala, *Up-coast: Forests and Industry on British Columbia's North Coast, 1870-2005* (Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2006), 151-3; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge,* 68; Drushka, *Stumped,* 41-6; Ken Drushka, "Forest Tenure: Forest Ownership and the Case for Diversification," in eds. Drushka, Bob Nixon, and Ray Travers, *Touch Wood: BC Forests at the Crossroads* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1993), 14-6; Jeremy Wilson, "Forest Conservation in British Columbia 1935-1986," 8-10; Moore, "Two Struggles into One?" 6, 129; Hak, *The Left in BC,* 103-4.

communist critiques of rapacious capitalism into a Gompers-style business unionism.[67]

The CCF's threats to nationalize forests similarly gave way to the context of the Cold War. Prudham argues that "reform socialism" institutionalized militancy *within* rather than *against* capitalism, "consolidating political consent" for the TFL as "an outstanding example of co-operation between government and industry," as Donald McKay puts it. In the end, the potential for red/green alliance in the 1930s faded away in the face of sustained yield's promise of "prosperity for posterity."[68]

Though the coalition government crafted the TFL system, the Social Credit party charted its course. In 1951, after three failed bids at leadership, Conservative MLA W.A.C. Bennett left the party. He joined the Social Credit League later that year, won a minority government in 1952, and a year later consolidated his majority in a snap election. The Socreds united the right with a populist platform and eclectic MLA roster, but over the course of their 20 years of governance came to be defined by Bennett's idiosyncratic charisma, laissez-faire economics, a BC-first mindset, and capital-intensive development projects.[69]

Despite populist election promises, the Socreds, too, privileged the stability, developmental capacity, investment appeal, and global competitiveness of integrated firms like MacMillan Bloedel (MacBlo) and British Columbia Forest Products (BCFP). MacBlo was comprised of the H.R. MacMillan Export Company and Bloedel Stewart & Welch—companies with long ties to south Vancouver Island. Founded in 1946 by a well-capitalized syndicate led by Toronto investor

[67] Martin, "When Red Meets Green," quote from 89, see 79, 130, 133; Hak, *The Left in BC,* 95-6. Grass, "Employment and Production," 135-9; Erik Loomis, "When Loggers Were Green: Lumber, Labor, and Conservation, 1937–1948," *Western Historical Quarterly* 46 (2015), 430-1.
[68] Prudham, "Sustaining Sustained Yield," 259-61, 272-5; Hak, *The Left in BC,* 101; MacKay, *Empire of Wood*, 335; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge,* 84-5.
[69] Gordon Hak, "Populism and the 1952 Social Credit Breakthrough in British Columbia," *The Canadian Historical Review* 85, no. 2 (2004); David Mitchell, *WAC Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983).

E.P. Taylor, BCFP became a major player at Cowichan with the 1946 purchase of ITM holdings. Mills operated by the Hillcrest Lumber Company and Western Forest Industries (WFI) opened at Mesachie Lake in 1942 and Honeymoon Bay in 1947 respectively, fostering new company towns at Cowichan Lake. While Cowichan logging had been directed from afar since the Empire Lumber Co. years, the integration of processes from "stump to dump" (timber rights, logging, transport, milling, and export) heralded a future of industrial oligopoly led by multinational conglomerates. In the short term, however, the economy boomed. A 1953 ad from the Duncan Chamber of Commerce shows the buoyant mood in the Cowichan Valley. With mills at Mesachie Lake, Honeymoon Bay, Youbou, and Chemainus supplied by numerous logging camps, enough "virgin forest" for decades, and six million seedlings planted annually, the "Good Life" seemed assured.[70]

Economic growth mirrored the rapid expansion of logging roads into Cowichan forests (Fig. 4) as the pneumatic-tired logging truck became ubiquitous. The truck's steep-slope mobility combined with portable steel spars to eventually displace logging railroads, guiding development at the lake after 1955 when a road on the south shore connected Caycuse to Honeymoon Bay and Mesachie Lake. Relatively cheap and easy to acquire, trucks allowed enterprising loggers with a distaste for wage work to go into business as independents or contractors for the 'majors.' "Gyppo" truck logging offered industry diversification, but too often took the form of subcontracting on TFLs owned by integrated firms. After 1953 clauses mandated that contractors harvest at least 30 percent of AAC, but small operators saw TFLs as ensuring inevitable "ruin" for the independent logging sector, a key topic of inquiry for Sloan's 10-year review of the sustained yield model.[71]

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[70] MacKay, *Empire of Wood,* 154-63; Hak, *Capital and Labour,* 24, 30-2; Duncan Chamber of Commerce, *Duncan and the Cowichan Valley Including Chemainus and Lake Cowichan, Vancouver Island, British Columbia: Where Industries Flourish In A Land Of Charm* (Duncan: 1953), BC Leg. Library 917.11 D912; "History of Western Forest Industries Limited, Gordon River Logging Division," *British Columbia Forest History Newsletter* 80 (2006), 4-5.
[71] Girvan, "The TLA: 75 years of Innovation and Advocacy," 24; J. Burns, Coast Small Operators Association, *Brief to the honourable the Premier of British Columbia and members of the executive council re: the plight of small logging operators in the Port Alberni District* (Oct 1952), BC Leg. Library P 634.928 C652; Rajala, *Clearcutting,* 30-50.

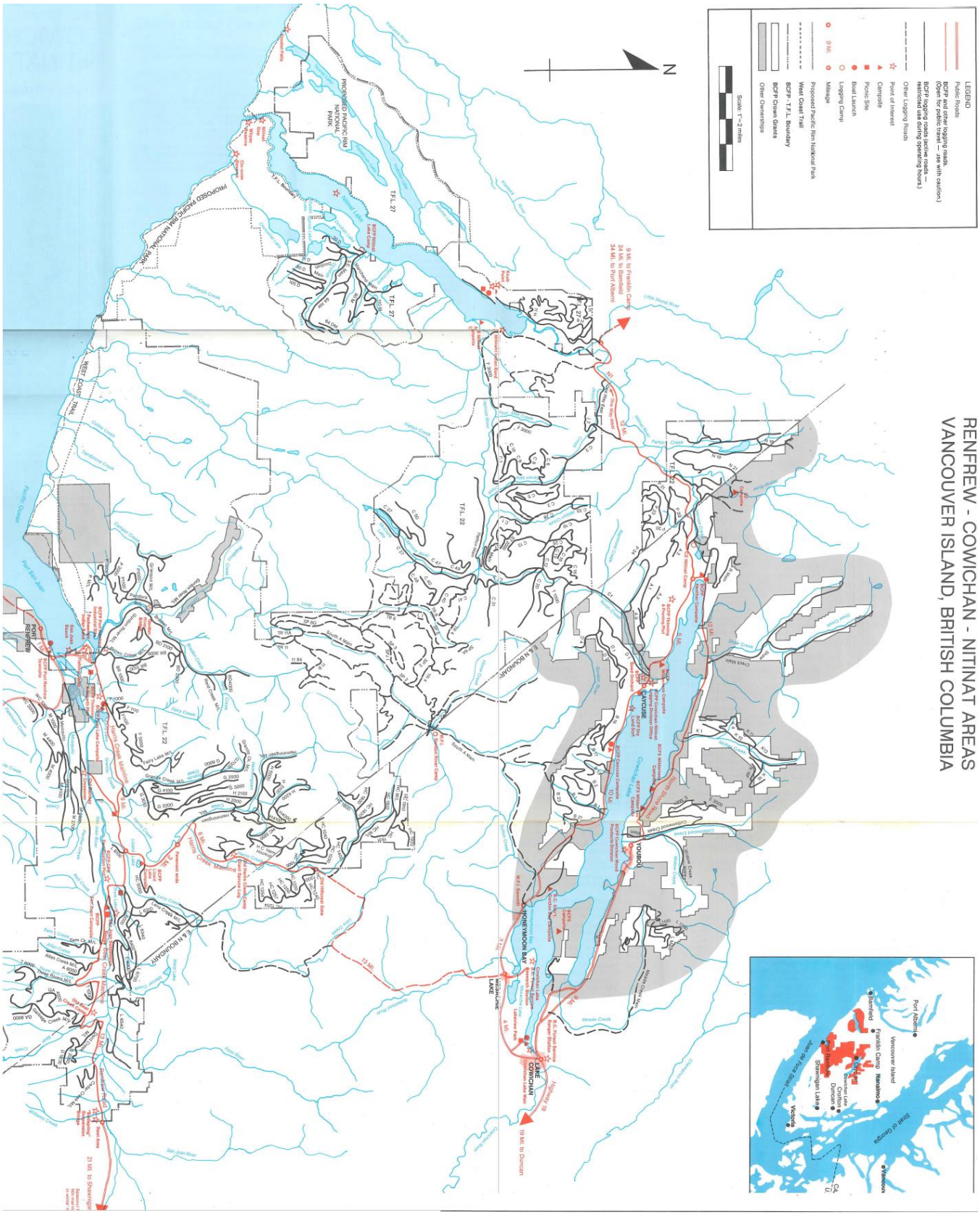

Fig. 4: BCFP logging roads: Renfrew - Cowichan - Nitinat (TFLs 22 and 27) (1978), BC Leg. Library 634.982/C874.

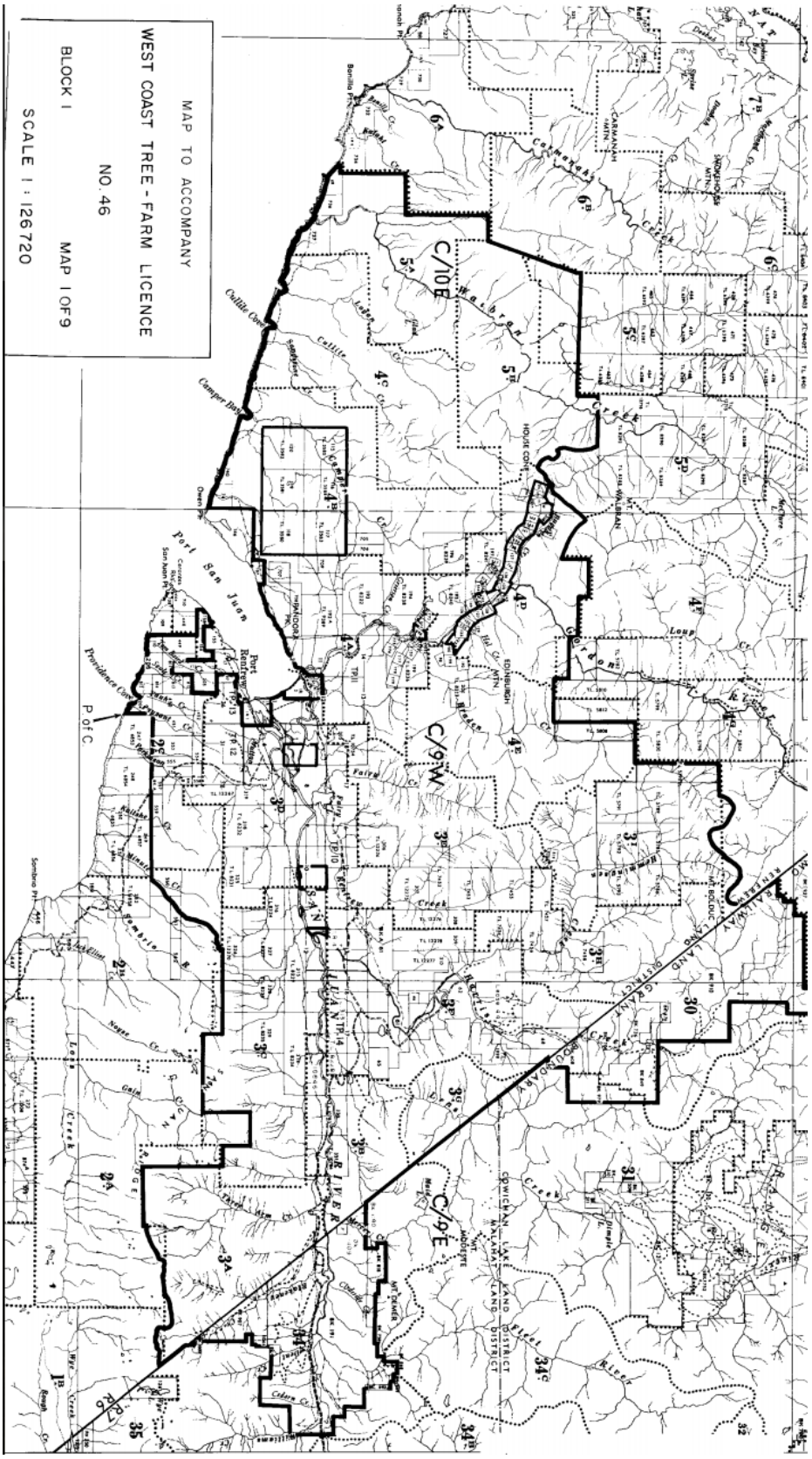

Fig. 5: Block 1 of TFL 46 (created from TFL 22 and TFL 27 in 1983), July 1, 1983, BC Ministry of Forests, https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/dmswww/tfl/TFL-46/Licences/TFL-46-Lic-01-July-01-1983.pdf, accessed Jul 2019.

The Second Sloan Commission: Monopolization, Bribery, and the "Contractor Clause"

Nineteen TFLs had been granted by the end of 1954, covering 2,471,324 acres—with another 28 pending, and an additional 100 applications submitted. That year, as planned 10 years prior to assess the sustained yield project, Sloan headed another royal commission. The commission saw the TLA critique the "contractor clause" as an insufficient remedy to tenure monopoly and the decline of independent operators. In its May 1955 submission, the TLA cited two specific TFL grants as evidence of the government's failure to support existing industry and small operators: TFL 1 on the north coast had gone to a New York firm with no history in BC, and BCFP's TFL 22, awarded as the commission commenced and including the Walbran (see Fig. 5), had superseded plans for a Clayoquot Sound PSYU. The roughly 200,000-acre TFL 22, ranging from Cowichan Lake on the East to portions of the coast from Port Renfrew to the western end of Clayoquot Sound at Estevan Point, had a clause reserving 65 percent of AAC for contractors, yet the TLA was unequivocal: "If this provision is supposed to be the answer for the small operator's plight…then we cannot help but comment on its utter inadequacy." Asserting that there was "violent competition taking place among independent operators trying to obtain timber to stay in business," the TLA felt that "if anything should be maintained 'in perpetuity' in British Columbia, it should be the opportunity for individual initiative…the essence of free enterprise."[72]

A 1956 TLA brief went beyond expressing resentment of the contractor clause to directly attack the premise of "sustained yield," noting there were "almost as many definitions of the term as there are definers," each interpreting it "in the light of his experience" and "self interest." Orchard and propagandists for TFL holders contended that the required investment in technology

[72] Drushka, "Forest Tenure," 6-7; Richard Rajala, "Forests and Fish: The 1972 Coast Logging Guidelines and British Columbia's First NDP Government," *BC Studies* 159 (2008), 82; TLA President J.E. Fletcher, *Submission to the Royal Commission on Forestry* (May 10, 1955), 13, 15, 17, BC Archives, GR-0668, Box 5, File 3, Exhibit 76, TFL 22 is mistakenly listed as TFL 21.

and expertise could only be accomplished through well-capitalized firms, but sustained yield was no panacea for industry problems. Certain areas on Vancouver Island and the Lower Coast already required massive replanting; others (with pending TFLs) lacked enough timber to maintain existing operations on a sustained yield basis. No further TFLs should be granted declared the TLA, "not even one." Moreover, the organization urged the government to put a halt to the trend of TFL holders bidding on PSYU timber.[73]

The second Sloan Commission led the IWA, its red element purged, to rephrase demands for sustainability into social democratic language. District No. 1 president Joe Morris did "not presume to state opinions on complex technical problems, such as allowable cut, forms of forest tenure, or forest administration." Focusing solely on "the social implications of forest management," Morris conceded that large companies maximized employment and expressed faith in corporate management to provide "stable forest communit[ies]." The union was concerned about monopoly, however, and wanted planning based on "the greatest good for the greatest number over the longest period of time," along with a more equitable distribution of profits.[74]

Sloan's commission report concluded that, despite ominous indicators like the annual growth of Not Satisfactorily Restocked (NSR) lands by 20,000 acres, linking TFL grants to pulp and paper mills allowed "great integrated organizations" to "fashion the future," compete worldwide, and support communities in perpetuity by inducing better management on private forestland. Though insisting that "the stability of communities and the general welfare of our people at large" must shape policy, both Sloan Commissions endorsed a capitalist vision of nature. Such a contention is supported by Orchard's 1953 view of BCFP's TFL 22 proposal, opposed by

[73] Eckardt and TLA, *Argument submitted to Royal Commission on Forestry*, 39-44.
[74] IWA District Council No. 1 president Joe Morris, *A Brief for consideration of the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Forest Resources of British Columbia* (12 Jan 1956), 1, 4, BC Archives, GR-0668, Box 11, Exhibit 237.

Hillcrest, WFI, and Grandview Logging. Stating that the 40 million cubic feet annually milled at Cowichan Lake so far exceeded the region's "productive capacity" that there was "no hope of perpetuating" all the area's mills, Orchard saw TFL 22 as the means of salvaging one: Youbou.[75]

By this time, Socred Minister of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources Robert Sommers had been accused of accepting payment for granting BCFP its TFL. Though cleared by an initial inquiry, he was convicted on bribery-related charges in 1958. By the end of 1956, TFL tenures covered 3,930,199 acres and, despite the Sommers affair, BCFP retained TFL 22. After 1958, renewable 21-year TFLs became standard, but the 16 original perpetual grants retained their *sui generis* terms until 1978.[76] Yet, despite widespread concern for resource town stability, the second Sloan Commission validated the sustained yield TFL model that would contribute to falldown.

Fordism, "Forests Forever," and the Closure of the Mesachie Lake Sawmill

Even the sordid Sommers scandal did not discredit the TFL system as an engine of economic development. Integration and diversification proceeded on the southern island with the opening of MacBlo and BCFP pulp mills in Nanaimo (1950) and Crofton (1956), respectively. MacBlo may have been a glittering symbol of sustained yield success, but former BC Supreme Court Justice J.V. Clyne replaced H.R. MacMillan as Chairman of MacBlo in 1958 and pushed the firm to diversify its operations beyond wood products at the expense of silvicultural investment. Noranda Mines and the Mead Corporation's 1969 purchase of controlling shares in BCFP enveloped that company in an investment portfolio extending well beyond timber—and Youbou.[77]

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[75] C.D. Schultz and Company Ltd., *Synopsis of the Report of the Commission relating to The Forest Resources of British Columbia, 1956*, 1, 4, 17; Orchard quoted in Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 109.
[76] Eckardt and TLA, *Argument submitted to Royal Commission on Forestry*, 37; Drushka, "Forest Tenure," 6-7; Rajala, "Forests and Fish," 82; Betty O'Keefe and Ian Macdonald, *The Sommers Scandal: The Felling of Trees and Tree Lords* (Surrey: Heritage House, 1999); J.A.K. Reid, *Significant Events and Developments in the Evolution of Timberland and Forestry Development in British Columbia* (Victoria: MoF, 1985), 17; Richard Schwindt, "The Pearse Commission and the Industrial Organization of the British Columbia Forest Industry," *BC Studies* 41 (1979), 10.
[77] Marchak, *Logging the Globe* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 50; Drushka, *In the Bight*, 81-2; MacKay, *Empire of Wood*, 231-45, 265-300, 316-43; founded in 1963, the Canadian Paperworkers Union and Pulp,

Through the 1960s, the conflation of "wise use" and *normalbaum* old-growth liquidation allowed companies like MacBlo to portray TFLs as guarantors of forests forever. The 1964 booklet *Modern Forest Management Through Tree Farm Licences* refuted charges that TFLs were "give-away[s]." Rather, the pamphlet argued that the tenures funded fire, insect, and disease protection, and ensured reforestation and employment. A 1968 pamphlet under the same title lauded the forest industry for producing 46 cents of every dollar of income earned in BC. MacBlo ramped up its public relations program with numerous pamphlets in 1970 defending sustained yield: the 1.8 billion cubic feet (51 million cubic metres) logged in 1970 was an increase of 60 percent from 1960; annual wages and salaries for 76,000 workers totalled $530 million; and genetic selection, fertilization, trimming, and spacing on new "crops" promised "better forests," "uniform species," and 40 percent more wood per acre.[78] These capture the "forests forever" ontology proffered by industry—massive economic growth based on corporate forest farmers efficiently tending crops.

All the major firms played up the sophistication of their management practices, but TFL 22's ever-increasing harvest rate shows the true force guiding sustained yield: the capitalist logic of perpetual growth. The BCFS initially set the TFL's AAC at 16.1 million cubic feet (4.6 million cubic metres) but, having promised BCFP 20 million cubic feet (5.7 million cubic metres), Sommers overrode the decision. The TFL working plan promised future reductions to compensate the initial overcut; instead, BCFP won a series of AAC *increases* following a new inventory and close utilization standards that mandated logging all trees above a certain size. Assistant divisional

Paper, and Woodworkers of Canada ended the IWA dream of "one union in wood," Alexander Simon, "A Comparative Historical Explanation of the Environmental Policies of Two Woodworkers' Unions in Canada," *Organization & Environment* 16, no. 3 (2003), 289-305.

[78] MacMillan, Bloedel, and Powell River Ltd., *Modern Forest Management Through Tree Farm Licences: A Partnership of Government and Industry to Protect and Scientifically Harvest the Forest Resources of British Columbia* (1964), BC Leg. Library 634.928 M167p; MacMillan Bloedel: *Modern Forest Management Through Tree Farm Licences* (1968); *Forests Forever* (1970); *Making the Most of the Forest Harvest* (1970); *Full Use of the Timber Crop* (1970); *Management of Forest Lands in British Columbia* (1970); *Research in the Forest Industry* (1970); *Unlocking the Secrets of the Tree* (1970). These and several more are held at the BC Legislative Library.

forester Ray Travers' 1967 contention that old growth would be exhausted prior to second growth maturation had little impact. In 1970 the BCFS set TFL 22's AAC at 35 million cubic feet (9.9 million cubic metres). Having failed to secure a TFL, the 300-employee Hillcrest mill at Mesachie Lake closed in 1968 due to a fibre shortage following the CPR's decision to start its own logging company rather than sell logs from E&N lands. Other area firms re-employed some of the Hillcrest workers, and hope for new mills lingered, but even the TFL-linked Youbou operation began to falter despite TFL 22's AAC having nearly doubled in 15 years. Geographer Eric Grass sees this as the onset of the mill's "mature" phase, defined by little real growth and fluctuating profits and output.[79] From the start of the Fordist Era at Cowichan Lake, then, sustaining profitable operations and the illusion of community stability outweighed sustaining long-term biological productivity.

NDP Breakthrough, Global Recession, and the Pearse Royal Commission

BC re-elected W.A.C. Bennett's Social Credit party in 1969 but inflation, a slowing economy, labour conflict, automation, poor cabinet appointments, and the loss of what George Woodcock calls the "common touch" allowed Dave Barrett's New Democratic Party (née CCF) to win the 1972 election on a platform rooted in the progressive demands of new social movements and promises to glean more revenue from mines and forests to fund social programs. Wilderness fights which included the Nitinat Triangle and Tsitika watershed on Vancouver Island prompted the NDP to add 1.6 million hectares of new parks, adopt new logging guidelines adding nominal and short-lived protection for fish habitat, and restructure the ministerial bureaucracy to briefly break the cozy ties between the BCFS and industry. Though branded by industry critics as a Marxist, Minister of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources Bob Williams rejected nationalization

[79] Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge,* 112-29; Sterling Wood Group Inc., *Forest Management Audit of Tree Farm Licence 46 and its Predecessors Tree Farm Licences 22 and 27*, prepared for MoF Dave Parker (Victoria: Jul 1989), 18-9, BC Leg. Library BC/F6/D:F58124 1989; "Representatives of Chamber Meet with Hillcrest Directors," *Lake News*, Feb 28, 1968; "The Hillcrest Drama," *Cowichan Leader,* Mar 13, 1968; Grass, "Employment and Production," 89.

in favour of policies geared toward securing a larger share of resource rent and generating greater tenure diversity to benefit small operators. Between 1954 and 1975, the proportion of harvesting rights controlled by the 10 largest companies had grown from 37 to 59 percent, so tenure reform was long overdue. However, Williams' proposed reforms met resistance from investors and large operators which combined with global recession to undercut the NDP's social democratic vision.[80]

Though the emerging environmentalist movement challenged forest orthodoxy, industry restructuring came about in response to global recession. The 1973 oil shock slowed demand for BC lumber and marked the end of the postwar Fordist boom. Seeking fast returns, less capital risk, and lower labour costs, investors gravitated toward pulp, paper, and newsprint. In the woods, continued mechanization involving grapple yarders and feller bunchers drastically reduced logging crews. Layoffs and "flexible" production systems introduced in response to recession soon became standard. By 1975, over 14,000 IWA members had been laid off. Union president Jack Munro put forest worker unemployment at over 30 percent. A shrinking global market for wood products contributed to the layoffs but blame for the recession (and a supposed "capital strike") fell squarely on the NDP. In 1975, the party called a royal commission headed by forest economist Peter Pearse to modernize inventory data, study corporate concentration, export competitiveness, investment, and company profit, and address calls for pollution abatement, greater opportunities for outdoor recreation, and old-growth preservation. That July, 10,000 IWA members struck. This strike, along with independent pulp union, retail industry, food worker, railway worker, and teamster walkouts led the NDP to pass back-to-work legislation in October, infuriating the labour movement.[81]

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[80] Rajala, "Forests and Fish," 81-3; George Woodcock, *British Columbia: A History of the Province* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990), 246-7; Mitchell, *WAC Bennett*, 414; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 114-29, 148; Drushka, "Forest Tenure," 10-2.

[81] Roger Hayter, *Flexible Crossroads: The Restructuring of British Columbia's Forest Economy* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 65-7; Bob Plecas, *Bill Bennett: A Mandarin's View,* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006), 36; Martin, "When Red Meets Green," 137-45; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 112-148; Drushka, "Forest Tenure," 11.

Amidst this contentious atmosphere, timber capital worried about the Pearse Commission's potential to usher in NDP regulatory reforms. Responding to the threat of more state interference, BCFP's brief to Pearse called for simplified management (i.e. deregulation) to "increase the rate of return on its investments" limited by BC's role as "marginal supplier to the world market." BCFP attributed small operator decline to costly regulations, emphasizing that the global marketplace shaped the structure of the industry. MacBlo too saw "no economic, social or technological justification" for state intervention, maintaining that "the constraints of free market disciplines operate in the public interest." Denying a "crisis in the present tenure system," MacBlo perceived "a crisis in government administration," chiefly related to "single use" parks like Pacific Rim National Park that deprived companies of old-growth timber and undermined investor certainty. While Pearse deliberated, Barrett opted to head off Social Credit momentum under Bill Bennett by calling a snap election in December 1975. The result ended BC's first experiment with social democracy, and Pearse would submit his 1976 report to Bennett's Socred government.[82]

The IWA's brief to Pearse shared some themes with those of its corporate partners in the "exploitation axis." The removal of communists from the IWA had excised its most vocal critics of capital and the state. Communist, founding member of the IWA and WIUC, and *opponent* of logging Tsitika-Schoen old growth, Erni Knott conveys the typical "psychology" of '70s loggers:

> "Let's go gung ho, and not think about the future; somehow we'll muddle through and [there] will always be wood here. That situation, plus a general lack of attention to legislative matters, led to a situation where the average logger doesn't know what the hell is going on. All he thinks about is his job."[83]

IWA president Jack Munro's pre-election brief to Pearse expressed a strong distaste for "single use" parks. Content with leaving decision-making to corporate and government elites in exchange

[82] BCFP, *Brief Submitted to the Pearse Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (Nov 1975), 1-2, BC Archives, GR-0347, Box 1, File 14; MacBlo, *Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (Nov 1975), 1-2, 32, 35, 179-84, 207, BC Archives GR-0347, Box 5, File 10; MacBlo, *Summation Submitted to the Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (Feb 1976), 17, 19, BC Archives, GR-0347, Box 5, File 12.
[83] Knott was denied re-entry into the IWA after his leadership role in the WIUC, Martin, "When Red Meets Green," 21-2, 82, Knott quoted on p. 191.

for safe working conditions and appropriate wages, Munro fought for "multiple use," but in a framing that demonized wilderness preservation as "single use" and celebrated clearcutting as consistent with integrated use of the forest. Asserting that "young, healthy forests are beautiful," Munro demanded studies on multinational ownership, tariffs, and log exports, adoption of a "wise and considered" forest policy and "urgent and immediate attention" directed to intensive silviculture on NSR lands.[84]

Munro's concern over timber supplies was well founded. Not only did the commission reveal lower timber inventories than previously thought, it confirmed that plantations failed to match old-growth yields. Commissions findings validated several early 1970s studies indicating that the simplistic Hanzlik regrowth formula, devised a century prior for *normalbaum* German plantation forests, did not suit BC's rugged coastal old-growth ecosystems. The formula's rudimentary AAC equation divided the estimated volume of "mature" timber by the "rotation term" (typically 80 years for TFLs) and then added an estimate of the amount of timber volume added each year ("mean annual increment"). Mill fibre requirements and uncertain inventories and growth statistics together induced unsustainable long-run AACs. The falldown phenomenon was on the horizon, although its arrival and severity retained a degree of uncertainty. Warning of "a world far different from the post World War II period," Ray Travers questioned if the current management system provided "a sustained flow of net benefits" serving the "public's interest."[85]

Unconvinced of the need to overhaul the TFL system—even hailing the high standard of TFL management—Pearse held orthodox beliefs about liquidating "decadent" old growth, stating in his report that changing global economics required stronger commitments to multiple-use

[84] Katrin MacPhee, "Canadian Working-Class Environmentalism, 1965–1985," *Labour/Le Travail* 74 (2014), 123-49; Drushka, *In the Bight*, 239-44; IWA Regional Council No. 1, *A Brief Respecting the Forests and Forest Industries of British Columbia*, *Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (1975), 1-15, BC Archives GR-0347, Box 4, File 22.
[85] Wilson *Talk and Log,* 122-4; Drushka, *Stumped,* 45-6; Ray Travers, *Briefs to the Forest Policy Advisory Committee by members of the Association of BC Professional Foresters* (1977), 1, BC Archives, MS-2208.32, File 273 (a + b).

thinking, *not* reducing harvests. Tentatively acknowledging the future inevitability of "fall down," Pearse felt that silvicultural advances, new technologies, and uncut PSYU timber would alleviate shortfalls on TFLs and private land. Marchak avers that sparse, superficial media coverage left the public ignorant of the consequences of such thinking. Of the 200 people surveyed by University of British Columbia researchers between the second and final readings of the new *Forest Act* bill in the legislature in June 1978, only 21 had an opinion; 145 had not heard of the act. The June 20, 1978 *Vancouver Sun* piece, "Believe it or not, we're running out of trees," must have puzzled many since the two months of media coverage on Bill 14 had provided no information on supply levels. The 1978 *Forest Act* introduced only minor reforms to BC's sustained yield regime. The act mandated that harvest plans consider non-timber values, amended TFL contracts to renewable 25-year terms, and initiated the Forest Range and Resources Analysis (FRRA) to assess inventories. Forest practice enforcement mechanisms remained toothless and, as Marchak argues, economic and political criteria informed 1980s AACs as much as biology. Stumpage rates, subsidies, reforestation, and allocation were managed with explicit reference to company cash flow problems. Finally, according to Richard Schwindt, the *Forest Act* served to "legitimize and…entrench the concentration of harvesting rights."[86]

Company pamphlets like *MB in BC* continued to laud corporate achievements in employment, payroll, silviculture, and charitable gifts (i.e. Cathedral Grove), but a 1980 FRRA annual report stated that "[t]he optimism of the 1960's which assumed that the rate of innovation would compensate for the accelerating harvest of merchantable old-growth stocks, the diminishing

[86] Peter H. Pearse, *Timber Rights and Forests Policy in British Columbia: Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1976), 226-8; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 152-4, 160-1; Marchak, *Green Gold* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1983), 65-7, 76; Marchak, *Logging the Globe*, 88; Patricia Marchak, "Public Policy, Capital and Labour in the Forest Industry," in eds. Rennie Warburton and David Coburn, *Workers, Capital and the State in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), 192; Moira Farrow, "Believe it or not, we're running out of trees!" *Vancouver Sun*, Jun 20, 1978; Richard Schwindt, "The Pearse Commission," 34.

land base and the lower harvest yield from young growth stands has not proven to be fully justified."[87] Sustained yield, though based on sound "wise use" logic, had been implemented in slipshod fashion. As a result, BC faced a legacy of declining jobs, revenue, and communities.

The "New Reality," Closure of the Honeymoon Bay Mill, and Failure of Solidarity

On the heels of the FRRA falldown revelation, global recession, tariffs, and high interest rates cut wood product demand, a key part of the Canadian economy. Canada's goods-producing industries saw zero growth in 1981 and a 13.1 percent *decline* in 1982. That year, the US Congress called for tariffs on Canadian softwood lumber, stating that cheap stumpage rates made sustainably harvested American timber uncompetitive. Canadian unemployment grew from 6.7 percent in 1981 to 14.7 percent in 1984, and BC forest workers were hit especially hard as companies used automation and mill computerization to restructure toward "flexibility" and "value-diversity." It was becoming clear that this was not a cyclical slump to be followed by a boom: hard economic times, coupled with regional fibre shortages, meant that communities faced permanent job losses.[88]

In a context of lingering recession, in 1981 the WFI mill at Honeymoon Bay closed, costing 465 jobs and furthering the deindustrialization of Cowichan Lake. Poor market conditions and a lack of mature forests figured in the closure, but union spokesman and future Carmanah Walbran commentator Frank Walker doubted that the Western Forest Products consortium, comprised of BCFP, Doman Industries, and Whonnock Industries, "ever had any intention" of keeping the mill in operation after purchasing WFI from Rayonier in 1981, stating that they "never spent a dime here" and merely wanted timberlands. Lake Cowichan Mayor Ken Douglas felt betrayed, fearing that the closure would destroy the area economy. Youbou too underwent restructuring as BCFP

[87] FRRA quoted in Marchak, *Green Gold*, 76; MacBlo, *MB in BC* (1979), BC Leg. Library 338.7674/M167/1979.
[88] Roger Barnes and Trevor Hayter, "British Columbia's Private Sector in Recession, 1981-1986," *BC Studies* 98 (1993); Marchak, "The New Economic Reality: Substance and Rhetoric," in eds. W. Magnusson, et. al. *The New Reality: The Politics of Restraint in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star, 1984), 22-40; Drushka, *In the Bight*, 54.

slashed labour requirements to cope with the recession, smaller log sizes, and US protectionism. Though BCFP justified the layoffs in reference to timber shortage, when TFL 22 merged with TFL 27 into TFL 46 in 1983, its AAC had risen 234 percent since being granted in 1955.[89] In less time than the rotation period of a Douglas fir, Cowichan Lake had gone from unsettled hinterland, to forestry hub, to the precipice of economic collapse, attributable to a normalized capitalist nature that privileged companies' pursuit of profit over ecological and community sustainability.

In 1983, Premier Bill Bennett met the "new economic reality" with neoliberal policies akin to those passed by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the US and UK, respectively. A policy of "sympathetic administration" in forestry lowered utilization standards, stumpage rates, and the corporate income tax to attract investment from transnational corporations, returning BC to the days of progressive, unrestricted clearcutting. "Restraint" legislation trimmed the public sector, defunded social programs, and diluted union powers, instigating a province-wide general strike. Seemingly every affected union and social group joined the "Solidarity" movement, but a wary Munro asked why IWA members should "lose wages in one of the worst recessions since the 1930s…to make sure that sexual preference is written into the human rights code?" With the state unyielding, it fell to the pragmatic Munro to deliver a compromise to Bennett. The "Kelowna Accord" did little more than scuttle the strike and shatter Solidarity's tenuous alliance between Old and New Lefts, with the IWA remaining in the corporate fold.[90]

Bennett and Munro may have succeeded in fracturing the Solidarity movement but solving the systemic problems of sustained yield forestry would require more than back-room negotiations.

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[89] Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 123-33; Walker quoted in "Company broke promise, union urges minister to step in," *Lake News,* Oct 21, 1981; "Lid slammed on 465 jobs as mill shuts doors," *Lake News,* Oct 21, 1981; "WFI mill shut down: Only a brief setback," *Lake News,* Oct 21, 1981; "Only Despair Left for Mill Crew," *Times-Colonist,* Oct 22, 1981; "357 Jobs Vanish with Mill," *Times-Colonist,* Oct 22, 1981; Brian Goulding and Judith Belton, "WFI, Gordon River permanently down," *Cowichan Leader,* Oct 22, 1981; "Bewilderment, bitterness common reactions to closure," *Lake News,* Oct 28, 1981; Sterling Wood Group Report, 18-22.

[90] Jack Munro and Jane O'Hara, *Union Jack: Labour Leader Jack Munro* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1988), 1-17; *After Bennett: A New Politics for British Columbia*, eds. Warren Magnusson et al. (Vancouver: New Star, 1986).

Though daunting in scale, the long-term solution to falldown seemed simple: invest in silviculture. Up to the late 1970s, support for such investment was overridden by the widespread belief that BC held an inexhaustible supply of timber. Only 120,000 of the 500,000 acres cut annually were replanted, and BC neared one million hectares of NSR land. Serious investment in silviculture began in 1979 with the five-year, $50 million 1979 Canada/BC Subsidiary Agreement on Intensive Forest Management. The National Forest Sector Strategy for Canada followed in the early 1980s, and in 1982 BC and Canada agreed to split the $300 million cost of the five-year Federal Resource Development Agreement (FRDA) to "sustain and increase the forest resource and strengthen the employment potential of the forest industry." By 1988 the FRDA had created 31,000 short-term jobs, 1,000 permanent jobs, planted 163 million seedlings, reduced NSR land by 35 percent, and added 555,600 cubic metres of wood to the annual long-term sustainable yield. Yet reforestation only briefly neared the scale of harvesting, funding inevitably dried up, and the plantations would take decades to reach maturity.[91]

Short-term investment in silviculture provided no solution to the structural problems that beset the IWA. An 18-week strike in 1986 cost $2.5 billion in lost work, the most expensive in Canadian history. The union had never resisted technological change, and in the post-strike agreement sought provisions for retraining laid-off workers, rules against contracting out, and wage-rate protection. While unions reeled and environmentalism gained purchase, the Socred government rotted from within. The mid-1980s economic recovery and new Socred Premier Bill Vander Zalm's promises to end backroom dealings and—to the chagrin of operators—raise stumpage rates in response to the US softwood lumber tariff, did not halt the downward trend in

[91] BC MoF & Canadian Forestry Service, *Canada-British Columbia Forest Resource Development Agreement (1985-1990)* (1985), 7, 17, https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/pubs/docs/Misc/Misc094.pdf, accessed Jun 2019; Richard Rajala, "A Political Football: The History of Federal-Provincial Cooperation in British Columbia Forests," *Forest History Today* (2003), 29, 36-40; Marchak, *Green Gold*, 80; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 162; Sterling Wood Group Report, 22, 40.

BC forest employment, nor shift the basis of forest management from its capitalist nature.[92]

The Arrival of Fletcher Challenge and the Immediate Precursors to the War in the Woods

After a decade of fluctuating BCFP profits, Fletcher Challenge Ltd. (FC), a New Zealand conglomerate whose global operations included meat, fishing, real estate, construction, and since 1983, $300 million in Crown Zellerbach shares, purchased 68.68 percent of BCFP over 1987-88 at a total cost of $735 million. FC's arrival, on the heels of New Zealand passing laws restricting old-growth logging, proved ominous for TFL 46 workers—and the Walbran. Events at Youbou mirrored industry-wide structural shifts that saw the postwar order of apparent stability crumble. As FC announced record profits of $99.5 million for its BCFP holdings for the first nine months of 1987, ongoing layoffs led IWA 1-80 to establish the Woodworkers' Survival Task Force to coordinate protest in the Cowichan Valley. In June 1988, FC merged the Crown Forest Properties (formerly of Crown Zellerbach) and BCFP into a single corporate entity known as Fletcher Challenge Canada Ltd. (FCCL). By the end of the year, FCCL closed the BCFP-Victoria sawmill, citing fibre shortage, to the keen attention of Cowichan woodworkers. In 1981, 615 people worked at Youbou; in 1989, only 260 remained.[93]

While accomplices in liquidating Vancouver Island rainforests, woodworkers had struggled for a century against capitalist exploitation. In various forms from the 1910s, they fought for replanting, higher wage rates, and safety measures while both supporting and cautioning

[92] IWA-Canada, "Impact of technological change on Production and Employment in the Softwood Lumber Industry of British Columbia" (IWA: 1986); Drushka, *In the Bight*, 55, 84-5; Daowei Zhang, *The Softwood Lumber War: Politics, Economics, and the Long U.S.-Canada Trade Dispute* (Washington: Resources For the Future Press, 2007).
[93] "Fletcher Challenge buys major stake in BCFP," *Timberline* (Feb/Mar 1987), 1; "Fletcher Owns 67 PCT," *Vancouver Sun*, Dec 24, 1987; "Fletcher Owns More," *Vancouver Sun*, Feb 4, 1988; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 126-32; Thomas Waggener, "Logging bans in Asia and the Pacific," in eds. Patrick Durst et. al. *Forests Out of Bounds: Impacts and Effectiveness of Logging Bans in Natural Forests in Asia-Pacific*, Asia Pacific Forestry Commission (Bangkok: UN FAO, 2001), http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x6967e/x6967e04.htm, accessed Nov 2018; IWA 1-80, *Submission to the Honourable Dave Parker, Minister of Forests and Lands* (Mar 1989), 3-5; Mark Hume, "Loggers protest exports, wasteful forestry methods," *Vancouver Sun*, Nov 26, 1988.

against the monopolistic tendencies of a strong corporate ontology focused on foreign investment and global competitiveness. Drushka argues that loggers have born the brunt of forest crisis, especially in the War in the Woods, with media portraying them as an uneducated, ecologically insensitive, dependent underclass. "Most loggers knew there were serious problems with the way their business was conducted," he asserts, "but in the polarized climate that developed, they found it risky business to express their opinions publicly." Workers certainly have idiosyncratic perspectives on proper forest use, but since the Sloan Commissions the IWA validated the capitalist nature and *normalbaum* forestry that produced massive employment during the Fordist Era and massive layoffs thereafter.[94] By the 1980s, mechanization, globalization, and layoffs undercut forest workers' bargaining power, making them scions of industry just as wilderness preservationism and Nuu-chah-nulth land claims brought existential challenges to the corporate old-growth liquidation model.

[94] Drushka, *In the Bight*, 107; Ken Drushka, "The Kiwi Factor," *Truck Logger* 10 (1987), 27, 29, 31.

Chapter Two: Wise Use, the Value of Wilderness, and Framing the Carmanah Giant

"In Wildness is the preservation of the World."[95] "The time has come to rethink wilderness."[96]

What is wilderness, why is it worth preserving, and how does Carmanah evoke it? For some nineteenth-century writers like Henry David Thoreau, wilderness was a refuge in which to find purpose away from the trappings of modern life. Historian William Cronon sees wilderness as "quite profoundly a human creation—indeed, the creation of very particular human cultures at very particular moments in human history." Seeing wilderness as a social construct reveals how the arguments for endangered species, biological diversity, or virgin rainforests deployed by settler environmentalists can reinforce the colonial narratives underlying imperialism, capitalism, 'common sense' forestry, *and* conflict with rural articulations of 'fish and game' conservationism.

This chapter illustrates how 1960s "new social movements" entwined with branches of traditional conservationism to create a framework for BC wilderness activism. Unlike rural conservationism, ecology-based environmentalism divorced forests from predominantly economic analyses. Preservation for recreation blended the two mindsets—opposed to clearcut devastation, yet still using nature to human ends—and in the early 1970s defined BC's first "wilderness" fight: the Nitinat Triangle. Framing low-impact recreation as the only acceptable use of wilderness marginalized hunting and fishing, alienating traditional conservationists like the BC Wildlife Federation and straining collaboration with Nuu-chah-nulth. ENGO depictions of "pristine" nature conflated Indigenous peoples with static ecosystems that not only replicated the faux objectivity of sustained yield but ignored the need for people—Indigenous or not—to earn a living. In 1988, ENGOs constructed Carmanah's Sitka spruce stands as part of a Canadian wilderness heaven,

[95] Henry David Thoreau, "Walking," *Atlantic Magazine* (June 1862), https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1862/06/walking/304674/, accessed Dec 2018.
[96] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in ed. William Cronon, *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 69.

encountering hostility from employment-insecure loggers angry about trailbuilding and direct action. Corporate-sponsored Share BC groups further dichotomized "wise use" and preservation, and in dividing conservationism inhibited non-corporate worker/environmentalist alliances.[97]

John Muir and Gifford Pinchot: What Does Conservation Mean Anyways?

Like sustained yield, wilderness and conservation have had almost as many definitions as definers. European myths, culture, and history traditionally linked the eradication of wilderness to the taming of unknowable nature for human settlement. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, adherents of Romantic and Transcendental philosophy began to frame wilderness as an example of unspoiled creation and a sanctuary from the cacophony of urban life, which became ever more relevant as the industrial revolution intensified capitalist resource extraction and consumerism. Along with rural residents opposing industrial devastation of the landscape, these framings formed the antecedents of the early twentieth century conservationist movement, soon joined by the utilitarian ideals of forest managers like E.C. Manning and, after the 1960s, "environmentalists."[98]

BC conservationism first manifested in local fish and game clubs in the 1880s, which strove to limit overhunting and maintain natural abundance. Shortly after, natural history societies and outdoor recreation clubs brought less-consumptive ethics to conservationism, but the anti-poaching projects, bird counts, wildlife relocation, and mountaineering courses that typified the protection of flora and fauna in this period remained tightly wedded to the active use of nature.[99]

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[97] Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 69.

[98] Eric Owen Davies, "The Wilderness Myth: Wilderness in British Columbia" (Master's Thesis, UBC, 1972), i-iii; Richard Rajala, "Forests and Fish: The 1972 Coast Logging Guidelines and British Columbia's First NDP Government," *BC Studies* 159 (2008), 91-2; see Richard Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[99] Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 43-4, 98-100; Moore, "Two Struggles in One?" 117, 149, 161; John Terpenning dates BC conservation philosophy to 1859, "The B.C. Wildlife Federation and Government: A Comparative Study of Pressure Group and Government Interaction for Two Periods, 1947 to 1957, and 1958 to 1975" (Master's Thesis, UVic, 1982), 3, 8; Lee Straight, "Wildlife Societies in BC," in ed. Allan Murray *Our Wildlife Heritage: 100 Years of Wildlife Management,* (Vancouver: Centennial Wildlife Society of British Columbia, 1987) 145-7; Vernon Brink, "Natural

The first schism in conservation occurred around the turn of the century. John Muir and Gifford Pinchot were the figureheads of this split. Muir focused on conserving the aesthetic and spiritual aspects of nature, founding the US Sierra Club in 1892 to protect the Yosemite Valley and Sierra Nevada region from industrial development. In his history of the group, Michael Cohen writes that Muir held that "forests should be managed for themselves, not for maximum possible economic benefit." While contributing to the creation of Vancouver Island's Strathcona Provincial Park in 1911, Muirian conservation lost traction to utilitarianism in policymaking circles after his death in 1914. First US Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot called "development" the "first principle of conservation," with natural resources to be used for human benefit. "There may be just as much waste in neglecting the development and use of certain natural resources as there is in their destruction," he wrote in 1910. As shown in chapter one, the BC Forest Service was founded with such a "wise use" mandate, and specifically rejected the Romantic notions underlying sentimental preservationism. New articulations of conservationism tended again toward preservation after World War II as the emerging science of ecology began to inform ontologies of nature. Aldo Leopold's *A Sand County Almanac* (1949) brought the idea of a "land ethic" to the conservation debate, reframing "the role of *Homo sapiens* from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it." Leopold felt that "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."[100]

History Societies of B.C," in *Our Wildlife Heritage,* 151-2; R.M. Mills, "Early Days of the BC Mountaineering Club," in British Columbia Mountaineering Club, *The Mountaineer: 50th Anniversary, 1907-1957* (Vancouver 1957), 5.

[100] Michael P. Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club: 1892-1970* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988), xi-xiii, 6-16; Moore, "Two Struggles into One?" 117; a consumptive, capitalist logic also informed the creation of Strathcona park, Paula Young, "Creating a "Natural Asset": British Columbia's First Park: Strathcona, 1905-1916," *BC Studies* 170 (2011); Arn Keeling and Graeme Wynn, "This Park…Is a Mess": Development and Deregulation in British Columbia's First Provincial Park," *BC Studies* 170 (2011); Gifford Pinchot, "Principles of Conservation," in ed. David Stradling, *Conservation in the Progressive Era: Classic Texts* (Seattle: Washington Univ. Press, 2004), 20; later in life, Pinchot came to appreciate the spiritual value of nature, critiquing his previous support for close cooperation between the Forest Service and industry, see Char Miller, "The Greening of Gifford Pinchot," *Environmental History Review* 16, no. 3 (1992), 13; Aldo Leopold, *A Sound County Almanac* (New York: Oxford, 1949), 244, 262.

Yet historian Arn Keeling's study of the annual BC Natural Resource Conference (BCNRC) shows that provincial conservationism in the 1950s and 1960s firmly fit into a "wise use" paradigm. The ideas of interconnectedness that led Leopold to a holistic appreciation of natural ecosystems had a marginal impact on BC's postwar generation of planners and scientists who continued to chart the course of BC land use, despite mounting opposition to logging practices which destroyed fish habitat. Keeling describes the creation of an "economic ecology"—a model for measuring the relative utility, values, and benefits of resource development. The bureaucrats, industry administrators, and academics who attended the BCNRC aimed to rationalize the wasteful and inefficient Fordist capitalist system, not eliminate it. As Coalition Premier Byron Johnson stated to the first BCNRC in 1948, "through wise conservation of the products of the soil and sea," BC would reach "ever-greater peaks of productivity." The resource-producing capacity of the environment remained first in the "multiple use" hierarchy. In 1957, the BC Federation of Fish and Game Clubs, precursor to the BC Wildlife Federation (BCWF), became independent of the provincial Game Commission, and park authority moved from the Department of Lands and Forests to the Department of Recreation and Conservation, signalling a subtle shift toward non-consumptive forest use. Preservation, however, continued to be portrayed—as in a 1960 *Forest and Mill* article—as a "wasteful extravagance."[101]

Conservationists nuanced this version of "wise use" by appealing to a less-consumptive "multiple use" ethic. The amalgamation of local conservation groups into organizations like the Federation of BC Naturalists, the Federation of Mountain Clubs of BC, and the BCWF in the 1950s and '60s amplified their provincial lobbying capacity. Founded in 1966 from over 150 local fish

[101] Johnson quoted in Arn Keeling, "Ecological Ideas in the British Columbia Conservation Movement, 1945-1970," (Master's Thesis, UBC, 1998), 9; "Conservation Means Wise Use of Resources," *Forest and Mill* 14 (1960), 5, quoted in Richard Rajala, "Nonsensical and a Contradiction in Terms: Multiple-Use Forestry, Clearcutting, and the Politics of Fish Habitat in British Columbia, 1945-70," *BC Studies* 183 (2014), 90; Terpenning, "BC Wildlife Federation," 3.

and game clubs totalling 17,000 members, the BCWF won public access to Crown TFL lands and opposed "unilateral resource development that unnecessarily destroy other resource values," but supported the "fullest possible use of the natural resources in the province," not unpeopled wilderness for its own sake. Conservationism in this period was most devoted to opposing projects like hydro-electric dams or log drives rather than the systemic clearcutting that devastated riparian zones; as Keeling and McDonald state, most British Columbians embraced the "ideology of progress." Patch logging in the 1950s only briefly moderated the old-growth clearcutting envisioned by adherents of sustained yield as the wise use of forest resources.[102]

Despite the hegemony of wise use, the idea that humans had an ethical imperative to maintain ecosystems continued to blossom. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) bared the danger of pesticides. Photographs from the Sierra Club's Ansel Adams made natural wonder easier to access and share. Writer, angler, and (briefly) logger, Roderick Haig-Brown embodied the conflicted, evolving conservationism of the Fordist Era. Haig-Brown never entirely abandoned his belief in the capacity of resource managers to balance competing uses but witnessing wasteful and destructive clearcutting practices made him a harsh critic of the technocratic subjugation of nature underlying TFL wise use. He argued strongly for riparian zone protection as part of a deeper moral argument for living in harmony with the land: in one 1965 speech, he denounced Socred policies, stating, "I hate British Columbia." At the 1966 BCWF conference, he termed TFLs "private little kingdoms" and multiple use "nonsensical and a contradiction in terms" given the ravages of logging on aquatic ecosystems. That year, the *Wildlife Act* replaced the *Game Act,* recognizing fish and animals' intrinsic value rather than merely their value as sources of "sport or food," but as

[102] Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 100; BCWF, *Submission to the Pearse Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (Nov 1975), 1, 41, BC Archives, GR-0347, Box 1, Folder 18; BCWF, "Our Story," https://bcwf.bc.ca/our-story/, accessed Jul 2019; Arn Keeling and Robert McDonald, "The Profligate Province: Roderick Haig-Brown and the Modernizing of British Columbia," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36 (2001), 8-9; Rajala, "Nonsensical and a Contradiction in Terms," 116-7.

Wilson writes, the "economic development juggernaut rolled through the first two postwar decades without much sign of organized protest," with preservationism marginal in BC political culture.[103]

Despite the continued technological optimism of the ongoing postwar boom, the 1960s saw growing concern for pollution. Unreliable inventory and regrowth data hid the impending falldown crisis but could not disguise the stream ruination that accompanied expansive clearcuts and old-growth forests that were in some cases dusted with DDT to control pest infestations. A 500-person poll undertaken by the major firms' trade association, the Council of Forest Industries (COFI), between 1965 and 1968 found that 87 percent of respondents deemed lake and stream pollution at least a somewhat serious issue. Yet, while there had been a decline in favourable attitudes toward the industry, COFI found that public confidence in BC forest management remained strong.[104]

Nevertheless, and recognizing the bias inherent in COFI's study, critics of the dogma of perpetual "efficient" economic exploitation were far from idle, forming the Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control (SPEC) Society in 1968 and BC Sierra Club in 1969. In his 1972 master's thesis, Eric Owen Davies argued that in an increasingly technocratic society, wilderness became a reminder that humans were part of the "Earth community," an expression of values, ideals, and goals distinct from pure material achievement. The new social movement energy of the Sierra Club and SPEC both contributed to and challenged the BCWF ethic of environmental responsibility rooted in hunting and fishing. While clearcutting and pollution of air and waters

[103] Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (London: Penguin Books, 1962); Rajala, "Forests and Fish," 92; Haig-Brown's later support for evolving ecological consciousnesses personifies conservationist diversification and maturation, Arn Keeling, "'A Dynamic, Not a Static Conception': The Conservation Thought of Roderick Haig-Brown," *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 2, (2002), 253-68; "Writer Detests Everything B.C. Stands for Now," *Victoria Daily Times,* Jun 22, 1965; Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 100; Roderick Haig-Brown, "Fish and Wildlife in the Development of British Columbia's Future," *British Columbia Digest* 22 (1966), 32-40, quoted in Rajala, "Nonsensical and a Contradiction in Terms," 117; Roderick Haig-Brown, BCNRC, *The Living Land: An Account of the Natural Resources of British Columbia* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1961); Wildlife Act quoted in Michael Begg, "Legislating British Columbia: A History of B.C. Land Law, 1858-1978" (Master's Thesis, UVic, 2007), 131.
[104] COFI survey quoted in Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 101; Rajala, "Forests and Fish," 92-9.

gave conservationists of all ages and regions common cause, and to different degrees all held recreational, spiritual, aesthetic, and ecological ideas of nature, the groups retained subtle divisions, which can most clearly be seen through the sign of "wilderness." In the 1970s, wilderness gained post-materialist connotations; its use—forestry or otherwise—became seen by growing numbers as inherently destructive, roughly dividing the nebulous conservation movement into outdoor sportspeople and preservationists, leaving recreation as a tenuous common ground.[105]

New Social Movements, an Ecological "Good Life," and Preservation for Recreation

The New Left arose from discourses critiquing capitalism, media, and technology for perpetuating militarism and consumerism, and encompassed movements for civil rights, students' rights, free speech, women's liberation, LGBTQ rights, and anti-nuclear pacifism. The first images of Earth from space and the high-profile Santa Barbara and Torrey Canyon oil spills brought new, international concern for the biosphere's fragile ecology. These ideas combined with home-grown complaints about land-use decision-making and inadequate public input processes to make BC ripe for activism. Conservationists focused on quality-of-life issues like pollution were joined by the counterculture, an assortment of hippies, yippies, new agers, Zen Buddhists, and pacifists who variously critiqued the consumerism, materialism, Christian values, and scientific rationalism of mainstream society. American draft evaders and expats brought experience with Gandhian civil disobedience, Quaker pacifism, and environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) to BC, helping to create two of the province's iconic environmental groups: SPEC and Greenpeace.[106]

SPEC was founded in the Vancouver suburb of Coquitlam in December 1968. It spawned 40-some chapters (some with new names, such as the Society Promoting Environmental

[105] Davies, "The Wilderness Myth," 164-172; Rajala, "Nonsensical and a Contradiction in Terms, 121.
[106] Frank Zelko, "Making Greenpeace: The Development of Direct Action Environmentalism in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 142/143 (2004), 213; Dianne Louise Draper, "Eco-Activism: Issues and Strategies of Environmental Interest Groups in British Columbia" (Master's Thesis, UVic, 1972), 8, 80.

Conservation) across the province within five years—many in rural, resource-rich areas—and tackled quality-of-life issues like recycling, organic farming, pulp mill effluent, air, water, and noise pollution, overpopulation, pesticide use, energy security, ozone depletion, and biological diversity. The first edition of the SPEC paper *Perspective* blamed the "ecological crisis" on the "continued economic expansion" of capitalist "industrial states." SPEC-Vancouver soon attracted members from the local counterculture, who both rounded out the group's ecological critique and created tension over drug use and association with what early leaders Gwen and Derrick Mallard termed "freaks." The Mallards left SPEC in 1972, lamenting that the inability to "comprehend, let alone deal with complex environmental issues" fostered "anarchistic" tendencies in the younger generation, whose "fringe elements" were "caressing the paraphernalia of violence."[107]

The nuclear disarmament movement in BC birthed the Don't Make a Wave Committee in October 1969, and a sea voyage to "bear witness" to a 1971 weapons test off the Alaska coast. While failing to stop the test, the gambit—and a catchy rechristening to "Greenpeace"—vaulted the organization to international fame. From the 1960s to 1972, the number of BC environmental groups grew from 15 to well over 100, protesting hydroelectric dams, uranium and coal strip mining, pesticides, trophy hunting, wolf culls, offshore oil tankers, and most notably, the loss of wilderness. Davies attributed the scant six percent of Vancouver Island classifiable as wilderness in 1970 to advanced technology, "a frontier mentality" and the "myth of overabundance."[108] Yet despite the influence of the New Left, conservationists opposed the removal of wilderness, such as the Nitinat Triangle, from a wise use mindset centred on canoeing, fishing, and hiking.

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[107] Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 101; BC passed the Pollution Control Act in 1967. See J.A.K. Reid, *Significant Events and Developments in the Evolution of Timberland and Forestry Development in British Columbia* (Victoria: MoF, 1985), 17; "The S.P.E.C. Federation is Born," *Perspective,* Nov 7-8, 1970, Mallard fonds, UVic Archives, AR372, Box 8, Folder 19; Zelko, "Making Greenpeace," 213-4, 220; Hak, *Capital and Labour,* 170-8, 184-6; Derrick Mallard, "Environmental Policies Proposals [sic]: 1972," 1, 26, Mallard fonds, UVic Archives, AR372, Box 8, Folder 14.
[108] Zelko, "Making Greenpeace," 213-4, 220; Hak, *Capital and Labour,* 170-86; "Greenpeace," *Georgia Straight*, Feb 18-25, 1970; the BC Council of Foresters estimated that industry clearcut 500,000 acres in 1970, Davies, "The Wilderness Myth," 164-72.

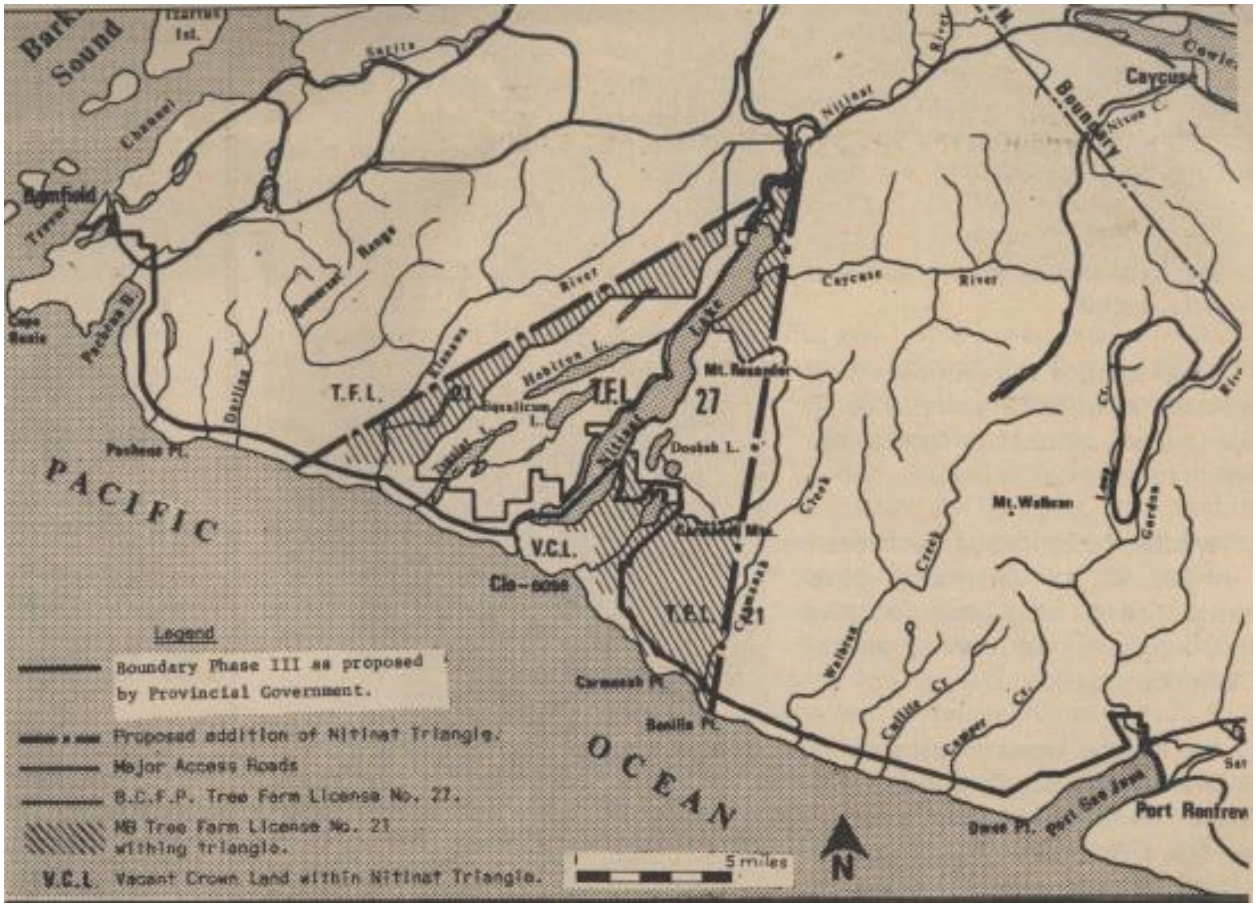

Fig. 6: Ken Farquharson, "The Nitinat Fight," *Perspective,* Mar 8, 1971.

West of Carmanah (Fig. 6), the Nitinat Triangle consists of coastal lakes surrounded by old growth adjacent to the West Coast Lifesaving Trail, which extends from Port Renfrew to Bamfield. Portions of the trail date to 1907-10, and discussions of an area park had percolated since the 1920s. In the 1950s, however, the area's timber harvesting rights were granted to MacBlo (TFL 21) and the Moore-Whittington Co. (TFL 27). BCFP bought the latter company and 30,000-acre TFL 27 in 1963 and built an access road to the region shortly thereafter. In 1970, the Cowichan-Malahat (Duncan), Lake Cowichan, and Tofino SPEC chapters formally called for 24,300 hectares of the area to be included in the planned Pacific Rim National Park. The rural SPEC groups were soon joined in the campaign by Sierra Club-Victoria, founded by UVic student Ric Careless (unbeknownst to the US Sierra Club). Separate from Sierra Club-Vancouver, started by engineer

Ken Farquharson, the youthful Victoria chapter used tactics that became standard for wilderness activism: trail building, BC's first wilderness petition, and a nationally-broadcast documentary.[109]

Farquharson forwarded a more narrowly focused recreation-based conservationism in his March 1971 *Perspective* article on Nitinat, "the last piece of non-alpine wilderness left in the south of Vancouver Island." Hoping to forestall the "compulsion" to "manage every acre of timber," he refuted claims that the Sierra Club wanted to "lock up" areas for "the athletic few." There was "no point having a park unless it is used," he explained. In March 1972, after Sierra Club-Victoria accrued significant donations and over 10,000 petition signatures in support of park protection, Careless organized a mass public meeting which became, in his words, "the first wilderness rally ever held in Canada." Caught up in the furore of the event, federal Environment Minister Jean Chrétien promised the audience that the Nitinat Triangle would become a national park and "never be logged." Facing its last months in power, the Socred government relented, and Forest Minister Tom Waterland initiated a convoluted process of shifting provincial land licenced in TFLs 21 and 27 to the federal government for inclusion in Pacific Rim National Park that finally concluded in 1988, involving swaps of comparable Crown land to MacBlo and BCFP. BC wilderness activism had its first win, with arguments rooted in ecology joining recreation demands in a persuasive conservationist message. The message troubled the BCWF, however, with a 1972 newsletter reacting harshly to "evangelizing sentimentalists" and critiquing those who would "stop everything and try to turn us back to primitive living."[110] Given a divided conservationist movement,

[109] Ric Careless, *To Save the Wild Earth: field notes from the environmental frontline* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 1997), 15-24; Ken Farquharson, "The Nitinat Fight," *Perspective*, Mar 8, 1971, UVic Archives, AR372, Box 8, Folder 19; Rajala, *The Legacy and the Challenge*, 125-9; Pacific Rim National Park plans gained urgency after 1959, as HWY 4 brought tourists and rapid environmental degradation to the area, JG Nelson and LD Cordes, eds., *Pacific Rim: An Ecological Approach to a New Canadian National Park* (Calgary: Univ. of Calgary, Aug 1972), 5-16; Nick Klassen, "The Story of the West Coast Trail: From Telegraph Line to World Renowned Recreation Destination," *BC Historical News* 30, no. 2 (1997), 10-6.

[110] Farquharson, "The Nitinat Fight"; Chretien quoted in Careless, *To Save the Wild Earth*, 26; the coining of "integrated use" by Canadian Forestry Association of BC in 1969 did not change the implicit understanding that shared

forestry's continuing status as pillar of the provincial economy, and an MoF mandate to maximize the timber harvest, the corporate, sustained yield "wise use" project remained hegemonic during the 1970s even as support grew for alternative relationships with the forest.

Conservationist, Environmentalist, and Indigenous Briefs to the Pearse Commission

The New Left supported the NDP almost by default, but workers were the traditional backbone of the party's support for the principles of social democracy. Beyond resolving the sustained yield model's systemic issues prior to the 1979 renewal of most TFLs, the Pearse Commission aimed to address wilderness conflict. The commission received far more conservationist submissions than both Sloan commissions combined, and saw briefs from the BCWF, SPEC, and the Sierra Club, showing how ecology and less-consumptive wilderness values interwove with "wise use" conceptions of nature.

While fish and game concerns remained paramount, parks, recreation, and pollution also figured in the BCWF brief to Pearse, a wide-ranging document that called for harvest planning to "accommodate a number of resource users on one resource base, rather than a variety of users after one major unilateral decision has been made," a direct reference to MoF predominance. Understaffed and uncoordinated forest, fish, and wildlife bureaucracies exacerbated the problem. The BCFS employed just 2,903 staff and 327 professional foresters, compared to the 31,903 and 4,897 respectively by the US Forest Service over a similar-sized jurisdiction. While rejecting environmentalist primitivism, the BCWF agreed that the "basic attitude" that "a tree is little more than 2 x 4's with needles," wasted unless "put through the processing plant," needed to change.[111]

In their brief to Pearse, the BC Sierra Club demanded protection for wildlife and recreation

usage meant MoF paramountcy, "Nonsensical and a Contradiction in Terms," 121; "BC Wildlife Federation Newsletter," *BC Outdoors* (Oct 1972), 44, quoted in Rajala, "Forests and Fish," 92-3.

[111] BCWF, *Submission to the Pearse Royal Commission on Forest Resources*, 1-2, 11-2, 15, 17, 28, 41-2; Terpenning, "The BC Wildlife Federation," iii, 1.

from "industrial exploitation." The 500,000 visitors to Pacific Rim National Park in 1975 indicated growing public sensitivity to "non-extractive, non-consumptive, and (so-called) non-tangible values and amenities inherent in the forest," they continued, and the need for "more rational" land use. Beyond warning of falldown, the group claimed that the public associated industry "multiple use with multiple abuse," and short-term profits with wasted wood fibre, erosion, diminished wildlife populations, and the loss of recreational opportunities.[112]

No Vancouver Island chapters made submissions, but the brief from SPEC-Smithers gives a sense of group prerogatives. In the document, the group deplored the fundamental economic basis of forestry, the association of personal fulfillment with the "consumption of material goods," and state policy that apologized for "Indian cultural genocide with land-claim payoffs." Framing human society and its complex interaction with forest ecosystems in economic terms, the brief continued, had "led to mechanistic solutions to intricate organic problems." Society and nature needed instead to be defined by "ecological principles that govern the mutual exchanges between living systems," based upon ideas of interconnectedness.[113] SPEC's radical ecology contrasted the two other groups' mainstream conservationism, which held wilderness as one value among many, yet all three doubted that integrated use would adequately protect non-timber values—a belief validated by Pearse's affirmation of the sustained yield system and the TFL tenure despite his concern about impending falldown in a few areas and the need for greater silvicultural investment.

Written by the Bill Bennett Socreds, the 1978 *Forest Act* and *Ministry of Forests Act* incorporated only minor conservationist aspects, albeit including provisions for non-timber values in calculating cutting rates, stumpage credits for silvicultural investment, and TFL AAC reductions

[112] Sierra Club of Western Canada-Victoria, *Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (Oct 1975), 1-3, 6-7, 11, BC Archives, GR-0347, Box 1, Folder 18.
[113] An accompanying summary, likely from a BCFS bureaucrat, describes the brief as "tedious and whimsical, as you would expect," though "some of the recommendations are sensible," SPEC-Smithers, *Brief to be presented to The Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (Vancouver: Dec, 1975), 1-2, BC Archives, GR-0347, Box 8, File 14.

of up to 10 percent without compensation. More than anything, the reforms bought the sustained yield model and MoF planning dominance another decade of legitimacy, adding only a vague legislative requirement for public hearings to solicit input on TFL renewals and Five-year Management and Working Plans. "Overall, the results of public participation in government [have] been very limited, if you are an optimist," Ken Farquharson reflected in 1984, "or virtually zero if you are a pessimist." He saw "public participation processes as a trap, designed to exhaust the participants" and shield politicians and civil servants from confrontation. The Socred "containment" strategy, Jeremy Wilson explains, was to fight disputes case-by-case while resisting overhaul of the entire system. Like a finger in the proverbial cracked dike, Socred policy worked in the short term. Bottling up activist pressure, however, led to more direct action: blockades.[114]

Environmental Colonialism and The Fight for Indigenous Title on "Meares Island"

Indigenous activism, including ENGO collaboration, would further complicate the Socred agenda even as it challenged certain conservationist and environmentalist principles. In revealing the inevitable onset of falldown, the 1980 BCFS FRRA report added new urgency to the land-use debates for both ENGOs and First Nations. That year, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) filed a comprehensive land claim with the federal government (Fig. 7). Not the "Ecological Indians" some preservationists made them out to be, Indigenous people had long worked in the forest industry, one of the few sources of employment for remote nations like the Ditidaht and Pacheedaht.[115] Ecology connotes interconnectedness, holism, and non-hierarchical frameworks, but early 1980s wilderness preservationism fixated on easily identifiable symbols of "Canada's"

[114] Reid, *Significant Events*, 19-22; George Hoberg, "The 6 Percent Solution: The Forest Practices Code," in eds. Cashore et. al. *In Search of Sustainability* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 64; Kim Brennels, *An Evaluation of Public Participation in the British Columbia Ministry of Forests*, FRC background paper (Dec 1990), 60-1, https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/pubs/Docs/Mr/Rc/Rc001a/V1BP005.pdf, accessed Jul 2019; Ken Farquharson, "Public Participation: Lessons from the Failures," *Sierra Report* 3, no. 3 (1984); Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 151.

[115] Some Nuu-chah-nulth communities had 70 percent unemployment rates in the 1980s. See Bruce Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2002), 14.

natural grandeur: big trees. Such portrayals are problematic for several reasons. They flatten the complexity of natural ecosystems, presuppose colonial sovereignty, and justify Indigenous displacement by proposing unpeopled wildlife sanctuaries. MacBlo's failure to hire Nuu-chah-nulth for planned logging on Wah-nah-jus—Hilthoois (Meares Island) in Clayoquot Sound, then, facilitated one of the first coalitions between environmentalists and Indigenous people.

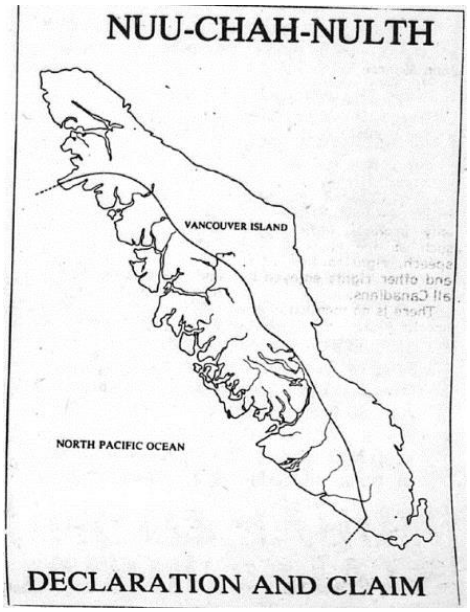

Fig. 7: "Nuu-chah-nulth Declaration and Claim," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, Dec 11, 1980.

The ENGO/NTC coalition was far from predestined, with George Watts and Earl Smith's 1975 brief to Pearse on behalf of the NTC-precursor West Coast District Council of Indian Chiefs demanding tenure changes to accommodate Indigenous land claims and "forestry based economic development" for Nuu-chah-nulth communities. Commercial fisheries had decimated fish stocks and local cannery profits, throwing "once economically viable" reservations into crisis. Large operators cornered tenures and AAC, and Nuu-chah-nulth loggers faced discrimination, typically relegated to lower-end wage labour. The brief suggested that any unallocated Crown land, AAC, and timber resources be returned to Indigenous bands whose remote locales left no other prospect for economic growth. Arguing that many forests were "underutilized" and high-graded, the brief supported logging the entire forest profile, pointing to the Ehattesaht Logging Co-operative at Barr

Creek (Zeballos Inlet) as a model operation. Although the council was limited to a three-page brief, it demonstrates the Nuu-chah-nulth desire for territorial sovereignty, not recreational tourism.[116]

Produced by the NTC, stories in the Port Alberni newspaper *Ha-Shilth-Sa* show how both conservationism and industrial resource extraction impacted Indigenous lifeways and threatened land claims reliant on occupancy and use. Frank Knighton was quoted in a 1977 article attacking the fisheries department for limiting the traditional food fishery to two days per week while allowing sports fishing in the Nitinat Triangle. More defiantly, in 1978 *Ha-Shilth-Sa* wrote that the "racist" BCWF had "declared war" by urging its members to resist the "give-away" of "our wildlife resources" to "Indian" fishermen. As Canadian Executive Director for Native Land Claims Neil Faulkner told *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, like forest and mineral tenures, parks such as Pacific Rim eroded Indigenous land title, obliterating territorial claims. *Ha-Shilth-Sa* consequently warned readers that if TFLs 20, 21, 22, and 27 were renewed in 1979, "bands in this area can forget about negotiating for forest rights in the Aboriginal Rights settlement." Endorsed by Pearse, the MoF renewed the TFLs, laying the groundwork for forest conflict. In response to 1980 MacBlo logging plans, the Opitsaht, a Meares-Island-based Tla-o-qui-aht (Clayoquot) band declared that the "People of the Cedar" would not allow industrial logging to devastate their territory and ways of life.[117]

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[116] The West Coast District Council of Indian Chiefs became the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council in 1978, and represented over 3000 Nitinaht, Ohiaht, Sheshaht, Opetchesaht, Uchucklesaht, Toquat, Ucluelet, Clayoquot, Ahousaht, Hesquiaht, Moachaht, Nuhatlaht, Ehattesaht, and Kyuquot, "Successful Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council Meeting," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Nov 16, 1978, and "Nuu-Chah-Nulth-Aht, Not Nootka," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Nov 16, 1978; George Watts and Earl J. Smith, West Coast District Council of Indian Chiefs, *Presentation to Mr. Peter H. Pearse, Commissioner of the Royal Commission on Forest Resources* (Oct 30, 1975), 1-3, BC Archives, GR-0347, Box 9, File 6; see Stephen Wyatt, "First Nations, Forest Lands, and 'Aboriginal Forestry' in Canada: From Exclusion to Comanagement and Beyond," *Canadian Journal of Forest Research* 38, no. 2 (2008); in June 1975, NDP MLA-Alberni Robert Skelly read a letter from D.R.W. Britt, District Forester, Department of Indian Affairs, north and south Vancouver Island about the Ehattesaht operation: workers endured "living and working conditions that other loggers would never accept. They live in an old apartment in Zeballos without hot water; they make their own meals and pack their own lunches. They travel from Zeballos to Barr Creek daily in an old fish boat and a small speedboat. Then they have to walk about a mile and a half into the worksite. Union members would never show such cooperation." Despite these challenges, Skelly lauded the "extremely high quality" of their work, BC Legislative Hansard, Jun 3, 1975, morning sitting, 2692-3, https://www.leg.bc.ca/content/Hansard/30th5th/30p_05s_750603a.htm, accessed Jul 2019.

[117] "West Coast District Council's brief presented to NDP Caucus," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Feb 4, 1977; "Land Claims issue alive in Nitinat," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* May 5, 1977; "Socreds to give away forest land for 25 years," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* May 3,

Environmentalists also rallied around Meares Island. Tofino residents formed the Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS) in 1979 and Paul George and Richard Krieger founded the Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC) the following year in Victoria to raise awareness about the need to oppose the logging of BC's temperate rainforests. Former Sierra Club members, George and Krieger wanted a society more centred on wilderness preservation, ecologically sustainable communities, and learning from Indigenous peoples' respect for the Earth. Responding to the concerted opposition, the MoF broke from its tradition of backroom agreements to initiate the Meares Island Planning Team (MIPT) in spring 1981. The MIPT drew together four government agencies and BCFP, MacBlo, IWA, NTC, FOCS, Alberni/Clayoquot Regional District, and Village of Tofino stakeholders to address quantitative and qualitative aspects of planning (including aesthetics), Tla-o-qui-aht culture, and recreation. George had worked with the NTC as a forest researcher in the 1970s, and even represented them at a March 1981 MIPT committee meeting, but such collaboration could not obscure differing motivations. Whereas ENGOs and Tofino's city council focused on the area's ecological, recreational, and aesthetic integrity and Tofino's water supply, the Nuu-chah-nulth defied Canadian sovereignty, seeking control over traditional territory—and jobs. Having been denied both, the NTC opted to work with environmentalists with different motivations for similar ends. Despite this early moment of environmentalist/Nuu-chah-nulth cooperation, forest corporatism would not be stopped. It soon became evident that the MIPT was not the start of a new era in forest management but an attempt

1979; "B.C. Wildlife Federation Declares War with B.C. Indians," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Sep 19, 1978; "News from Nitinaht," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Oct [sic] 1979; "Faulkner Does Circle Dance with Words," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Nov 7, 1978; "Band Involvement needed in Forestry," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Mar 4, 1980; "Statement from the Native People of Clayoquot Sound Regarding the Proposed Working Plan for TFL 20 & 22," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, Jul 17, 1980; "Nuu-chah-nulth Peoples Gives [sic] Direction to Minister," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, Dec 11, 1980; "More rights to be lost?: new wildlife act," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Jul 14, 1981; "Tribal Council submission to Wildlife Act," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Sep 9, 1981; "Bands object to Parks Canada plan," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Dec 3, 1981; "Meares Island—The Next to Go?" *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Jan 22, 1981; "Tribal Council asks for public inquiry on TFL 22," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Mar 19, 1981.

to sustain an old one. The MIPT had no obligation to reach consensus, and the MoF no obligation to accept a consensus proposal if one were reached. In 1983, the Socred cabinet's Environment and Land Use Committee rejected three MIPT proposals, all of which involving harvest reductions, and released its own plan that closely mirrored a previous one forwarded by MacBlo.[118]

The MIPT experience illustrates that, to the MoF, Indigenous people were but one stakeholder among many confronted by early 1980s stagflation and job loss. In November 1983, the MoF announced a 10-year logging deferral for the 800 hectares of the island visible from Tofino, an area that included the town's drinking supply and ranked uppermost among the aesthetic concerns of residents. Unsatisfied, the Ahousaht and Tla-o-qui-aht bands took the issue to the BC Supreme Court, wanting TFL 20 declared invalid. MacBlo lawyers argued that the decision to log had been made in 1955 with the TFL grant and warned of the dangerous precedent if the Nuu-chah-nulth land claim of 40 percent of Vancouver Island stopped logging while in the courts. In January 1984, Justice Reginald Gibbs ruled in favour of MacBlo, finding their case "to be far greater on a relative basis than that of the Indian bands." The Court of Appeals overturned this decision in March, stating that the land claim deserved a further hearing. Not content to wait, on April 12, 1984, the Tla-o-qui-aht Band Council declared "Meares Island" Wah-nuh-jus—Hilthoois Tribal Park, stating that they would "share Meares with non-natives" for tourist and recreational use. The deferral plan fell well short of the most ardent preservationist and Nuu-chah-nulth

[118] "Meares Island Update," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Mar 19, 1981; "Fishing main concern at Tribal Council Meeting," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Apr 7, 1981; Paul George, "More information needed on Meares," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Jul 14, 1981; Ben David, "Brief from Social & Economic Committee Re: Proposed Plan for Mc/Blo Meares Island," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Sep 9, 1981; "News release—Port Alberni Forest District: October 5, 1981," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Oct 22, 1981; "Meares Island Update," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Oct 22, 1981; Paul George, "Meares Island Update," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Dec 3, 1981; BC MoF, *Meares Island Planning Options: Report of the Meares Island Planning Team* (June 30, 1983), "Project Participants," xiv, "Introduction," 2, "Conclusions and Recommendations," 71, BC Leg. Library, BC F6 D:M3174 1983; Debra J. Salazar and Donald K. Alper, *Sustaining the Forests of the Pacific Coast: Forging Truces in the War in the Woods,* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2000), 97-8; Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 195; David Tindall and Noreen Begoray, "Old Growth Defenders: The Battle for the Carmanah Valley," in ed. Sally Lerner *Environmental Stewardship: Studies in Active Earth Keeping* (Kitchener: University of Waterloo Geography Series, 1993), 303.

demands, but gained support from Tofino City Council in October. FOCS head Richard Foulkes resigned after the group rejected what he called a "satisfactory compromise" that provided for 100 logging jobs, instead demanding that the island be "conserved totally." The issue, as MacBlo-Kennedy Lake division manager Paul Varga explained, was that most Crown land proximate to TFL 20 was already allocated, particularly low-elevation areas suitable for "winter shows."[119]

Unconvinced by this argument, in November, Tla-o-qui-aht, FOCS, and tourism industry representatives blockaded at C'is-a-qis Bay on Wah-nuh-jus—Hilthoois, impeding MacBlo surveyors. News of Canada's first anti-logging blockade made the *New York Times* and spurred both MacBlo and the Tla-o-qui-aht to file court injunctions. Threats of tree spiking from the more radical preservationists among Tofino residents proved more than brash talk: dozens of spiked trees were discovered that fall. The conflict entered a state of indeterminacy on March 27, 1985 when the BC Court of Appeals ruled in favour of the Nuu-chah-nulth, ordering an injunction—in force to this day—which stopped logging until the resolution of the land claim. Tension between Nuu-chah-nulth and settlers deepened after cash-strapped ENGOs contributed little to the court cases and memorialized the fight as being mainly about protecting a "natural paradise" rather than an assertion of Indigenous title.[120]

Blockades highlighted by Haida elders in regalia on Lyell Island that fall reinforced several aspects of the nascent War in the Woods: emboldened Indigenous voices, the power of blockades

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[119] Jan Peterson, *Port Alberni: More Than Just a Mill Town* (Victoria: Heritage, 2014), 176-9; Hereditary Chiefs George and Alex Frank, "Tribal Park Declaration," April 21, 1984, in eds. Warren Magnusson and Karena Shaw, *Clayoquot Documents: Vol. 1* (Tofino: Politics of Clayoquot Sound Workshop, 1997), 1; Foulkes and Varga quoted in "Meares plan gains support," *MB Journal* (Oct 1984); MacBlo lawyer and Justice Gibbs quoted in "Meares logging plan delayed," *MB Journal* (Mar 1985); "Case focuses on land claims, injunction against protests," *MB Journal* (Jan 1985).

[120] Nicholas Blomley, "'Shut the Province Down': First Nations Blockades in British Columbia: 1984-1995," *BC Studies* 111 (1996), 9, briefly references blockades on BC logging roads in May and June 1975; Court defers Meares logging," *MB Journal* (Apr 1985); Christopher S. Wren, "Canadian Battle Rages Over Lovely Timbered Isle," *New York Times,* May 17, 1985; Michael Lee Ross, *First Nations Sacred Sites in Canada's Courts* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 26, 32; FOCS and WCWC, *Meares Island: Protecting a Natural Paradise* (Vancouver: FOCS & WCWC, 1985); "Legal Costs Imperil Meares Island Case," *Globe and Mail,* Feb 11, 1986.

and visual media, the IWA's support for companies despite reservations about long-term planning, and the influence of the federal government. In 1987, Ottawa pledged to create Gwaii Haanas National Park, upholding the Haida vision of environmental protection, while neglecting to immediately address the thornier sovereignty issues underlying the fight.[121]

After a decade of Socred "containment," the first comprehensive review of the wilderness question emerged in 1985 with the formation of the Wilderness Advisory Committee (WAC). The WAC had only one conservation representative (Farquharson) and supported logging Lyell Island despite ongoing Haida blockades, but its 1986 report *The Wilderness Mosaic* led to *Forest Act* amendments in 1987 which enabled the designation of wilderness areas within integrated resource management planning, making wilderness a "legitimate use" and "distinct resource" in a win for Muirian conservationism and advocates of non-industrial use.[122] A major step toward public-input-based reforms, the WAC still failed to assuage Indigenous, worker, or environmentalist grievances.

Jack Munro had called the Meares injunction a "bloody disaster" for industry, attributing it to media fascination with "kooky environmentalists." However, on opposing sides at C'is-a-qis, both the IWA and Nuu-chah-nulth had valid if dissimilar antipathy toward Socred governance. In 1986, NTC and BC union delegates (including IWA, United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, and BC Federation of Labour members) met for a two-day conference in Nanaimo. Seeking land-use certainty, the parties signed a joint statement that condemned corporatism, called for the equitable distribution of resource profits, and declared that Indigenous people had the "inherent

[121] "BC Haida block road," *Globe and Mail*, Oct 31, 1985; Richard Rajala and Robert Griffin, *The Sustainability Dilemma* (Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2016), 320-1, 332; Parks Canada, Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve, and Haida Heritage Site, "History of Establishment," https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/info/histoire-history, accessed Jul 2019.

[122] BC, Wilderness Advisory Committee, *The Wilderness Mosaic: The Report of the Wilderness Advisory Committee* (Vancouver: 1986), Leg. Library W485 B:W5 1986; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 183; MoF, Recreation Manual, Ch. 12: Wilderness Management, (Aug 1991), https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfp/publications/00201/chap12/chap12.htm#s12.7, accessed Jul 2018; "Wilderness Designation Added to Forest Act," *The Sierra Report* 6, no. 2 (Sep 1987).

right to self-government." The next year, given Premier Bill Vander Zalm's refusal to negotiate land claims, George Watts deemed Indigenous people who voted Socred traitors. With workers and environmentalists, in early 1989 the NTC signed the Tin-Wis Accord, a vision for long-term sustainability *and* Indigenous title. The Socreds, meanwhile, held fast to BC's traditional denial of Indigenous title. Forest Minster Parker stated in June 1988 that such claims in BC had "not been recognized by any government past or present. Everybody has to get their head around that."[123]

In contrast to the strong Nuu-chah-nulth and Haida presence on Wah-nuh-jus—Hilthoois and Gwaii Haanas respectively, ENGOs like the Sierra Club and WCWC dominated the discourse surrounding Carmanah. Spurred by the 1985 centennial of Canada's first national park, the WCWC tabloid "Canadian Landmarks" demanded a total of 4 square miles (10 square kilometres) of new parkland to protect four "unique" trees: the Carmanah Sitka spruce, Cheewhat Lake Western redcedar, Nimpkish Valley fir, and Red Creek fir. WCWC member, backcountry hiker, and big-tree hunter Randy Stoltmann had found the latter, the world's largest Douglas fir by volume, that year in TFL 46-Renfrew Division. BCFP removed the fir from logging plans and publicized the discovery in its paper *Timberline*. A self-congratulatory BCFP felt that "multiple use" had worked as intended, mistaking Stoltmann's big-tree hunt for a "pet project." Rather, it was a mission.[124]

Amid the Meares dispute, MacBlo merged TFLs 20 and 21 in 1984, creating the 453,000-hectare TFL 44 and bringing Clayoquot and Carmanah under the same Management and Working Plan. After the Meares injunction, MacBlo revised its TFL 44 plan, shifting AAC to the eastern

[123] Munro was speaking on the Jack Webster's famous TV show, quoted in Peterson, *Port Alberni*, 182; "Agreement reached between labor, Natives at Nanaimo conference," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Nov 25, 1986; Keith Baldrey, "Indian Leader Calls for War with Socreds," *Vancouver Sun,* Apr 13, 1987; Ben Parfitt, "Natives, Unions, Environmentalists Unite in Lobby Bid," *Vancouver Sun*, Feb 8, 1989; for the 1988 Dunsmuir Agreement, see C. Tyler DesRoches, "Policy advice for public participation in British Columbia forest management," *Forestry Chronicle* 83, no. 5 (2007), 676; Parker quoted in Mark Hume, "Woods Managed for Everyone, Minister Says," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 11, 1988.
[124] Randy Stoltmann, WCWC, "a proposal to create…Canadian Landmarks: Protection for our largest, tallest and oldest trees," *Educ. Report* 4 (1985); "'Red Creek' fir dwarfs the world's competition," *Timberline* (Oct-Nov 1985), 3.

portion of the licence, rescheduling Carmanah's harvest from 2003 to 1989 *without* the public consultation stipulated by the 1978 *Forest Act*. BCFP had harvested in TFL 46's portion of the Walbran since 1982, but as roads approached from the northwest (Fig. 9), Carmanah was known to MacBlo foresters mainly via cursory timber cruises. It would not remain unknown for long.[125]

Stoltmann did much to transform "Carmanah" from tree farm to recreational wilderness. In 1987, with WCWC funding, Stoltmann wrote the *Hiking Guide to the Big Trees of Southwestern British Columbia*, which referenced the stands of giant Carmanah spruce he had seen as a guest on an MoF Ecological Reserves Unit survey with Bristol Foster in 1982. On April 1, 1988, Stoltmann and Clinton Webb, a WCWC member with eight-years experience building Forest Service trails, ventured into Carmanah. They found giant trees rivalling any they had seen—naming a spectacular section of the valley "Heaven Grove"—and MacBlo flagging tape denoting imminent cutblocks, 14 years earlier than anticipated.[126] The fight to make and keep Carmanah "wilderness" had begun.

Trail Building, the Carmanah Giant, and MacBlo's Voluntary Spruce Reserve Proposals

More than Meares, Carmanah became framed by environmentalists as an irreplaceable part of *Canada's* wilderness heritage. A front-page May 2 *Vancouver Sun* story brought the valley to the public eye, MacBlo halted road construction to study the "uniqueness" of the spruce groves, and on May 13, the Heritage Forests Society and BC Sierra Club sent *A Proposal to Add the Carmanah Creek Drainage with Its Exceptional Sitka Spruce Forests to Pacific Rim National Park* to the company, media, and the provincial and federal governments. BC's second-largest union-in-wood, the Pulp, Paper, and Woodworkers of Canada (PPWC) echoed the demand to preserve

[125] Randy Stoltmann, "Tracking Giants," in *Carmanah: Artistic Visions of An Ancient Rainforest* (Vancouver: Raincoast & WCWC, 1989), 12-13; Adam S White, *The Price of Preservation: An Analysis of Timber Values in the Carmanah Creek Watershed* (Toronto: Environment Probe, 1990), Intro, 10-13.
[126] Randy Stoltmann, *Hiking Guide to the Big Trees of Southwestern British Columbia* (Vancouver: WCWC, 1987); Stoltmann, "Tracking Giants," 12-13; Peter McAllister, "Message from the Chair: The Giants of Carmanah," *The Sierra Report* 7, no. 2 (May 1988); WCWC, "Carmanah: The World's tallest Sitka Spruce deserve protection," *Educ. Report* 7 (Jul 1988); WCWC "Carmanah: protect this ancient forest forever," *Educ. Report* 7 (Dec 1988).

the valley, but on May 15, the IWA organized a 1,500-person rally at the legislature defending the Carmanah harvest, a clear statement of woodworkers' opposition to the preservationist arguments that had already cost jobs on Meares and South Moresby. Not content to wait for an MoF/MacBlo negotiated reserve proposal, on May 29 WCWC volunteers began roughing a trail from "Camp Hell," a clearcut at the end of Rosander Mainline, to Camp Heaven. Shortly after trail construction began, MacBlo engineering staff located a 95-metre-tall Sitka spruce in a canyon 1.3 kilometres from the ocean—the tallest tree in Canada, soon dubbed the Carmanah Giant.[127]

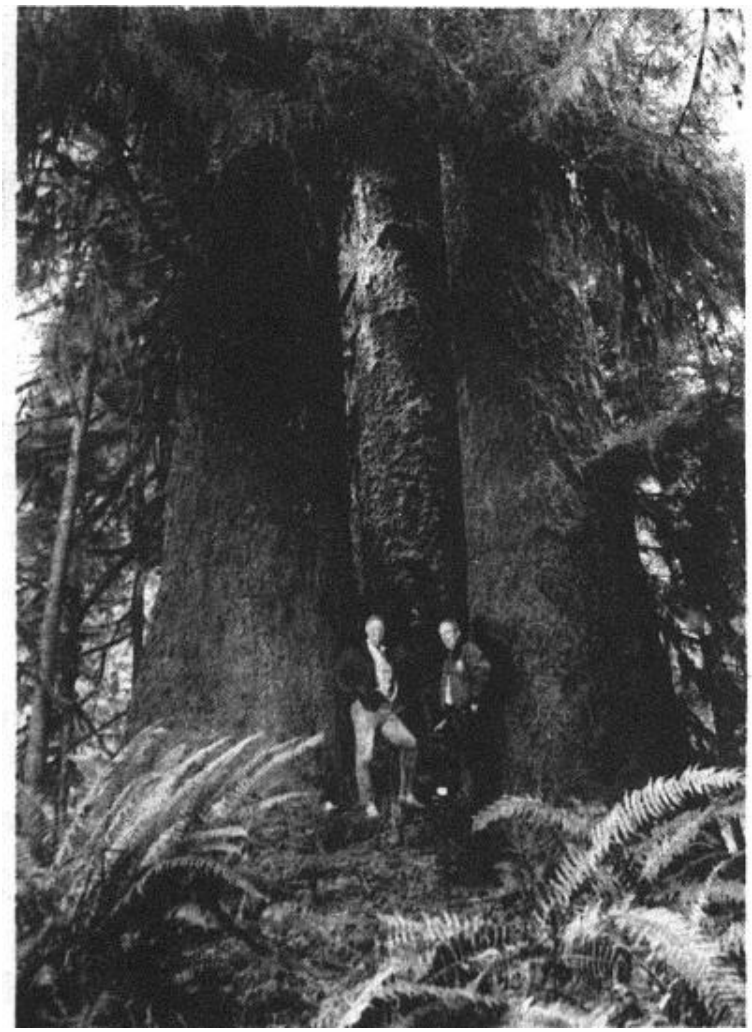

Fig. 8: Frank Harman (MacBlo), Nick Bos (IWA), and the "Three Sisters," "Plans to establish rec sites at Carmanah," *Lake News,* July 13, 1988.

[127] Stoltmann, "Tracking Giants," 12-3; Adrianne Carr and Paul George, "Creation of a Park," in *Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest,* 14-5; "Tree hunter's claim of forest giants sparks preservation plea," *Vancouver Sun*, May 2, 1988; Heritage Forests Society and Sierra Club, *A Proposal to Add the Carmanah Creek Drainage with Its Exceptional Sitka Spruce Forests to Pacific Rim National Park*, media brief, May 13, 1988, BC Leg. Library 333.7509711 P965.

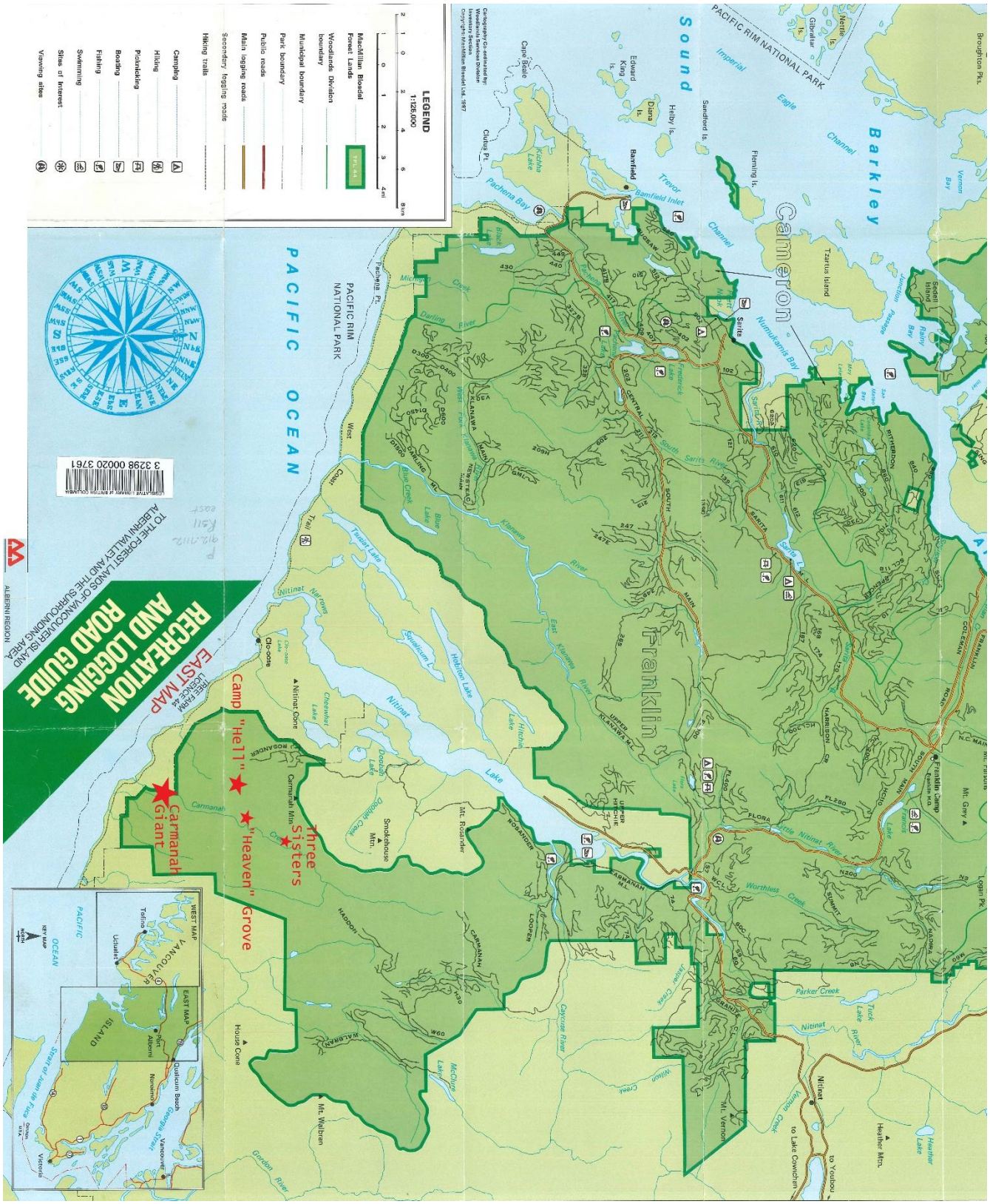

Fig. 9: TFL 44-East (formerly TFL 21), adapted from MacBlo, “Recreation and Logging Road Guide to the Forest Lands of Vancouver Island Alberni Valley and the Surrounding Area” (1987), BC Leg. Library, 912.7112 R311.

Following BCFP's Red Creek fir strategy, to accommodate this "recreation resource" MacBlo offered a 9-hectare reserve around the Giant and a 90-hectare reserve around Heaven Grove and the "Three Sisters" Sitka spruce (Fig. 8). Company spokesman Frank Hastings said that while "certainly attractive" and worth a "two-hour stroll," Carmanah was not unlike 50 sites on the island alone—satisfying Forest Minister Dave Parker, who felt that only "three tall trees" merited protection. Environmentalists would not be so easily contented. Ongoing trailbuilding led MacBlo to seek a court injunction to stop the practice, adding to the perception that the company saw its TFL lands as personal "fiefdoms," as Wilson puts it. The trail reached Camp Heaven by mid-June, allowing people and cameras into the valley for the July 1 "Carmanah Caravan." On Canada Day, 200 preservation supporters ventured to the area, producing material for the WCWC documentary *Carmanah Forever*, three full-colour posters, maps, and mass-produced tabloids.[128]

Newfound access spawned more detailed accounts of the valley and a WCWC hiking guide for the eight-kilometre trail network along Carmanah Creek. The WCWC tabloid "Carmanah: The World's tallest Sitka Spruce deserve protection" used large photos and descriptions of the "most spectacular" "virgin forest" in the world to craft the area's wilderness identity. The WCWC framed MacBlo as a rich corporate bully with million-dollar-a-day profits, deeming the offer of token reserves "inadequate to protect the spruce ecosystem." Wholesale watershed preservation was required to maintain the "priceless" 10,000-year-old ecosystem. Overcutting, waste, log exports, and automation—not preservation—cost jobs, wrote the WCWC, but despite their faint concerns for workers, such tabloids were written for potential supporters, ontologically and financially.[129]

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[128] George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 177, 477-8; WCWC "Carmanah: protect this ancient forest forever"; "To reserve site of spruce?" *Lake News,* Jun 22, 1988; Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 231-2; Parker quoted in Mark Hume, "Land of the Giants," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 7, 1988.

[129] WCWC, George Yearsley, "Carmanah Valley Road Access and Hiking Trail Guide" (1988 [1989 supplement]); UVic Special Collections, G3512 C37E63 1989 S; WCWC, "Carmanah: The World's tallest Sitka Spruce deserve protection," *Educ. Report* 7 (Jul/Aug 1988); WCWC, "Carmanah: protect this ancient forest forever," 2.

IWA-85 (Alberni) members responded harshly to the prospect of preserving one of the last areas suitable for winter logging, and *MB Journal* printed articles that argued the "forest pie was shrinking" as preservationists tried to "tear apart forestland." Western Forest Products' TFL 24 had just lost 70 percent of its AAC to Gwaii Haanas National Park, creating uncertainty that disincentivized investments in both silviculture and capital expenditures. With less at stake in Carmanah than the Alberni local, IWA 1-80 (Duncan) president Roger Stanyer suggested government develop a public participation process to determine equitable land use priorities. The Cowichan *Lake News* met the discovery of the Carmanah Giant with casual wonder and discussed the tourist potential of the proposed spruce reserves. However, as one *Cowichan News Leader* commentator wrote, "if tourists can't get to it, you might as well log it." Shedding this "wise use" framing, for Victoria's Janet Hawksburg Carmanah was a place with "answers to questions we do not yet know how to ask" where "miracles abound."[130]

As discussed in the introduction, our marks upon the world impact how we understand nature. Carmanah trailbuilding somewhat paradoxically inscribed both a logic of recreational use and a non-use ethic. Ecocentric demands more fully advanced by Walbran radicals in 1991 were already present in the first year of the Carmanah campaign. James Turner's "From Woodcraft to 'Leave No Trace'" shows how wilderness recreation shifted from having its roots in early twentieth-century self-sufficient outdoorsmanship to a "leave no trace" ethic typified by modern, well-equipped backpackers. The latter conception took precedence in Carmanah as the debate over appropriate wilderness use (or non-use) tended toward framing the area as an inviolate, "pristine"

[130] "To reserve site of spruce?" *Lake News*, Jun 22, 1988; "Plans to establish rec sites at Carmanah," *Lake News,* Jul 13, 1988; "Carmanah Creek: MB seeks to preserve record Sitka spruce," *MB Journal* (Jun 1988); "Carmanah vies for recreation site status," *MB Journal* (Jul 1988); "Forests Forever…Or Forgone?" *MB Journal* (Jul 1988); Paul Fletcher & Keith Norbury, "Carmanah controversy," *Cowichan News Leader,* Jul 13, 1988; "Opinions: We asked them about Carmanah Valley," *Cowichan News Leader,* Jul 20, 1988; Janet Hawksburg, "Carmanah a treasure," *Cowichan News Leader,* Jul 20, 1988; "Carmanah Creek: MB weighs options for new forest plan," *MB Journal* (Aug 1988).

Eden—which could accommodate hikers. In a vital win for charities restricted to legal activism like the WCWC and Sierra Club, BC Supreme Court Justice Josiah Wood rejected MacBlo's injunction request on July 26, 1988, setting the legal precedent for trailbuilding on TFLs.[131]

The decision also invited support from politicians like Cowichan-Malahat-The Islands NDP MP Jim Manly, who told *Lake News* readers that industry was "creaming the most accessible areas often leaving waste and destruction" and that the "unique opportunity" to preserve a "climax" forest for future generations mattered more than Carmanah's timber value. Reaching the Carmanah Giant in late August, the trail was officially opened in September by Fraser Valley Conservative MP Bob Wenman and Ditidaht NTC chief Peter Knighton. MPs Manly and Wenman provide evidence of the federal support for preservation, much to the consternation of MacBlo and Socred Forest Ministers who remembered Ottawa's influence on Nitinat and Gwaii Haanas. Knighton's support for trail building, one year prior to his resignation from the NTC to pursue the independence of his Qwa-Ba-Diwa nation, shows how trails, while problematic, kept Carmanah from the saw by bringing the weight of public interest to bear on MacBlo.[132]

While Forest Minister Parker had been satisfied with the initial, very limited reserve proposal, summer activism would convince MacBlo to offer further concessions, despite all TFLs having lost five percent of their AAC in May for a Small Business Enterprise Program. Companies large and small were justifiably worried. Pat Carson Bulldozing attacked the Duncan Sierra Club for jeopardizing 75 subcontracting jobs in the Cowichan Valley at an annual payroll of $5 million.

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[131] Carol Volkart, "Environmental Group Applauds Trail Decision," *Vancouver Sun,* Jul 27, 1988; James Morton Turner, "From Woodcraft to 'Leave no Trace': Wilderness, Consumerism, and Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America," *Environmental History* 7, no. 3 (2002), 462-84.

[132] Jim Manly, "Heritage could be lost," *Lake News,* Aug 10, 1988; George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 478; WCWC "Carmanah: protect this ancient forest forever," 2-4; "New trail marked as dangerous by MacBlo," *Vancouver Sun,* Sep 9, 1988; Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 233; Ross Howard, "Has no decisive plan of action on environment, Bouchard says," *Globe and Mail,* Jun 2, 1989; Peter O'Neil, "Ottawa urges study of Carmanah logging plans," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 21, 1989; Peter O'Neil, "Mind your business, Parker advises," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 27, 1989; Ben Parfitt, "Socreds will not be swayed by Ottawa's Carmanah pleas," *Vancouver Sun,* Mar 26, 1990.

The notorious public relations firm Burson-Marsteller—hired by MacBlo and other BC forest companies after the 1987 Gwaii Haanas National Park designation and series of scathing *Globe and Mail* articles on the firm's logging practices—provided the spark for numerous rural "Share groups" that were either grassroots organizations voicing real rural concerns or corporate fronts, depending who or where you asked. Either way, the groups' very names implied ontologies rooted in wise use that saw preservation as the waste of resources. Vocal chapters emerged in Cobble Hill (Share Our Forests), Port Alberni (Share Our Resources), and Ucluelet (Share the Clayoquot). North Cowichan City Council officially endorsed Share Our Forests in August 1988. In the *Alberni Valley Times* and *MB Journal*, Share Our Resources director John Bassingthwaite called federal Environment Minister Tom McMillan's support for Carmanah preservation "dishonorable," demanding that he not "sit in Ottawa and judge us" while "single use" wilderness and tourism proposals failed to consider BC's 444 existing parks, annual planting of 200 million trees, or that forest rent funded schools, hospitals, and welfare. Alberni's "hardworking citizens" depended on forest employment, he concluded, and they were "getting sick and tired of defending that right."[133]

In September, MacBlo presented the new TFL 44 draft management plan with a video titled *Sitka Sanctuary*, indicating the continued focus on large spruce. The plan expanded the two no-logging recreation preserves to a total of 175 hectares (see Fig. 10) and the special management area to 1,819 hectares, with 40-hectare cutblock maximums, winter-only logging not to exceed

[133] Burson-Marsteller advised the Argentinian junta government; Johnson & Johnson after the 1982 Tylenol poisonings; the United Carbide Corporation after a 1984 gas leak killed 2000 in Bhopal, India; and Shell and Exxon Mobil, for whom they created oil spill and industrial accident media contingencies; "Forest Act Amended—unkindest cut of all," *MB Journal* (Jun 1988); "Carmanah Creek: MB weighs options for new forest plan," *MB Journal* (Aug 1988); "Cowichan council says let's share," *Cowichan News Leader*, Aug 24, 1988; John Bassingthwaite, "Don't sit in Ottawa and judge us," *Alberni Valley Times*, Oct 21, 1988; John Bassingthwaite, "Compromise needed for forests to survive," *Alberni Valley Times*, Oct 31, 1988; see Christine McLaren's series on MacBlo logging practices, "Managing the Harvest," *Globe and Mail*, Dec 27-31, 1987; for the genesis of Share BC, see Alexander Simon, "Backlash! Corporate Front Groups and the Struggle for Sustainable Forestry in British Columbia," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 9, no. 4 (1998), 17-21; for Share BC's US counterpart, see James McCarthy, "First World Political Ecology: Lessons from the Wise Use Movement," *Environment and Planning A* 34, no. 7 (2002).

130 hectares in any five-year period, and considerations for riparian zones and views from the trail—measures far in excess of WCWC demands in the 1985 "Canadian landmarks." It was rejected outright by environmentalists who increasingly framed forests as global ecosystems, not just big tree recreation sites—let alone uncut two-by-fours. "The issue is not one of parks or jobs," one enthusiast told the *Cowichan News Leader*, "It's planetary survival." Public outcry led the MoF to request that MacBlo formally solicit public input with an Alberni open house on October 22. The WCWC and Sierra Club refused to participate in a process without a non-logging option.[134]

Share groups soon became more vocal in opposing what they saw as preservationist pap. Share Our Forests' Dorothy Nickell would no longer "back off for fear of being biased," now wanting to ensure that forests were "used properly" by the people who knew the most about them: loggers. Nickell went on to warn *Cowichan News Leader* readers that a Carmanah park would cost hundreds of jobs and millions of taxpayer dollars to expropriate. Another Share Our Forests member, Jan Leine wrote to *MB Journal* that Share groups were "motivated by the love of mankind" rather than money alone and needed to combat "preservationists, civil disobedients and the misinformed" with "pen and voice." In the *Cowichan News Leader,* Leine critiqued the "high ideals" of preservationism evoked in "city dwellers trapped in a concrete environment" by pictures of large trees. As Port McNeill Mayor Gerry Furney explained, most people in small communities were environmentalists, "but we practice what we preach. We resent being told what to do by the loony left element that makes all the noise."[135]

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[134] Glenn Bohn, "MacBlo Proposes to Double Sitka Spruce Forest Reserve," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 7, 1988; MacBlo, *Management Plan: Carmanah Valley*, prepared by Stewart & Ewing Associates (Sep 1988), UVic Special Collections, SD146 B7S74; "MB sets aside 'Sitka Sanctuary,'" *MB Journal* (Oct 1988); Dorothy Field, "Protect the environment," *Cowichan News Leader,* Sep 21, 1988; "MB seeking input on Carmanah Plan," *MB Journal* (Nov 1988).

[135] Dorothy Nickell, "Let's share our forests," *Cowichan News Leader,* Jul 27, 1988; Furney and Nickell quoted in "Citizens groups form pro-logging lobby," *MB Journal* (Sep 1988); Dorothy Nickell, "Don't have all answers," *Cowichan News Leader,* Oct 26, 1988; Jan Leine, "With pen and voice we combat the preservationists," *MB Journal* (Nov 1988); Jan Leine, "Government to decide," *Cowichan News Leader,* Dec 7, 1988.

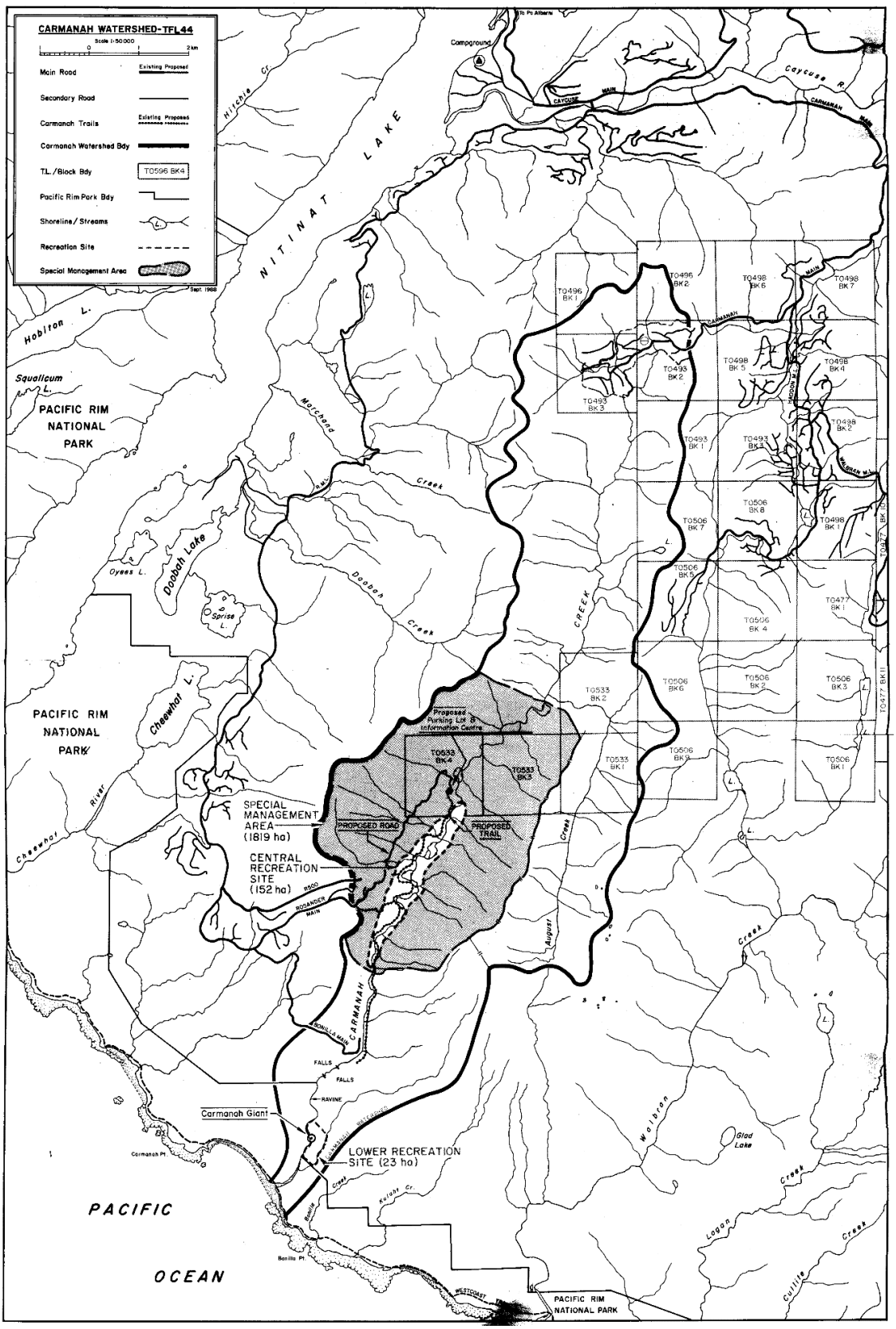

Fig. 10: Revised draft TFL 44 Management Plan, Appendix to MacBlo, *Management Plan: Carmanah Valley*, prepared by Stewart & Ewing Associates Ltd. (Sep 1988), UVic Special Collections, SD146 B7S74.

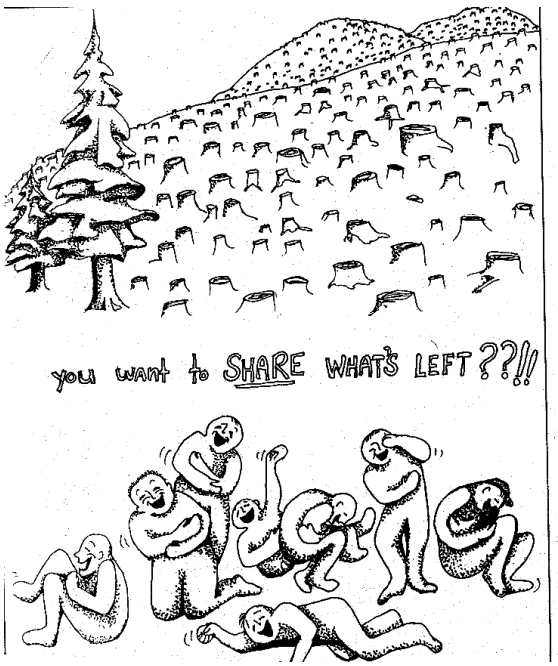

Fig. 11: Suzanne Hare, "Sharing What's Left," *The New Catalyst* (Fall 1988).

Though Share group members were hard-pressed rural citizens caught in the middle, it soon became common knowledge to environmentalists (Fig. 11) and others that they were largely funded and coordinated by forest companies and COFI. A December letter to the *Cowichan News Leader* drew attention to Share groups' genesis at an August 1988 Reno Multiple Use Strategy conference hosted by Ron Arnold, architect of the US Wise Use movement that reoriented "wise use" from conservationism to anti-environmentalism. The most "disturbing" aspect of the Share strategy, wrote the authors, was that "citizens' deeply held social values and principles [were] being exploited in the interests of maximizing profits for big companies." Share groups began referring to environmentalists as "preservationists" to discredit them, the WCWC's Ken Lay told the *Sun,* particularly as figures like Furney, Ronald Reagan, and Premier Vander Zalm claimed to be the former. As Alexander Simon succinctly argues in his incisive study on the phenomenon, corporate actors formed Share groups to "preclude a labor-environmentalist alliance."[136]

[136] Carol Latter, Juanita Haddad, and Maggie Tooker, "The share strategy," *Cowichan News Leader,* Dec 7, 1988; Keith Norbury, "Environment battle wit, not substance," *Cowichan News Leader,* Dec 14, 1988; Carol Latter and

While the IWA largely perceived preservationism with disdain—with a *Vancouver Sun* article on the union's 1988 convention quoting a worker frustrated with "fundamentalists" hellbent on seizing large tracts of the "forest base," jobs be damned—some members saw Carmanah as a chance to forge non-corporate alliances. IWA rallies in Duncan, Alberni, and Victoria supported clearcutting Carmanah, but former IWA 1-85 vice president Mike Kokura called for a moratorium on TFL 44 logging until logs stopped leaving the area for milling, crediting "preservationists" for calling attention to the issue. Trying to find middle ground, Cobble Hill's Dorothy Field wrote the *Cowichan News Leader* and MLA Graham Bruce suggesting that workers and environmentalists "band together" to overcome government and industry indifference to responsible forestry. Possible inroads at such cooperation began at a November 3 MacBlo TFL 44 open house in Duncan, when the Sierra Club's Vicky Husband posed for a photo with four of her IWA "logger friends." By portraying workers as potential allies, the Sierra Club suggested that MacBlo had more than preservationists to worry about, which Victoria's *Monday Magazine* noted might cause a panic sale on the New York Stock Exchange.[137] Cynical media manipulation by Husband or honest collaboration, the photo signals potential openness to alternative forest alliances.

As Carmanah dominated TFL 44 discourse in the Alberni region, critiques of corporate mismanagement continued to define the TFL 46 debate at Cowichan Lake. FCCL layoffs and a $57,000 fine for leaving 14,000 cubic metres of wood to rot spurred an IWA 1-80 Woodworkers

Juanita Haddad, "Sharing with the Share Groups," *The Leaflet: Pulp, Paper & Woodworkers of Canada Newsletter* 26, no. 1 (Jan 1989), 1; Lay quoted in Ben Parfitt, "Forests: Fighting Forever? Business and Preservationists Wage a Public Relations War Over the Province's Resources" *Vancouver Sun,* May 30, 1989; Simon, "Backlash!" 4.

[137] Maggie Tooker, "No one will win battle," *Cowichan News Leader,* Sept 14, 1988; Valerie Casselton, "IWA meet takes aim at logging opponents," *Vancouver Sun,* Sept 28, 1988; Glenn Bohn, "MacBlo promise to double Sitka spruce forest reserve," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 7, 1988; D.A. Anderson, "Our forests threatened," *Cowichan News Leader,* Oct 12, 1988; Rob Diotte, "Kokura calls for moratorium on logging in Alberni-Clayoquot," *Alberni Valley Times,* Oct 31, 1988; Dorothy Field, "Fears are legitimate," *Cowichan News Leader,* Oct 26, 1988; Jean Ciriani, "Forest meeting draws a crowd," *Cowichan News Leader,* Nov 9, 1988; Sid Tafler, "Vicky and the Loggers," *Monday Magazine,* Nov 9-15, 1988; M. Tooker, "MB's plan subjective," *Cowichan News Leader,* Nov 23, 1988.

Survival Task Force protest outside the company's head office in Vancouver. Long-time logger and Cowichan River angling guide Joe Saysell stated that while "forest companies are greedy," strikes would only get so far. The "real problem" was Victoria's failure to craft effective policy and the inability of the underfunded BCFS to enforce (lax) harvest standards. "We're killing jobs for our future and we're wrecking the environment," said IWA-Canada vice president Fernie Viala, blaming log exports and waste as much as parks for layoffs. Echoing the concern over harvest practices, IWA 1-80 vice president Bill Routley demanded an inquiry into logging waste.[138] For the moment, the Cowichan Valley IWA had more pressing concerns than potential preserves.

Advancing a range of issues that included opposing preservation, the Truck Loggers' Association similarly attacked wood waste and corporate concentration. A November 9 *Vancouver Sun* article quoted TLA executives who decried that four corporate groups controlled some 80 percent of provincial forests—MacBlo 30 percent alone. A TLA vice president asserted that independents planned on "their sons and daughters staying here," making them more vested in forest perpetuation that companies like MacBlo, fined $800,000 in 1988 alone for wasting wood.[139]

MacBlo's ad hoc concessions did little to convince the public that the revised Carmanah plan adequately accommodated non-timber values. In October, Cowichan-Malahat MLA Graham Bruce initiated and headed an eight-member Carmanah Valley advisory committee with the mayors of North Cowichan, Duncan, and Lake Cowichan, the Cowichan Valley Regional District chair, Share Our Forests' Jan Leine, and IWA 1-80's Dan Clements. A single Sierra Club member, Warwick Whitehead, represented environmentalists. The committee had no legal mandate,

[138] "It should concern us all," *Lake News,* Sept 7, 1988; Carol and Walter Latter, "Blame the big guys," *Cowichan News Leader,* Oct 12, 1988; R. van der Vegt, "B.C. forest give away," *Cowichan News Leader,* Oct 12, 1988; "IWA will fight Youbou mill closing," *Lake News,* Nov 2, 1988; Saysell quoted in "IWA to demonstrate" *Lake News,* Nov 16, 1988; Viala quoted in Mark Hume, "Loggers protest exports, wasteful forestry methods," *Vancouver Sun,* Nov 26, 1988; "Firm fined for wasting good wood," *Ottawa Citizen,* Nov 16, 1988.

[139] TLA quoted in Michael Sasgees, "Loggers demand judicial inquiry," *Vancouver Sun,* Nov 9,1988; Keith Norbury, "Woodworkers' video focusses on logging waste," *Cowichan News Leader,* Nov 30, 1988.

intended rather to develop a vision of "community will," said Bruce, and flesh out the MacBlo consultation process. Whitehead immediately discounted the committee as "one-sided," noting that some members had praised the initial 99-hectare reserve proposal. He resigned within a month, replaced by another Sierra Club member, Lavonne Huneck. Meanwhile, feeling the pressure of exceptional public interest, MacBlo *re*-amended the TFL Management and Working Plan (MWP) after new wildlife, windthrow, archaeological, and hydrological studies, the latter using state-of-the-art computer modelling. Most of the valley, however, was still set to be logged.[140]

MacBlo submitted the new MWP to the MoF in January (Fig. 12). Despite going above and beyond standard TFL planning, the MWP retained a myopic focus on the huge Sitka spruce alone as worthy of preservation. Spokesperson Frank Hastings believed the plan balanced "MB's economic responsibility and other intangible values people place on forests," hoping that "the idea of Carmanah as working forest, which ensures the preservation of all that is special, the big spruce, will appeal to most people." The plan proposed to increase the recreation reserve to a contiguous 538-hectare area and the special management zone to 1,912 hectares. Justifying the focus on preserving trees rather than watersheds, the company argued that the proposal more than fulfilled their obligation to protect non-timber "special forest values" like recreation and "unique" record-sized spruce, only briefly mentioning an Indigenous trapline and a small deer population, neither of which were considered to be "principle values." MacBlo's argument that the area had helped ensure employment since 1955 via its "sustainable rate of cut contribution" to the AAC of TFL 44 shows how, despite remaining wild and unlogged, Carmanah had been part of the timber economy for decades. The estimated 32 logging jobs, 68 mill jobs, 200 "indirect and induced" jobs, $11.1

[140] "MB crafting detailed management plan," *MB Journal* (Sep 1988); Keith Norbury, "Carmanah Committee formed," *Cowichan News Leader*, Oct 5, 1988; Keith Norbury, "Whitehead resigns Carmanah post," *Cowichan News Leader*, Nov 7, 1988; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 232; "On Carmanah Plan: MB seeking input," *MB Journal* (Nov 1988).

million in annual income, $4.3 million in government revenue, and $12.8 million gross contribution to the economy dependent on Carmanah's 66,300-cubic-metre AAC would be the realization of this longstanding ontological construction. While admitting that the absence of such quantitative data for recreation (let alone other uses) made accurate cost-benefit analyses impossible, and cynically arguing that campgrounds detracted from the spruce reserve's wilderness appeal, MacBlo continued to frame "integrated use" as the means to placate environmentalists while the non-reserve area was liquidated over 70 years. It remained illogical for MacBlo to consider not logging. Only finding archaeological evidence of Nuu-chah-nulth occupancy on the coast, MacBlo and the MoF largely ignored evidence from recently conducted oral histories that supported Indigenous claims of occupancy, use, and title over the entire Carmanah Walbran area. Settler environmentalists also continued to frame the area as Canadian without thought, such as the letter writer to *Monday Magazine* who called for "a patriotic Canadian defense" of Carmanah's trees.[141]

By tracing the convoluted and somewhat contradictory antecedents of BC conservationism, this chapter shows a complex and enduring concern over the environmental degradation of BC forests. By 1989, "wise use" definitions of conservation were losing ground to postmaterialist ontologies that valued the aesthetic, spiritual, and ecological aspects of wilderness, with trailbuilding a paradoxical expression of the fragmented conservationist movement. Preservationism no longer restricted its goals to big trees, shifting to focus on the ecosystems sustaining them and the global biosphere of which they were part. Yet wilderness was more than a place for recreation or a pristine ecosystem. As it had been for Thoreau, it was a place to find

[141] MacBlo, *Management Plan: Carmanah Valley*, prepared by Stewart & Ewing Associates (Jan 1989), v, 2, 4, 11-16, 19-21, 25-52, UVic Special Collections SD146 B7S74; Hastings quoted in "Carmanah reserves tripled: MB modifies plan," *MB Journal* (Jan 1989); John Oswald, "The patriotism of Carmanah," *Monday Magazine*, Jun 22-28, 1989.

meaning. Or perhaps more accurately, it was a symbol with which to construct narratives; narratives that often left no room for work in the woods. While wilderness preservation had moved beyond the narrow focus on recreational use that typified much Nitinat activism, environmentalists continued to use depictions of unpeopled nature to forward their agenda. Contentious battles with the IWA in Clayoquot and Haida Gwaii aside, hope lingered for red/green (and Indigenous) cooperation, as shown by the Tin-Wis Accord. Yet, despite unprecedented public consultation and shared weak ontological critiques of the dominant mode of forest industrialization, the WCWC and Sierra Club refused to compromise on total preservation (Fig. 13). While the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council remained focused on Wah-nuh-jus—Hilthoois and mainland Indigenous groups directed energy toward the Stein Valley conflict, environmental groups doubled down on Carmanah.[142] Feeling that MacBlo's concessions to the green public remained superficial, environmental groups sought more creative methods of public persuasion that stopped short of breaking the law, including the construction of a treetop canopy research station, an award-winning coffee-table book, and an extended trail system into the Walbran Valley.

[142] Both *Ha-Shilth-Sa* and the Sechelt-based Indigenous newspaper *Kahtou: the Voice of B.C. First Nations* printed numerous articles on the Stein and Meares but barely mentioned Carmanah or Walbran in 1988 and 1989.

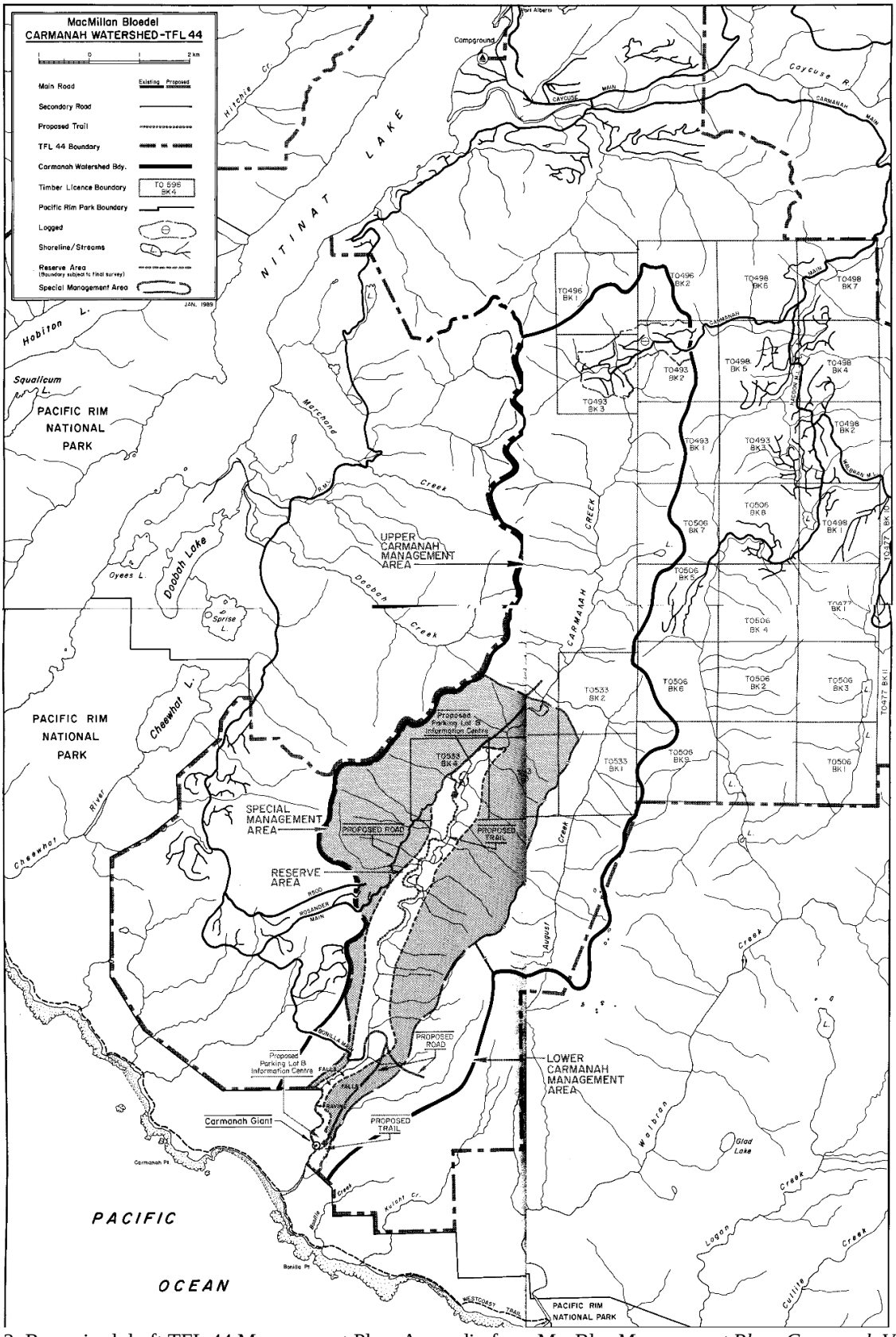

Fig. 12: Re-revised draft TFL 44 Management Plan, Appendix from MacBlo, *Management Plan: Carmanah Valley*, prepared by Stewart & Ewing Associates (Jan 1989), UVIC Special Collections, SD146 B7S74.

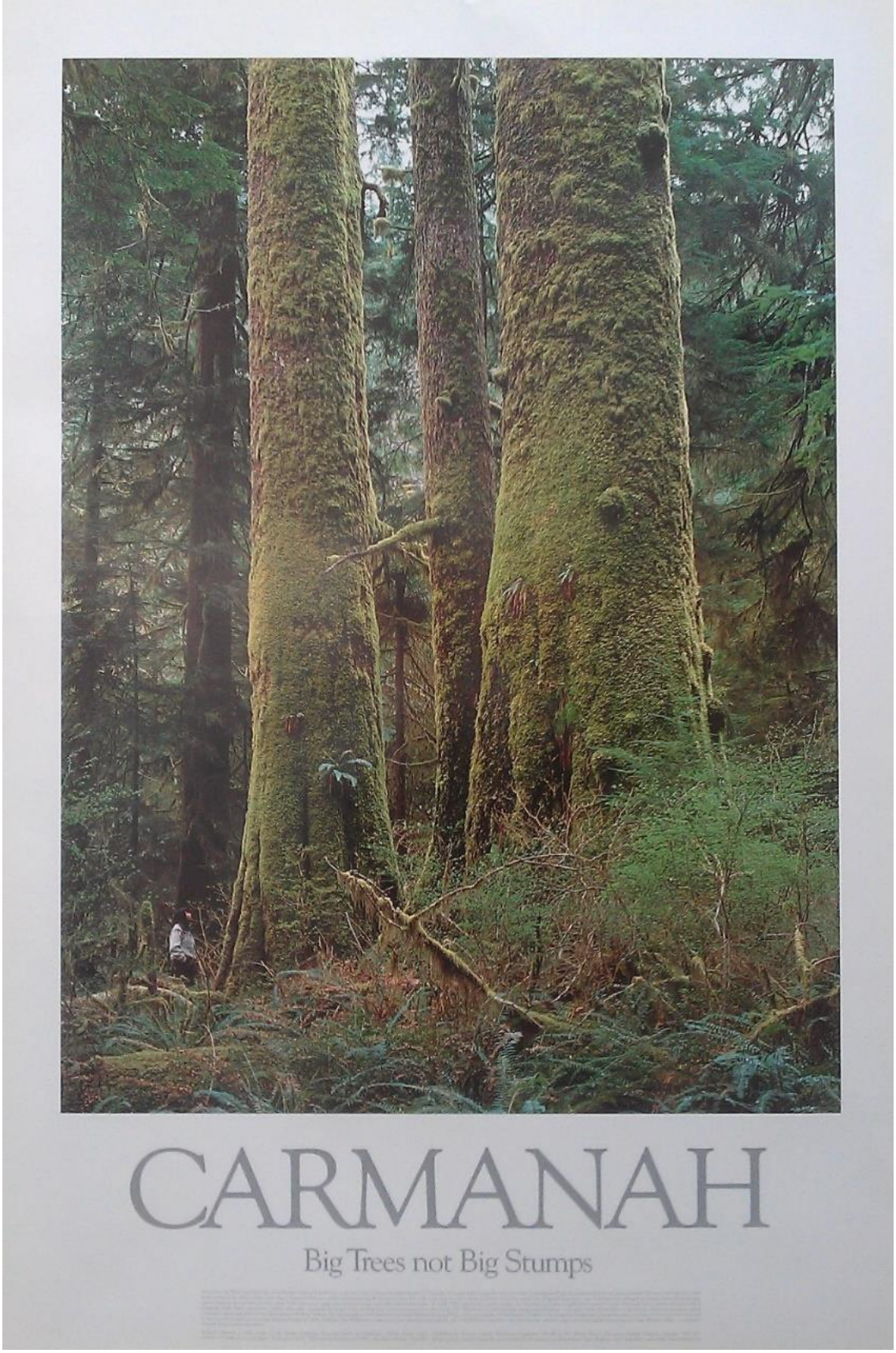

Fig. 13: Western Canada Wilderness Committee, “Big Trees not Big Stumps” poster (1989).

Chapter Three: Sustainable Development, Public Input, and the CFS in the Walbran

"We are losing the battle for people's minds because we have trouble even recognizing the validity of their values," Rosy Siney, *The Land Use Controversy: How did we get into this mess?*, internal MacBlo memo (June 1989), 4.

Rural resource communities were the pillars of postwar Socred Fordist spending on transportation infrastructure, education, healthcare, and welfare. In the post-Fordist world, however, fibre shortage, high wages, remote communities, and outdated industrial infrastructure became avoidable inefficiencies in the global timber trade. As such, the Honeymoon Bay mill closed in 1981. Under Bill Bennett, the Socreds relaxed harvest practice standards. Under Bill Vander Zalm, they released sustainable development initiatives. Neither mitigated the rural crisis which accompanied the arrival of multinationals like Fletcher Challenge. Socred sustainable development had a market growth logic which—like sustained yield and integrated use—made it ideal, seemingly-progressive rhetoric for the party's Forest Resources Commission, Old Growth Strategy, and Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy—public input processes intended to address and circumvent the demands of the social movement symbolized by Carmanah fever.

As Igoe and Brockington argue, "neoliberalisation does not entail deregulation as much as it entails reregulation" to facilitate the spread of free markets for commodities—including commodified nature. Proponents of neoliberal sustainable development hold that the 'growing economic pie' necessarily benefits local people and the environment. However, emphasizing competition and the rollback of the social contract and state regulations creates economic spaces wherein resource communities compete, at great financial disadvantage, with the transnational interests actively courted by neoliberal state governments. Sustainable development, then, was deployed in the service of a neoliberal ontology which had little concern for the Fordist placed-based industrialization that had underwritten Cowichan Lake settlement. As Igoe and Brockington note, preservationism and neoliberalism "thrive quite happily when poor people are displaced."[143]

[143] Nathan Young, "Radical Neoliberalism in British Columbia: Remaking Rural Geographies," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens De Sociologie* 33, no. 1 (2008), 10-5; Jim Igoe and Dan Brockington, "Neoliberal Conservation: A Brief Introduction," *Conservation and Society* 5, no. 4 (2007), 434, 437, 446.

South Vancouver Island's ecological and socioeconomic upheavals were far from localized phenomena. Similar issues worldwide led to the 1987 Brundtland report for the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*. This vision for sustainable development foresaw market-based economic growth within nominal ecological constraints as the means to fund social programs and the protection of 12 percent of the globe. Two years later, in lieu of commemorating a person, *TIME* magazine named "The Endangered Earth" its "planet" of the year. In BC, narratives of Carmanah Walbran developed within this global discourse of sustainable development, which problematically equivalenced ecology, social well-being, and an *ever-growing* economy. Seeking such "balance," on April 10, 1990 the Socred government announced that Lower Carmanah would become a park and initiated a local advisory committee to determine *how*, not if, forestry would proceed in Upper Carmanah. This group and an FCCL-initiated Walbran committee provided new spaces for forest debate. Their developmental tenets, however, limited the degree to which Cowichan Valley woodworkers, environmentalists anguishing at the "rape" and "murder" of Mother Nature, and Indigenous peoples asserting land claims could make demands that would impede industry profitability, to the frustration of all.[144]

Such shared discontent led to heated dialogue and open skirmishes as conflicting ontologies continued to inhibit the congruency of worker, environmentalist, and Indigenous movements. Crafting a coherent narrative for this period remains difficult: it was a time of malleable policy, confusion, cynicism, hope, and despair. Environmentalist momentum both supported and derailed workers' critiques of pollution, waste, mechanization, overcut, log exports, and layoffs. Competing Nuu-chah-nulth land claims from the tribal council and Peter Knighton brought further existential threats to the deindustrializing socioeconomic system in the Cowichan Valley. In 1990, a 78-day

[144] "Endangered Earth, Planet of the Year," *TIME,* Jan 2, 1989.

standoff at Oka, Quebec in 1990 energized Indigenous activism. First Nations in BC accounted for 20 of the 30 blockades in Canada that year, some directly opposing resource extraction.[145]

Finally, this chapter establishes the divergence of Carmanah and Walbran land use processes and activism. In Carmanah, ENGOs built trails, researched, produced world-class art, posters, and newsletters by the thousand, and participated in countless advisory committee meetings. Yet given the valley's steep, single-channel watershed, logging Upper Carmanah would compromise the successional-forest ecosystem climaxing in the lower floodplain Sitka spruce, so ENGOs insisted on total preservation. In contrast to Carmanah, MacBlo and FCCL forged ahead with Walbran road building and logging operations respectively in TFL 44 (Alberni) and TFL 46 (Cowichan) in 1989-90. With several drainages feeding the Walbran Creek, its later emergence as preservation candidate, and lack of a "unique" feature like the Carmanah Giant, the Walbran became constructed as wilderness with room for work by the Carmanah Forestry Society (CFS), a new ENGO headed by wildcard environmentalist Syd Haskell. Unlike established groups such as the WCWC or BC Sierra Club, the CFS began as an ad hoc, valley-specific activist incarnation with fewer qualms about forestry if done properly and responsibly—even in the East Walbran.

By analyzing how Carmanah Walbran became understood over 1989 and 1990, this chapter shows how the corporate/state extractive capitalist ontology baked into Socred land-use initiatives inhibited genuine compromise and produced widespread resentment from and among workers, environmentalists, and Nuu-chah-nulth. Advisory committees gave opportunities for stakeholder input, but by design circumscribed and excluded many vantage points. Constrained and superficial, their resulting recommendations did not fundamentally challenge the basic worldview that had shaped forest use for over a century, leading activists to undertake civil disobedience in 1991.

[145] Indigenous blockades in the War in the Woods were aided by—but not dependent on—Oka. See Nicholas Blomley, "'Shut the Province Down': First Nations Blockades in British Columbia: 1984-1995," *BC Studies* 111 (1996), 9-10.

The End to Valley-by-Valley Fights? Social Credit Forest Policy in the 1980s

The tumult of the 1980s gave new urgency to the debates on harvest practice, public consultation, and MoF land-use primacy unresolved since the abbreviated reforms of the 1972-1975 Dave Barrett NDP government. Until the 1990s, the *Ministry of Forests Act* and *Forest Act* gave the chief forester nearly unilateral control to set harvest levels and general forest management standards. The Forest Service (BCFS) penned the 1972 Planning Guidelines for Coast Logging Operations, adopted as NDP policy shortly after their election. Attacked by conservationists and environmentalists alike as insufficient, and by industry as inefficient, the guidelines mandated patchwork patterns of 200-acre maximum cutblocks. Although the regulations promised an end to the progressive felling of entire valleys, they lacked comprehensive riparian leavestrip restrictions and clearcutting remained standard practice. The NDP, under attack, appealed to industry by swapping intrusive guidelines for flexible folio planning, wherein agencies contributed fish, wildlife, recreation, and industry data for compilation on overlay maps. Although final authority rested with company foresters and place-specific management plans, the BCFS's attempt to respond to changing forest values with nominal clearcutting restrictions represented a disruption of the longstanding MoF status quo but, after the 1975 election of Bill Bennett's Socred government, faded into irrelevance as "sympathetic administration" in the 1980s re-enabled widespread progressive clearcutting.[146]

Though industry and the MoF warned against setting aside large areas as protected wilderness, the Socreds could only ignore the growing momentum of ecological values for so long. Implementing Pearse Commission recommendations, the 1978 *Forest Act* made non-timber values

[146] George Hoberg, "Policy Cycles and Policy Regimes: A Framework for Studying Policy Change," in *In Search of Sustainability: British Columbia Forest Policy in the 1990s,* eds. Cashore et. al. (Toronto: UBC Press, 2000), 22-6; Richard Rajala, "Forests and Fish: The 1972 Coast Logging Guidelines and British Columbia's First NDP Government," *BC Studies* 159 (2008), 85-6, 95-100. 111-4, 118-20.

part of harvest planning, changed PSYUs into larger Timber Supply Areas (TSA), still under BCFS management, and added public input requirements for TFL management planning. However, the impact of input processes remained negligible and piecemeal, and TFLs were renewed without fail. Similarly, the 1985 Wilderness Advisory Committee, a first stab at comprehensive public consultation, did not question Socred privatization and deregulation dogma. In 1987, the Socreds initiated the Task Force on the Environment and the Economy to study sustainable development and released the controversial *New Directions for Forest Policy in British Columbia* report. The report proposed "rolling over" several TSAs into over 100 new TFLs, altering the stumpage system to increase government revenues by $100 million annually, and shifting reforestation expenses onto industry. Big business opposed the new stumpage system, while the Truck Loggers' Association (TLA) and environmentalists saw the TFL "rollover" plan as a new path to even more complete corporate control of public forests. Seeking to address small operator complaints, in May 1988 the Socreds allocated five percent of TFL AAC—the maximum allowable without compensation—to its new Small Business Enterprise Program, but resistance to the rollover plan remained strong. On January 18, 1989, the Socreds decided against immediate implementation, soon killing the entire *New Directions* program.[147] With Carmanah fever in full effect, the newly engaged BC public would no longer easily accept forest planning that catered to conglomerates.

Seeing the Forest for the Spruce: Ancient Ecosystems, Indigenous Lands, and Logger Dollars

The 538-hectare Carmanah reserve-area proposed by MacBlo in January 1989, while well in excess of BCFP's 1985 Red Creek fir reserve, also failed to satisfy emboldened preservationists. After two decades, an ecological ontology had begun to perceptibly influence BC forest discourse.

[147] Jeremy Wilson, "Experimentation on a Leash: Forest Land Use Planning in the 1990s," in *In Search of Sustainability,* 36, 41; Michael Howlett, "The Politics of Long-Term Policy Stability: Tenure Reform in British Columbia Forest Policy," in *In Search of Sustainability*, 94, 107-9; Michael Sasgees, "Tree Farm Licences Put on Hold: Minister Seeks Public Opinion," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 19, 1989.

The fight for Carmanah revolved around changing the "definition of old growth" for the first time since the 1912 *Forest Act* enshrined it as a decadent "non-renewable resource," wrote *Forest Planning Canada,* a self-described "community forest forum" and promoter of "wise use." At a Duncan open house regarding MacBlo's Management and Working Plan (MWP) for TFL 44, Franklin division manager Denis Bendickson defended past clearcutting by stating that "old-growth timber is being viewed differently today. And that's a fact. No one said anything to us 10 or 20 years ago when we talked about forests forever." Cowichan faller and BCWF Vancouver Island Forestry Committee Chairman Joe Saysell saw Carmanah Creek leavestrips and skyline yarding, instead of short-distance grapple yarding, as ways to reduce roadbuilding impacts on aquatic ecosystems. Less willing to compromise, the WCWC's Clinton Webb said that unknown values were being trampled since "every one of the reports in the MB folio plan" was "full of inaccuracies, incomplete, or [had] misleading information." Expecting such backlash and hoping for validation from working families, MacBlo initially held open forums only in the resource towns of Alberni and Duncan; at ensuing events in urban settings, the firm did not permit questions or public statements.[148]

Undeterred, moderate ENGOs redoubled their clearcutting critique with pamphlets citing hydrological dynamics, endangered species, the global significance of old-growth, and notably, Indigenous rights, to justify Carmanah preservation. The Sierra Club's 1989 "Carmanah" pamphlet framed the area as a beautiful, globally important ecosystem, "unusually close to a major urban

[148] Grapple yarding required fewer workers and more roads, costing jobs and, with increased sedimentation and landslide risk, the health of fish habitat. See Richard Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rainforest: Production, Science, and Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 50, 220-4; Steve Smith, "Plan 'totally cynical,'" *MB Journal* (Jan 1989); "New Carmanah plan gets mixed reviews," *MB Journal* (Feb 1989); Bendickson, Webb, and Saysell quoted in "Old Growth: A Renewable Resource, The Carmanah Story," *Forest Planning Canada* 5.1 (Jan/Feb 1989), 14-9; "Remnant Ancient Old-Growth Forests, The Battle Over the Last of Canada's Temperate Rainforests," *Forest Planning Canada* 5.1 (Jan/Feb 1989), 8; "Carmanah Update: MB Takes Forest Service to the Woodshed," *Forest Planning Canada,* 5.2 (Mar/Apr 1989), 27.

area," but also included a "Forest Jobs" inset intended to elicit working class support. In BC, the pamphlet asserted, such jobs had declined from 97,000 to 71,000 between 1979-86, despite larger harvests and MacBlo annual profits increasing from $20 million to $329 million even with the early 1980s recession. Yet the newfound interest in jobs was but a minor theme: the pamphlet's true purpose was to liken old-growth logging to the greenhouse effect, acid rain, and holes in the ozone layer, all disturbing "signs of the continuing destruction of our planet."[149]

While echoing previous 'big tree' rhetoric, a 1989 WCWC tabloid showed more serious concern for workers and Indigenous people. A "No Jobs Lost Saving Carmanah" inset attributed layoffs to grapple yarders, log exports, and high grading, rather than forest preservation. Given its $719 million in profits from 1981-87, they argued that MacBlo could easily afford intensive silviculture on TFL 44. The WCWC also stated that "Nitinat Indians" laid "aboriginal claim" to "Khrowbodewah—The Beginning." The WCWC left the scope of land claims unclear, quoted no Indigenous people, and did not mention the Qwa-Ba-Diwa, but *did* foreground Carmanah's contested sovereignty, decidedly unlike the 1988 Canada Day Carmanah Caravan which was firmly rooted in preserving the natural heritage of Canada as nation-state. Beyond new campaign goals, the group added a door-to-door fundraising program in Vancouver and Victoria, deploying, in Paul George's words, 20-30 "front line troops" in the war of ideas six nights a week.[150] Broad appeal for donations, sincere concern for workers, naïve idealism, or some mix of the three, ENGO pamphleteering and outreach most clearly convey the intense energy spent convincing people that ENGOs' ecological vision of Carmanah considered issues of social equality too.

As Alexander Simon has shown, ENGOs developed relationships with unions like the Pulp,

[149] Sierra Club of Western Canada, *The Forests of BC are Being Destroyed: "Carmanah"* (1989), 1-4, BC Archives NW 971.1V S572f.
[150] Paul George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps: 25 Years of Campaigning to Save Wilderness with the Wilderness Committee* (Vancouver: WCWC, 2005), 148-9; WCWC, "Carmanah: Canadian Rainforest," *Educ. Report* 8, no. 3 (Spring 1989).

Paper, and Woodworkers of Canada (PPWC) to craft a new vision of ecological sustainability, reduced AACs, and labour-intensive value-added production. Yet despite shared misgivings about the long-term implications of corporate forestry, the IWA was skeptical of environmentalist messaging, unconvinced that they could, or cared to, resolve forest community crisis. IWA 1-85 (Alberni) fought to log Carmanah, supporting the logging plan from the state/corporate devil they knew. However, IWA 1-80 (Duncan) focused on TFL 46 mismanagement, the TFL rollover proposal, and the 425 layoffs from the recent closure of FCCL's Victoria sawmill. On March 8, 1989, IWA 1-80 submitted a brief to Forest Minister Dave Parker that blamed the MoF for ongoing layoffs and demanded local control of TFL 46 to incentivize jobs and long-term planning over the "short-term maximum profits of a single corporation." It did not mention the Walbran—likely because ENGOs had yet to publicize the little-known area. Parker ordered a TFL 46 audit the next day, but on March 11 over 300 IWA 1-80 members walked off the job and travelled to Parksville to see Parker speak, congregating in a raucous crowd outside the packed community hall. Lacking a wedge issue like Carmanah, the TLA, ENGOs, and the IWA alike demanded that Parker call yet another royal commission to fix the deep-seated problems of sustained yield.[151]

As the battle to define TFL 44 old growth intensified, the hope for worker/environmentalist cooperation in Alberni faded. In May, the *Alberni Valley Times* reported new rumours of tree spiking on Meares Island. Alberni millworker and Share Our Forests' John Bassingthwaite condemned lawbreaking, worker "apathy" to encroaching preservationism, and the mistaken belief that BC could "get along quite well without the forest industry." Since precedent for Clayoquot

[151] Alexander Simon, "A Comparative Historical Explanation of the Environmental Policies of Two Woodworkers' Unions in Canada," *Organization & Environment* 16, no. 3 (2003), 300-5; Hal Quinn, "A towering fight: The debate rekindles over B.C. logging," *Maclean's* 102, no. 3 (Jun 5, 1989), 46-7; IWA 1-80, *Submission to the Honourable Dave Parker, Minister of Forests and Lands* (Mar 8, 1989), 3-5, BC Leg. Library P 333.7509711 I61s; Ben Parfitt, "Angry Woodworkers demand jobs," *Vancouver Sun,* Mar 11, 1989; "Forest Giant Plans to Dump Hundreds of B.C. Workers," *Lumber Worker* (Mar 1989); "Wood Waste Protest," *Lumber Worker* (Mar 1989); "Forest Minister Hears of Public Alienation," *Lumber Worker* (Mar 1989); "Local President talks about the Carmanah," *Lumber Worker* (Jun 1989); "Woodworkers Protest for Jobs," *Lumber Worker* (Jun 1989).

would be set in Carmanah, he called for urgent action from backers of TFL 44 logging. Green and red depictions of Carmanah starkly differed: the *Globe and Mail* featured Vicky Husband in a story about "the land of helpless giants;" 1,500 people attended a May 25 IWA-Canada rally at the Legislature in favour of harvesting the valley. In June, the *Vancouver Sun*'s Ben Parfitt wrote a series of articles on TFL 44, focusing on the theme of uncertainty about a host of issues in BC forests, including profitability, potential layoffs, and inventories. With regards to the latter, preservationists cited a 1986 federal study projecting BC coastal old growth liquidation by 2003. MacBlo countered by estimating that TFL 44 alone had a 50-year supply. Zero-sum calculations obstructed compromise, but discordant data and values inhibited informed debate, evidence that ontological differences underlay the Carmanah conflict and the broader War in the Woods.[152]

It seemed to many that consensus could only be reached through robust public consultation processes. Responding to IWA and green demands, in May 1989 BC Ombudsman Stephen Owen suggested resolving conflicts like Carmanah by including local communities, groups, and individuals in planning. In the spirit of *Our Common Future*, the *Sustaining the Living Land* report released that month by the Task Force on the Environment and the Economy advocated that sustainable development required better environmental dispute resolution, since so far debate had created "frustration, cynicism and concern." The task force found that most submissions could not "recognize the possibility that their particular definition of sustainable development may not be universally held." On June 15, the *Vancouver Sun's* Keith Baldrey cited poll data that showed the environment as British Columbians' top concern, that they had a "good understanding of the

[152] Rob Diotte, "Tofino address advocates tree spiking," *Alberni Valley Times,* May 11, 1989; Craig McInnes, "Land of the helpless giants," *Globe and Mail,* May 20, 1989; Ben Parfitt, "Irate Loggers Face Minister at Legislature," *Vancouver Sun,* May 26, 1989; "'We'll Log it': IWA Wins Backing to Log Carmanah," *The Province,* May 26, 1989; Barbara McLintock, "NDP Finds itself Deeper in the Woods," *The Province,* May 28, 1989; P.A. Eskola, "Father would be Aghast at IWA Stand," *The Province,* Jun 1, 1989; Ben Parfitt, "Clear-cutting: Replanting called no 'instant Carmanah,'" *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 9, 1989.

issue," and believed that government could do more to protect valued landscapes. Socred Premier Bill Vander Zalm interpreted the data as evidence "of the progress that has been made in the province in the economy, in environmental matters, in education and the like," but admitted that chronically poor poll results indicated a need to improve the party's image. Thus, without a binding process to address park protection or land claims, the Socreds continued to treat sustainable development and consultation like forest policy rebrands.[153]

Having hired public relations firm Burson-Marsteller, MacBlo knew the value of a polished public image. In *MB Journal,* the firm acknowledged public concern for "pollution," but like the Socreds, framed development and the environment as "two inseparable concepts." Yet *The Land Use Controversy: How did we get into this mess?,* a June 1989 internal memo written by consultant Rosy Siney, recognized that rhetoric describing the "efficient conquest of the forest resource" had gone out of vogue. Part ad primer and part existential reflection, the memo grappled with the radical shift—"now reaching floodtide"—in the public's embrace of ecological values. Notions formerly "dismissed as hysterical, fringe, [and] freakish" were making "profound changes in the legislation of country after country." Now the environmental movement, the "most global, potentially most far-reaching of them all," attacked not only "our numbers, but our values." Framing land-use discourse on a spectrum from rational masculine logging to emotional feminine preservation, the memo attempted to explain how environmental values threatened industry, the ineffectiveness of treating preservationists as "hysterical," and why critiques describing forestry as an "environmental holocaust" had such discursive weight. The "global media blanket" fed "elemental fears," magnified "emotional responses," and accused companies "not of error but of

[153] Ben Parfitt, "Owen Calls for Forest Local Say," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 12, 1989; *Sustaining the Living Land: The Report of the British Columbia Task Force on Environment and Economy* (June 1989), 13, 16, BC Leg. Library B7478 D: S87 1989; Keith Baldrey, "Socreds mull poor poll results: Party seeks to brighten image," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 15, 1989; "Environment No. 1 Issue for public, say polls," *MB Journal* (Jun 1989).

sin." Catering to "green perspectives" required that companies boast of seedlings planted, recycling, pollution control, wood waste salvage, and public revenue, not cubic metres logged. More radical changes like helping communities develop tourism would ensure "fewer surprises." MacBlo now heard preservationist critiques of status quo logging, but still refused to heed them.[154]

Environmentalist demands (as filtered through the independent, counterculture-tinged *Monday Magazine*) show Victoria activists' increasing affiliation with ecocentric values linked to the fate of Carmanah. The Green Party and Sisters for Non-Violent Action held civil disobedience workshops and set up a hotline to coordinate logging opposition. Cameron Young described the area as a metaphor for a "new age" of living—as the Nuu-chah-nulth had for 8,000 years—in harmony with nature. If not, BC risked going "economically and ecologically bankrupt." Victoria activists wanted to reorient society's relationship to nature, not just improve harvest practices.[155]

Dogged interest in more sophisticated forest management and the abject failure of the *New Directions* proposals led Forest Minister Parker to initiate the Forest Resources Commission (FRC) on June 29, 1989. Headed by former Deputy Minister of Economic Development (1974-87) and Education (1987-89) Sandy Peel, the $4.5 million, three-year, 11-commissioner FRC had a broad mandate to rework the stalled TFL rollover proposal, amend harvest practices, and assess how public input in forest management could stave off fights like Carmanah. Save for Gitxsan Matt Vickers, all commissioners had "wise-use" and/or corporate backgrounds, and the FRC refused to consider land claims. Its purpose was to reconcile competing visions of BC forests without threatening economic expansion. The Socreds decided against a full-scale royal

[154] "Safeguarding the environment," *MB Journal* (Jun 1989); Rosy Siney, MacMillan Bloedel, *The Land Use Controversy: How did we get into this mess?*, (Jun 19, 1989; revised Jul 25 and Aug 21, 1989) 1-5, 9, BC Leg. Library 333.7509711 L253; "Power of the press: a lesson in editing and critical thinking," *MB Journal* (Aug 1990); Catherine Eyre and Tamara Greenstone (ages 13 and 12), "Please Save Carmanah," *MB Journal* (Aug 1989).
[155] Cameron Young, "From Rivers to Roots: The Carmanah Valley is a new metaphor for a new age," *Monday Magazine,* Jun 22-28, 1989; Lyle Stewart, "At the Edge of the Forest," *Monday Magazine,* Jun 22-28, 1989.

commission in part due to fears about creating an uncertain investment climate. *Monday Magazine* termed the FRC "a flimsy response" to activist demands: "Business as Usual."[156]

Fig. 14: Forest Resources Commission: Business As Usual, *Monday Magazine,* July 6-12, 1989.

Denied a meaningful voice in the FRC, the WCWC instead ramped up their education campaign. From May to August, the group facilitated four expeditions involving over 100 artists (including Donald Harvey, Jack Shadbolt, Toni Onley, Robert Bateman, and Roy Henry Vickers) to Carmanah, producing breathtaking and heart-breaking works in the spirit of Emily Carr in attempts to recreate the area's magic by promoting romanticized images of nature. In what remains its best-ever fundraiser, the WCWC then auctioned off the artwork for over $350,000 and compiled the prints into a book, *Carmanah: Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest,* which won both the Roderick Haig-Brown prize for its contribution to the appreciation of BC and the Bill Duthie Booksellers' Choice Award. Clearly, there was a lucrative market for portraying forests through a green lens. In the book's foreword, David Suzuki warned that humanity was "exceeding its

[156] Ben Parfitt, "New body to monitor forests," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 29, 1989; Lyle Stewart, "Business as usual," *Monday Magazine,* Jul 6-12, 1989; Trevor Lautens, "'Forever'…or 'Never'? A Career civil servant will try to cut through the jungle of the explosive issue of forest use in B.C.," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 28, 1989; David Haley and Jeanette Leitch, "The Future of Our Forests: Report of the British Columbia Forest Resources Commission: A Critique," *Canadian Public Policy* 18, no. 1 (1992); correspondence with Jim Cooperman.

biological constraints," had "lost its place in the biosphere," and risked destroying part of a shared global inheritance: logging Carmanah would cause an unquantifiable loss of a "spiritual relationship with nature that [puts] humankind in equilibrium with the rest of the natural world."[157]

Suzuki went on to juxtapose the "fragmented, linear perspective of science" against the inspired worldviews of poets, artists, composers—and Indigenous peoples. Cameron Young wrote idyllically about the former "Qwa-ba-duwa" residents of Carmanah Point, Frank and Susan Knighton, the last practitioners of an ancient way of life that let the forest grow undisturbed. For Young, Carmanah was to Vancouver Island's cultural legacy as Greek culture was to Western civilization; logging would "desecrate a priceless global heritage—the equivalent of bulldozing the Parthenon." But whose cultural legacy was it, really? Revealingly, Randy Stoltmann's campaign origin story centred around his big tree hunt and did not mention the Qwa-Ba-Diwa, instead focusing on his and Clinton Webb's "discovery" of the valley and its irreplaceable primeval ecosystem. Share Our Forests' John Bassingthwaite dismissed the artwork's "one-sided view of forest use" as little more than "another trapping of propaganda."[158]

In all, by framing the fight for Carmanah as the Knightons' struggle while advocating the creation of a park rather than ceding territory to Indigenous control, the WCWC instrumentalized Indigenous voices to preservationist ends, muddying the line between cooperation and colonialism. *Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest* resulted from ontologies rooted in weekend wilderness trips, symbolizing how the WCWC understood, engaged with, and recreated Carmanah as a place to be preserved (by Canada) for the world's sake, making it a true relic of 1989 environmentalist ontologies. Green rhetoric disrupted corporatism with new worldviews, but in doing so risked drowning out Indigenous—and worker—voices.

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[157] George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps*, 153-6, 170-1, 478-9; David Suzuki, "Equilibrium," WCWC, *Carmanah: Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest* (Vancouver: Summerwild Productions & Raincoast Books, 1989), 9.
[158] Ibid.: Cameron Young, "The Roots of Time," 10-1 and Randy Stoltmann, "Tracking Giants," 12-3; Bassingthwaite quoted in "Carmanah Valley: Controversy continues," *MB Journal* (May 1989).

The Carmanah Forestry Society in the Walbran and the Sterling Wood Group Report

In 1989, as the MoF deliberated issuing MacBlo permits to log Carmanah, the Walbran was only just catching environmentalist attention. While most trailbuilders left with the arrival of fall rain, Victoria mechanic Syd Haskell and hardcore volunteers like Bobby Arbess—a Montreal-born UVic student, WCWC canvasser, and former Uranium mine protester—took the Sierra Club's Peter McAllister's suggestion to venture south of Carmanah. In winter 1988-89, Haskell roughed trails from the "Upper" Walbran (MacBlo's TFL 44) to the "Lower" Walbran (FCCL's TFL 46). Like in Carmanah, the trails bushwhacked by the activist group registered as the Carmanah Forestry Society (CFS) in February 1989 opened the Walbran for recreational and scientific use.[159]

As the WCWC reached out with books and doorbells, the CFS wrote Paul George to coordinate strategies, suggesting that they pursue a Walbran logging moratorium pending comprehensive inventories of wildlife, water quality, soil, recreation, and tourist potential. In contrast to WCWC and Sierra Club intransigence in Carmanah, however, the CFS left room for work in the Walbran, envisioning MoF-funded trails and a Walbran Land Use Committee to assess sustainable land usage and logging methods. *Monday Magazine* alerted Victoria to the presence of the Walbran in early August, when Sid Tafler exhorted readers to recognize and defend its priceless old growth. In Craig Piprell's Walbran primer, big-tree hunter Maywell Wickheim alluded to a cedar potentially 30 feet in diameter—10 feet wider than the record Cheewhat Lake cedar—but refused to release a photo or its location, hoping to give his grandchildren a chance to see it. With the WCWC completing a trail from Carmanah's headwaters to the coast, CFS-led volunteers established more permanent trails in the Walbran from August 20 to September 4, 1989.[160]

[159] Interviews with Bobby Arbess, Saul Arbess, and Syd Haskell.
[160] Letter from Syd Haskell to Paul George, "Haddon Walbran Valley Position" (undated), WCWC Files; Sid Tafler, "A better way to share the forest," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 3-9, 1989; Craig Piprell, "Walbran Valley—the new frontier," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 3-9, 1989.

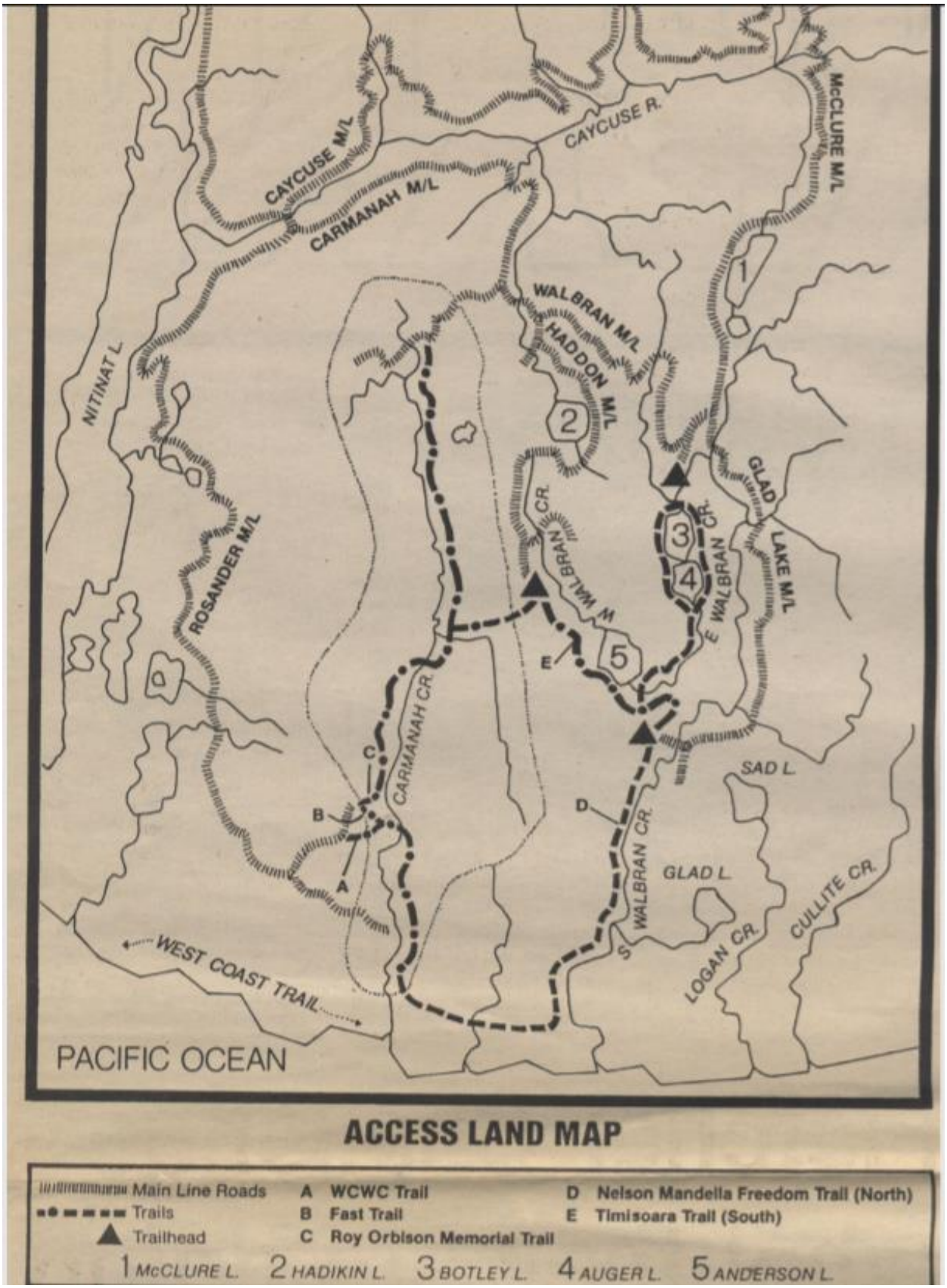

Fig. 15: Carmanah Walbran Trails, CFS and Sierra Club, *The Walbran* (Feb 1990), UVic Special Collections SD146 B7W35.

Like its first article on Carmanah, Cowichan *Lake News* coverage of the Walbran had an open-minded tone, quoting Haskell's extensive description of the trail system and *construction* of the Walbran as both wilderness and workplace. Starting from TFL 44's Haddon Mainline in the West Walbran Valley (see Fig. 15), the main trail extended south to a bridge being built at the end of TFL 46's Glad Lake Mainline near a planned cutblock. With four building stages in mind, the CFS had big ideas, but unlike the accessible boardwalks of the Roy Orbison and WCWC trails in Carmanah, the Timisoara and Nelson Mandela Freedom trails in the Walbran were often only marked by flagging tape. While naming trails in honour of anti-oppression movements in Romania and South Africa, Haskell charted a conciliatory course compared to uncompromising Carmanah preservationism, listing several areas as suitable for "selective harvesting" alongside others whose "highest and best use" was "public viewing." "I'm not against logging," Haskell told *Monday Magazine,* "I just don't want to see the land savagely dealt with." Wickheim urged "friendly cooperation" rather than "media warfare," warning of misinformation on the environmentalist "bandwagon." Company roads provided access, he reminded. FCCL had even offered to meet with environmentalists, promising to save any large trees they found.[161] Thus, while often conflated with Carmanah, the campaign to save the Walbran differed subtly from the start, with the CFS land-use vision including selective, ecosystem-conscious logging in the East Walbran.

Other environmentalists were not so open to compromise. In early September, *the Province* quoted notorious Clayoquot activist Carl "Spike" Hinke's claim that Meares Island had 23,000 spiked trees. COFI cried "eco-terrorism," and both the FOCS and WCWC condemned Hinke. The latter offered a $5000 reward for information on spikers. Hinke's violent, hyperbolic claim reveals

[161] "Carmanah Trail," *Lake News,* Sep 20, 1989; CFS and BC Sierra Club, *The Walbran* (Feb/Mar 1990), UVic Special Collections SD146 B7W35; Craig Piprell, "Staking out the Walbran," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 31-Sep 6, 1989; Maywell Wickheim, "Environment an Easy Bandwagon," *Monday Magazine,* Oct 12-18, 1989.

the growing gulf between charity ENGOs and activists who valued earth first—and logging last.[162]

Though Carmanah and Clayoquot dominated the TFL 44 debate, mismanagement still led discussions of TFL 46. The long-demanded audit, the 1989 Sterling Wood Group Report, sought to verify FCCL claims that fibre shortages necessitated layoffs. The report found that while BCFP had taken "full advantage" of opportunities to increase AAC with intensive forestry, close utilization standards, licence enlargement, and repeated inventories, the company had fulfilled, if not exceeded, its MoF-mandated silvicultural and cut-control obligations. Yet the three decades of serious planting had yet to produce mature timber, and BCFP and the MoF had collaborated in a clear pattern of overharvesting. For example, despite institutional wrangling since the early 1970s, no allowances had been made in TFL 27 AAC calculations for land lost to Pacific Rim National Park until 1983. Further, AAC had been concentrated in Cowichan's immediate surrounds on the southern portion of TFL 22, and no consideration had been made for "environmentally sensitive" or "economically submarginal" areas. The convoluted land transfers accompanying Nitinat preservation led the first MWP for TFL 46—created from TFLs 22 and 27—to use the obsolete Hanzlik formula for 1985-89 AAC calculations instead of more advanced computer-based regrowth models. The audit's companion report found that the deficit in local old growth left "no logical alternative but curtailment of local milling activity." Though obligated to run the Crofton pulp mill per the original terms of TFL 22, FCCL had "no legal obligation under TFL 46 to support the Youbou mill." In effect, while lambasting aspects of previous management, the report validated FCCL layoffs as economic necessities, projecting further, inevitable sawmill job loss.[163]

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[162] Craig Piprell, "Hammering spike," *Monday Magazine*, Aug 17-23, 1989; "Tree Spiking Condemned," *The Province*, Sep 6, 1989; "COFI proposes law to nail tree spikers," *MB Journal* (Sep 1989), 8.

[163] Sterling Wood Group Inc., *Forest Management Audit of Tree Farm Licence 46, and its Predecessors Tree Farm Licences 22 and 27* (Victoria: 1989), 18-26, 31, BC Leg. Library BC F6 D: F58124 1989; Sterling Wood Group Inc., *Analysis of Supply on Sawmill Closures and Curtailments by Fletcher Challenge Canada Limited* (Victoria: 1989), 1, 22, 24, BC Leg. Library F6 D: A5825 1989; "Task force fights for better forestry," *Lumber Worker* (Sep 1989); Bob Nixon, "How to Calculate Sustained Yield, the Saga of Tree Farm Licence #46," *Forest Planning Canada* 5.3 (May/Jun 1989), 16; Ben Parfitt, "Fletcher warns audit will cut island logging," *Vancouver Sun*, Oct 4, 1989.

The WCWC campaign in the Upper Walbran began with a challenge to the August 30, 1989 approval by the MoF of amendments to the TFL 44 MWP to allow five kilometres of roads on the western slope of Botley Lake and Auger Lake (see Fig. 15). After a reconnaissance trip, on September 14 Clinton Webb verbalized concerns about recreation and "pocket wilderness" areas ignored in MacBlo plans to company divisional forester Jack Dryburgh, who replied that the request needed to be in writing. Roadbuilding began September 27 with a letter in transit and continued through October 5 without response to the WCWC despite the closure of the area due to fire hazard. In a letter to BCFS-Alberni district manager Paul Pashnik, WCWC-Victoria's Derek Young called MacBlo's delayed response "unacceptable," especially given that the public consultation process for the 1990 MWP (scheduled to start on June 30, 1989) had yet to begin. Pashnik stated that MacBlo had met the consultation criteria of the 1985-89 MWP but agreed that public interest merited a joint WCWC/MacBlo recreation survey and further deliberation before allowing a lake-shore road. The disruption of the longstanding practice of MoF rubber-stamping TFL working plans represented a small but significant democratization of land-use planning, one that, for better or worse, came with connotations of wilderness and recreational use.[164]

By this point, persistent critiques from more than 400 BC environmental groups had made resource and wilderness conflict the dominant issue in provincial politics. While the governing Socreds no doubt welcomed internal NDP divisions caused by a new "green caucus" within the party, which called for a provincial old-growth inventory and a broad review of TFLs, the War in the Woods appeared increasingly untenable. Only 165,000 of 2.57 million hectares of coastal old

[164] Derek Young fax to Foy and Stoltmann, Oct 26, 1989: MacBlo Franklin River Division Development Engineer D.G. Eason to BCFS-Alberni district manager Paul Pashnik, "TFL 44, C.F. #2, notice of minor amendment," Aug 30, 1989, Young to Pashnik, "Integrated Forest Management, Walbran Watershed T.F.L. #44," Oct 20, 1989, WCWC Files; Letter to Young from Pashnik, "October 20, 1989 letter, Integrated Forest Management, Walbran Creek Watershed, TFL 44," Nov 6, 1989, WCWC Files; summary of phone call between Pashnik and Young, Nov 7, 1989, WCWC Files; see Susan Baker and F. Stuart Chapin III, "Going Beyond "It Depends:" The Role of Context in Shaping Participation in Natural Resource Management," *Ecology and Society* 23, no. 1 (2018).

growth were protected, and the Socreds faced a booming environmental scene, mounting layoffs, and Indigenous land claims. They replaced embattled Forest Minister Dave Parker with Claude Richmond and initiated MoF and Parks Branch programs which merged into Parks and Wilderness for the '90s, and the Old Growth Strategy (OGS) project—a multi-stage public input process to research old growth and provide recommendations on logging deferrals and potential parks to the Cabinet Committee on Sustainable Development. Together with the FRC and the BC Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy, which emerged from the Socred task force of the same name in January 1990, these initiatives seemed to signal the destabilization of land-use hegemony by the development coalition. A skeptical Sid Tafler, however, described the OGS as having been engineered to "discover something that's already known to the rest of us" with "a discussion paper, to lead to a workshop, to lead to another discussion paper, to lead to public information, to lead to a formal strategy." He wondered how much old growth would be left after the "endless rounds of discussion and paper-shuffling," a pessimism born from the lacklustre, if prolific government response to BC's unfolding socioecological crisis.[165]

Unlike in Clayoquot, where continuous Indigenous occupation made territorial claims straightforward, the remoteness of Carmanah Walbran facilitated depictions of the area as an untouched wilderness. The Carmanah Walbran knowledge base, then, grew via ENGO activities

[165] Glenn Bohn, "BC's Environmental Hot Spots—The Stakes are high in BC," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 6, 1989; Rob Diotte, "NDP want all old growth protected: Critic stops short of call for moratorium on logging," *Alberni Valley Times,* Oct 3, 1989; Sid Tafler, "Zalm down and soon out; Discovering old growth," *Monday Magazine,* Sep 28-Oct 4, 1989; "Greening the NDP: Mike Harcourt faces internal dissent over his party's environmental policy," *Monday Magazine,* Nov 2-8, 1989; "New IWA policy gains cautious support," *MB Journal* (Nov 1989); "Fletcher Challenge forms environmental task force," *Lumber Worker* (Dec 1989); MoE, *Towards an Old Growth Strategy: Summary of the Old Growth Workshop* Nov 3-5 (Victoria: 1989), BC Leg. Library BC E5 D: D57 1989; Jeremy Wilson, "Forest Conservation in British Columbia, 1935-85: Reflections on a Barren Political Debate," *BC Studies* 76 (Dec 1987), 5-6, 23-30; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 176-80, 249-66; George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 479; MoF Recreation Manual, Ch. 12: Wilderness Management, https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfp/publications/00201/chap12/chap12.htm#s12.3, accessed Nov 2018; C. Tyler DesRoches, "Policy Advice For Public Participation in British Columbia Forest Management," *Forestry Chronicle* 83, no. 5 (2007), 676; MoF, HST Consortium, *Report on the Current Status of Forest Resource Inventories of British Columbia*, FRC background papers, vol. 7 (Feb 1990), IV, 24, 74, https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/pubs/Docs/Mr/Rc/Rc001g/V7BPfull.pdf, accessed Nov 2018.

and the resulting public input processes bound to the colonial state bureaucracy, itself bound to global market forces and a mindset of perpetual growth only moderately tempered by concerns for sustainable development. In December, recognizing the inherent coloniality of the land-use debate, and calling the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) a colonial instrument, Peter Knighton resigned his post as elected NTC chief to assert Qwa-Ba-Diwa independence from Canada and the Ditidaht. *Ha-Shilth-Sa*'s disinterest in Carmanah Walbran allowed the green tenor of area activism to dominate public discourse, but not the new Socred arenas for forest debate, which offered many outlets for activist energy, but few avenues for immediate park or policy gains.[166]

Carmanah Pacific Provincial Park and Questioning Environmentalist Motivations

As Socred planning initiatives both responded to and sought to contain green activist energy, Carmanah remained in purgatory. In a sign of the times, public outcry had led MacBlo to steadily increase the size of their Carmanah reserve proposal. Even workers valued Carmanah's ecology, with a BC Federation of Labour convention resolution in November 1989 calling for stricter harvest guidelines and more planning consideration for "ecosystems" and "critical watersheds." Driving a wedge in this potential instance of red/green accord, MacBlo wrote to employees in January 1990 that environmental regulations and the "severe threat of withdrawals" from TFL 44 imperilled $120 million in proposed effluent upgrades and 200 jobs at its Alberni pulp and paper mill. MacBlo-Alberni vice president Dale Tuckey told the *Vancouver* that 1,000 jobs and one-third of TFL 44's AAC could be lost to Carmanah, Walbran, and Clayoquot parks, but the WCWC's Joe Foy reasoned that MacBlo sought to coerce policy decisions in Clayoquot and Carmanah with the threat of regional economic ruin. Canadian Paperworkers Union Alberni Local president Dave Thien argued that MacBlo was "blackmailing" the union into supporting the

[166] His-tah-too-quah (Peter Knighton), *Carmanah and Her Hereditary Guardians: a narrative account* (May 26, 1992), https://friendsofcarmanahwalbran.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/carmanah-and-her-hereditary-guardians.pdf, accessed Jul 2019; David Suzuki, "Young Activists Prepare for Turnaround Decade," *Calgary Herald*, Nov 26, 1989.

firm's environmental policies. Vicky Husband labelled the joint worker/environmentalist critique of corporate forestry a "forest alliance," but the longstanding conservationist schism regarding preservation inhibited a formal statement of shared purpose like the Tin-Wis Accord, signed earlier that year in Clayoquot Sound.[167]

While a "green caucus" led to NDP policy introspection, Socred divisions led to lost seats, including a brief period that saw five MLAs leave the caucus. Cowichan-Malahat Socred MLA Graham Bruce embodied this intraparty dissent, founding the Carmanah Community Committee of the Cowichan Valley in 1988 following widespread dissatisfaction with MacBlo/BCFS public input processes. In June 1989 this committee advised development of Carmanah tourism with integrated management by industry, community groups, and government. Bruce wondered in *Forest Planning Canada* if the public concern for sustainable development showed a desire for fuller utilization of the resource rather than old-growth preservation or opposition to clearcutting. *FPC's* Bob Nixon called Bruce the "only Socred who seems to have grasped the extent to which the public has deeply-felt concerns" about both forest preservation *and* community-controlled forest operations. Lyle Stewart of *Monday Magazine* likened the 37-year-old's populist image to a "new age W.A.C. Bennett," but IWA 1-80 president Roger Stanyer saw Bruce's concern for community stability as mere opportunism: he would "do anything to enhance his own image."[168]

As the Socreds dealt with party infighting, the Walbran was fast becoming a preservation candidate "largely due to the obsession of Sydney Haskell," wrote Craig Piprell in *Monday*

[167] Valerie Casselton, "B.C. Labor Fed Delegates Work Out Compromise on Carmanah Valley," *Vancouver Sun,* Nov 24, 1989; Kevin Hunter, IWA 1-85, "Beware the preservationists," *Lumber Worker* (Dec 1989); Ben Parfitt, "MB links cost of controls to 200 jobs at Island mill," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 23, 1990; Lyle Stewart, "Forest Alliance Forming," *Monday Magazine,* Feb 1-7, 1990; for more on the green Canadian Paperworkers Union and worker environmentalist alliance-building, see Shannon Daub, "Negotiating Sustainability: Climate Change Framing in the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union," *Symbolic Interaction* 33, no. 1 (2010), 115-40.

[168] "Must save spruces," *Lake News,* Jun 23, 1989; Graham Bruce, "Of Violins and Recycling," *Forest Planning Canada* 6.1 (Jan/Feb 1990), 42-3; Nixon and Stanyer quoted in Lyle Stewart, "The prodigal son," *Monday Magazine,* Jan 11-17, 1990.

Magazine. Piprell described Haskell as an "addicted tree-hugger" who could "infuriate people, including journalists who have received three letters to the editor and several phone calls" from him on the same day. FCCL's January 1990 TFL 46 Walbran open house in remote Caycuse had just five attendees, including the CFS's Haskell and Saul Arbess. After FCCL refused to hold an information session in Victoria, the CFS and Sierra Club hosted their own on January 7. Attended by 300 people, it represented the first such meeting held without direct forest company sponsorship. MacBlo and MoF reps went, but FCCL declined, instead taking out ads in the *Times-Colonist* promoting upcoming bus tours to observe Walbran logging operations. Snow delayed the tours until the end of March. Not Haskell, however, who continued to lead winter trailblazing trips until he fell and punctured his arm on a clipped sapling. Taking on the WCWC mantra, Haskell believed that "usage creates tenure, and trails are the most peaceful way to make parks."[169] Clearly, while open to sharing, Haskell was not banking on company graciousness or state foresight.

As the nuances of Carmanah and Walbran activism rounded into form on the backs of youthful trail builders, charity ENGOs continued to lead green lobbying, meeting with Forest Minister Richmond in February to make their cases for specific areas in dispute. BC lacked a comprehensive provincial timber inventory, let alone accounts of tourism, wildlife, fish, and social values, the British Columbia Environmental Network's (BCEN) Jim Cooperman and the PPWC's Wayne Philpott wrote in a February 2 letter to Richmond; they demanded "wholistic forest management and more community control of our forests." Yet they came away from an ensuing meeting with Richmond convinced of his antipathy to harvest moratoriums. Paul George left a meeting with Richmond similarly pessimistic about full Carmanah preservation. In response, the

[169] Anthropology professor, Sierra Club member, and Bobby Arbess's uncle, Saul Arbess played the role of the "good cop" to Haskell's "bad cop" for the CFS, as he put it. Saul Arbess and Syd Haskell interviews; Lyle Stewart, "Second Chance for Walbran input," *Monday Magazine,* Jan 4-10, 1990; Haskell quoted in Craig Piprell, "The magic bus to Walbran," *Monday Magazine,* Jan 11-17, 1990; Craig Piprell, "Taking the Fletcher Challenge," *Monday Magazine,* Jan 18-24, 1990; Craig Piprell, "The Walbran: When it Rains, It Snows," *Monday Magazine,* Feb 15-21, 1990.

WCWC fast-tracked work on a canopy research station at "Camp Hummingbird" in Upper Carmanah to better understand old-growth ecosystem dynamics and determine whether logging threatened to render undiscovered species extinct. Volunteers extended the trail network north, built a large wooden-floored, internal-framed tent, and by June 1990 finished five interconnected platforms between two Sitka spruce, the first of its kind in North America. The project bore fruit while under construction as nibbles on a forgotten sandwich in the canopy indicated mice climbed nearly 100 metres off the forest floor, a novel behavioural quirk.[170] Unlike the intangible benefits of public forest consultation, trails helped redefine Carmanah Walbran as campsite and laboratory.

The Sierra Club and the CFS published the first Walbran-specific pamphlet in February 1990, again framing the area as a place with room for work, though not along traditional lines. *The Walbran* portrayed FCCL as a company under fire after 600 layoffs, a recent $57,000 wood-waste fine, Victoria sawmill closure, Crofton pulp mill pollution problems, and the Sterling Wood Group overcut revelations. Blaming a dysfunctional "partnership between government and industry," the pamphlet framed old-growth clearcutting as an "environmental disaster" that would turn the Walbran into a "pulp farm," advocating instead that the area become a "laboratory" for "wholistic forestry," an inchoate model based on selective logging, multi-age stands, biodiversity, and recreational tourism. Unlike Carmanah, as Sid Tafler explained in an April edition of *Monday Magazine*, Walbran issues did not "revolve around the extremes of preservation and clearcutting." The real issue was to determine "how much logging and where and when, rather than whether or not." A letter in the same publication disagreed, arguing that the Walbran should be preserved "for itself" so "non-human organisms can live in peace."[171]

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[170] Jim Cooperman and Wayne Philpott, "Letter to Claude Richmond," Feb 2, 1990 (unpublished); George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 163-70, 479-80; Gracie MacDonald, "MacBlo Nibbling at Carmanah," *Monday Magazine,* Mar 15-21, 1990.

[171] CFS and Sierra Club, *The Walbran*, 1-4; Sid Tafler, "A trek through clearcuts and forests," *Monday Magazine,* Apr 12-18, 1990; Ted Davis, "Make a Selective Choice," *Monday Magazine,* May 3-9, 1990.

While Walbran preservation and land claims might have jeopardized the Cowichan Valley economy, corporate mismanagement already had—and had thus created space to cultivate non-corporate alliances. In a February *Lake News* article, journalist Ted Burns called for a dramatic overhaul of corporate sustained yield, envisioning small-scale forestry, cut levels based on biological sustainability, an end to enlarging sustained-yield units to "balance the books," patch logging, long-distance skyline yarding, hardwood utilization, and intensive silviculture that would include thinning, culling, pruning, spacing, and fertilization. Perhaps land-use conflict could have been avoided had special areas already been set aside, he mused. At a UVic land claim conference, NTC Chairman George Watts blamed Indigenous/union tension on the provincial and federal governments, and IWA representatives supported negotiated land claim settlements to end land use uncertainty—another indication that worker/Indigenous accord might be possible.[172]

In contrast to making green concessions, as suggested by Siney's summer 1989 MacBlo memo, early 1990 brought pundit and public criticism of environmentalist tactics and framings of the War in the Woods, with *Monday Magazine* a notable exception. Nicole Parton wrote several *Vancouver Sun* articles attacking the "big lie technique" of preservationists: "Say something often enough and to enough people and eventually, everyone believes it." Parton questioned their "pure motives," suggesting that by "manipulating a willing press" with biased portrayals, they inhibited scientific land-use decisions by "impartial" BCFS foresters. Several letters responded favourably to Parton, expressing measured support of the status quo and simmering disdain for environmentalist emotionalism. Williams Lake forester J. Dave Karran declared that "we cannot allow elitist preservationists to lock up any more of our major forest lands on the basis of emotional issues alone." Plantations "give me pride," he wrote, and would exist in "perpetuity." Share Our

[172] Ted Burns, "An increase in interest," *Lake News,* Feb 21, 1990; Colin Macrae, "Land claims and labour: At odds?" *Monday Magazine,* Mar 1-7, 1990; "Different logging methods studied by FCC," *Lake News,* Mar 14, 1990.

Resources' Carol Lundy of Port Alberni praised Parton for challenging the "inaccurate, emotional" propaganda spread by the WCWC and Sierra Club. Lundy feared that preservationists were "committed to stopping all logging in rainforests" regardless of logging town residents' feelings or progress toward reforming industry practices. Environmentalists were guilty of manufacturing crises, she concluded, and Carmanah was "only the beginning." Alternatively, while granting that Parton made an eloquent case for saving logging jobs, suburbanite Jay Erickson of Delta declared that deforestation was a devastating worldwide phenomenon with irreparable ecological and hydrological effects.[173] The discursive tension between local jobs and global forests stretched taut.

On the same day that the *Sun* ran the letters, the five-day GLOBE '90 conference and trade fair began in Vancouver, at which *Our Common Future* author Gro Brundtland gave the keynote address and, according to Paul George, referenced *Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest* to Premier Vander Zalm in extoling Carmanah's case as park candidate. Three weeks later, the Socreds announced their Carmanah decision on April 10, 1990, one consistent with a Nature/Culture dichotomy that addressed green demands with "wilderness" parks, not a systematic overhaul of forest management. The lower valley became a 3,592-hectare park; the upper watershed remained a future workplace. While there was "a price to be paid" to compensate MacBlo for lost harvest areas, Forest Minister Richmond called the park "an investment in our future" which protected BC's "natural heritage." Framed as a balanced compromise, the decision led to analogies of Carmanah as Solomon's baby. MacBlo's Dale Tuckey called it "truly alarming," a *Lumber Worker* article deemed it "without basis in science," and the WCWC and Sierra Club insisted that the dynamic spruce ecosystem relied on a pristine upper valley. George Watts threatened a legal case akin to the one regarding Meares Island, calling the decision "another

[173] Nicole Parton, "Big lie technique puts jagged edge on clear-cut issue," *Vancouver Sun,* Feb 23, 1990; see also Nicole Parton, "Green generation becoming the greed generation," *Lumber Worker* (Mar 1990); letters-to-the-editor, "Parton and the Carmanah," *Vancouver Sun,* Mar 19, 1990.

example of the government's insensitivity to the aboriginal interests." NDP opposition leader Mike Harcourt called the proposal "cowardly" and vowed, if elected, to end the "war in the woods" by protecting remaining Vancouver Island old growth. The Carmanah decision showed the search for consensus to be an elusive one, and the 'balance' ethos of sustainable development no panacea.[174]

Oka Blockades, a Marbled Murrelet Nest, and the Ongoing Search for Consensus

The April 10 designation of Carmanah Pacific Provincial Park in the lower valley crystallized the Socred belief that public input and sharing could resolve forest disputes without upending the status quo. With the park designation, Richmond also established the nine-member Carmanah Forest Management Advisory Committee (CFMAC) for the planned harvesting of Upper Carmanah. Jaded from the February meeting with Richmond, the WCWC chose not to participate, instead focusing on the canopy research station for which they agreed to pay hundreds of dollars in special use permit fees after an April 11 MoF removal attempt. The WCWC did partake in the more open-ended 13-member Walbran Local Advisory Committee (WLAC) established and chaired by FCCL. However, like the Meares Island Planning Team (MIPT), the novelty of CFMAC and WLAC public consultation could not obscure their extractive intent. With MacBlo and FCCL prioritizing Indigenous jobs, the NTC backed away from their initial lawsuit threats. In a departure from the MIPT, NTC WLAC and CFMAC representative Ditidaht chief Jack Thompson supported logging—if it provided Nuu-chah-nulth jobs. In response, Peter Knighton delivered a Writ of Summons to the BC Supreme Court on behalf of the Qwa-Ba-Diwa,

[174] GLOBE '90 Report Card, https://www.globeseries.com/forum2012/media/216/globe_1990_review.pdf, accessed Apr 2019; Steve Weatherbe, "Saving Carmanah for Political Gain," *Monday Magazine,* Mar 29-Apr 4, 1990; Claude Richmond, "Big Spruce Trees in Carmanah to be Protected in Park," MoF press release Apr 10, 1990 BC Leg. Library, BC F6 D:B1033 1990; Glenn Bohn and Terry Glavin, "Carmanah Split Called 'Disappointing Compromise'," *Vancouver Sun,* Apr 11, 1990; Patrick Durrant, "Stalemate on Carmanah," *The Province,* Apr 12, 1990; Claude Richmond, "Carmanah Park to Protect the Giants: A Balanced Proposal," *Lake News,* Apr 18, 1990; "Forcing the woodman to spare that tree," *Globe and Mail*, Apr 17, 1990; Hal Quinn "A split decision: a forestry compromise angers both sides," *Maclean's* 103, no. 17 (Apr 23, 1990), 53; Tuckey quoted in "Carmanah hopes dashed: Decision based on politics, not science," *MB Journal* (Apr 1990); "Carmanah decision: political escapism," *Lumber Worker* (May 1990); George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps*, 169, Harcourt quoted on p. 480.

demanding self-determination and contesting the NTC claim to Carmanah Walbran.[175]

Employment remained the foundational concern for Cowichan Valley residents as well. Two weeks after the Carmanah decision, long-time Cowichan resident and faller of 40 years Nels Olson wrote the *Lake News* questioning Walbran land-use planning. Sympathizing with both tree "buggers" and people defending their jobs, Olson centred his critiqued on the rosy projections of "perpetual yield" in Carmanah Walbran. With second growth being logged 30 years prematurely, Olson doubted that Carmanah Walbran timber would last "anywhere near" as long as companies claimed. "Hard as it may be," he wrote, "the woodworkers in our area have to realize that our forests are not 'forever' unless we change our style of logging and quit wasting or shipping our raw materials out of our country…[T]he next time our valley is logged it will not be our children, but perhaps our grandchildren who should do it. What happens in between?"[176]

Former Honeymoon Bay mill union committee chairman Frank Walker responded with a letter that, while agreeing that forest overcut was "obvious," challenged Olson's prescriptions. Logging second-growth stocks prematurely showed the dire need for Walbran timber, not the need to wait. Because the E&N grant had ceded Cowichan forests to private hands, Walker argued that logging TFL timber represented the only semblance of local control over log supplies. Also recognizing a duty to future generations, Walker asserted that BC "must not tie up a renewable resource in untouchable park land which will force the new forests into a purely pulp fibre

[175] CFMAC members included MacBlo, IWA 1-85, Share Our Resources, Cowichan Valley Regional District, and Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society stakeholders, "environmentalist" Lavonne Huneck, and NTC and Ditidaht chief Jack Thompson; the WLAC had the mayors of Duncan and Lake Cowichan, the Lake Cowichan Economic Development Committee Chair, the BCWF's Joe Saysell, the NTC's Thompson, and CFS, Sierra Club, IWA 1-80, Share Our Forests, and Cowichan Fish and Game Club stakeholders; George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps*, 170-2; Stan Coleman, "Public involvement needed in land use decisions," *MB Journal* (Apr 1990); WCWC to the CFMAC, "Carmanah Valley Old-Growth Research Forest" (Jun 1990), 1, 15-6, UVic Special Collections, QH541.5 F6C37; WCWC, "Carmanah Valley Campaign Phase II—Working together to Save the Upper Carmanah Valley," *Educ. Report* 9, no. 5 (1990); WCWC, "Walbran backgrounder, spring/summer 1991," WCWC Files; CFMAC, *Forest Management in the Upper Carmanah Valley: Recommendations of the Public Advisory Committee*, submitted to BC MoF (Mar 1992), BC Leg. Library BC C3294 D: F67 1992; Knighton, *Carmanah and Her Hereditary Guardians*, 5.
[176] Nels Olson, "Retired forest worker says cutting in area is 30 yrs. premature," *Lake News*, Apr 25, 1990.

production." Both Olson and Walker understood the deeper problems of a local economy squeezed between historically overharvested E&N lands and a systematically overcut TFL 46. Walker, however, seems to have retained faith in sustained yield, suggesting that Walbran timber offered a stopgap until plantation forestry could develop. This back and forth illustrates the cogent analyses of residents trying to resolve a problem with no palatable short-term solutions at hand.[177]

For some, however, tourism provided at least the hope for a new economic sector to compensate for industrial decay. The May 2 *Lake News* reported on "what may prove to be the most important meeting held in Lake Cowichan this decade," one focused on providing direction for policymakers in capturing tourist dollars from the estimated 10,000 hikers and surfers who visited Carmanah and Nitinat annually, particularly as the Sierra Club, WCWC, and CFS began leading Carmanah and Walbran tours. With summer came *Lake News* tourism ads from Cowichan business leaders. The first spotlighted the Carmanah Giant, both enticing and warning visitors with a promise that not "even a hot-dog stand" would spoil their experience of unsullied nature. The adjacent page advertised FCCL forest tours and the Crofton pulp mill. Similar ads ran for years in the *Lake News,* indicating FCCL's desire to frame logging as sustainable to urban visitors by portraying the forest as a share-able space, and their financial support of the *Lake News*. The paper's tourism ads never featured the Walbran, but ENGOs advertised FCCL Walbran tours far and wide, which according to Syd Haskell strained company resources to the extent that the firm could not complete its consultation requirements in time to log in 1990. As Cowichan Lake took steps towards ecotourism, green Walbran activism diversified and intensified.[178]

The designation of Carmanah Pacific Provincial Park did little to placate environmentalists,

[177] Frank Walker, "'More problems,'" *Lake News,* May 2, 1990.
[178] *Lake News* editor Sheila Kenyon was also president of the Cowichan Lake Chamber of Commerce; "Meeting to 'design our own future,'" *Lake News,* May 2, 1990; "Carmanah: Where do we go from here?" *MB Journal* (May 1990); Tom Henry, "Spinning Off Old Growth," *Monday Magazine,* May 3-9, 1990. "Loggers' Lobby," *MB Journal* (Jul 1990); "Welcome Tourists! Be prepared," *Lake News,* Jun 27, 1990; Haskell interview.

Indigenous groups fighting for land title, or IWA 1-85, whose members organized a 5,000-person protest at the legislature in June, giving the NDP a chance to appeal to the disaffected parties. That month, the NDP penned their Environment and Jobs Accord, promising job creation in value-added manufacturing, intensive silviculture, a doubling of BC's park and wilderness areas to the 12 percent UN goal, and negotiation of Indigenous land claims. The *Lumber Worker* saw the latter promise as a needed corrective for Socred policies that pitted "Aboriginal peoples, environmental activists, and woodworkers" against each other. ENGOs, the NTC, and the IWA signed on to the non-binding accord, with George Watts refuting the idea that forest workers would lose jobs by collaborating with Indigenous peoples and environmentalists.[179] The NDP focus on place-rooted manufacturing jobs and Indigenous land claims represented a social democratic alternative to Socred neoliberalism, which focused on removing barriers to the efficiency of the global market.

The summer of 1990, however, proved that a placid, negotiated settlement to land claims would not be forthcoming. On July 11, the Oka crisis erupted in Quebec, sparking a 78-day standoff between Kanienkehaka Mohawk and Sûreté du Québec officers with Canadian Armed Forces support. In BC, a four-month Lil'wat blockade at Duffey Lake near Lillooet captured headlines. With a provincial election in the offing, the day that the Oka crisis began Forest Minister Richmond and NDP forest critic Dan Miller debated policy in the BC Legislature. In the context of Oka, the secondary importance given to Indigenous claims conveys the persistent coloniality of forest policies that seemed to offer only more forestry studies and clearcuts. Miller began by questioning a 79 percent increase in the MoF advertising budget amid rumours of a campaign to be modelled on the industry's "Forests Forever" initiative. Richmond replied that the "information

[179] "IWA Cavalcade: Rally for Jobs," *Lake News,* Jun 6, 1990; "Victoria rally draws 5,000," *Lumber Worker* (Jul 1990); Mike Harcourt, "Harcourt Puts Forward Environment and Jobs Accord as Alternative to Socreds' Shortsighted Carmanah Bill," press release Jun 14, 1990; "IWA joins accord with NDP, natives, environmentalists," *Lumber Worker* (Jul 1990).

campaign" fulfilled his government's responsibility to educate the public, particularly given the "misinformation" peddled by "special interest groups" about the industry. An informed public would be better able to dismiss material from groups like the WCWC and Sierra Club who, while "well-meaning," used questionable methods to get their way. Any similarity to "Forests Forever," he concluded, stemmed from a shared state/corporate goal of educating the public "who never get out to see what's happening in the bush."[180]

The persistent dichotomization of development and preservation was "part of the difficulty in dealing rationally" with forest conflicts, said Miller, doubting the efficacy of responding to bad press with counteracting campaigns. He suggested that contending groups come to common agreement on basic information (ideally from a neutral MoF) to remove "the more inflammatory elements of this kind of cross-advertising campaign" and allow people to make up their own minds. Richmond pledged to "be as factual as the information we have will allow us to be," while addressing not only those with vested forest interests, but the "general public, because that's where the pressures are coming from." The "whole world [was] changing its set of values," he agreed, pledging the Socreds to "change with those values…to at least stay current with public thinking—if not ahead of it." "I think the public is hungry for the facts," Richmond declared, dismissing green worldviews as misguided emotionalism or cynical and misleading propaganda.[181]

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[180] Geoffrey York and Loreen Pindera, *People of the Pines: The Warriors and the Legacy of Oka* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1991); Martin Morris, "Overcoming the Barricades: The crisis at Oka as a case study in political communication," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 2 (1995); Gord Hill, "Oka Crisis 1990," *Warrior Publications* 2 (Vancouver: 2007), https://warriorpublications.wordpress.com/2014/06/11/oka-crisis-1990/, accessed Nov 2018; Tom Henry and Craig Piprell, "Behind the Blockades," *Monday Magazine*, Aug 2-8, 1990; Blomley, "'Shut the Province Down,'" 9-15; Michael McCullough, "Law, Order and the Lil'wat: After Four Months, Police Break Up the Duffey Lake Blockade," *BC Report* (Nov 19, 1990), 20-2; for Gitxsan/Wet'suwet'en blockades, see Richard Rajala, *Up-Coast: Forests and Industry on British Columbia's North Coast, 1870-2005* (Victoria: UBC Press, 2006), 207-10; MoF, *All Things Considered: Forest Management in British Columbia* (Victoria: 1990), BC Leg. Library BC F6 D:A5661 1990; BC Legislative Hansard, 34th Parliament, 4th Session, July 11, 1990, afternoon sitting, 10865, https://www.leg.bc.ca/documents-data/debate-transcripts/34th-parliament/4th-session/34p_04s_900711p.

[181] Ibid., 10865-6.

When Miller shifted the debate to the FRC and MoF/Indigenous relations, arguing for nation-specific negotiated settlements, Richmond replied that the best means of resolving land-use conflict was to engage Indigenous groups on the economic side of forestry, not negotiating land claims. The wider War in the Woods would only be solved on a "provincewide basis rather than a specific watershed basis," he asserted, citing the FRC, OGS, and Parks and Wilderness for the '90s as steps in that direction. The Socred refusal to negotiate land claims led Matt Vickers, the sole Indigenous FRC representative, to resign in August, and in the September *Lumber Worker*, Miller situated the Socred stance within the historic assimilationist thrust of BC and Canadian government policy, restating NDP support for negotiated settlements.[182]

Like the NDP, mainstream charity ENGOs voiced tentative support for Indigenous claims, but their primary focus remained on fundraising and public outreach for preservationist ends. By the end of 1990, the WCWC had sold all 15,000 first editions of *Carmanah* (for $60 each) and canvassing netted 30,000 memberships. WCWC-Vancouver spearheaded Camp Hummingbird while, hoping to replicate *Carmanah's* success, the Victoria branch led a series of artist expeditions to the Tsitika watershed, an old-growth forest adjacent to an orca whale rubbing site at Robson Bight which had been fought over since the 1970s. Shoddy publishing, errata, a notorious description of a "group orgasm" at the sight of orca whales, and the lack of artwork prints limited the book's appeal. Worse, Mid-Island WCWC director Laurie Gourlay was arrested for being present at a Lower Tsitika blockade. Despite not participating in civil disobedience and being declared innocent, she resigned to get ahead of the media implicating the WCWC in illegal acts. The WCWC campaign portfolio had expanded with new revenue, but divided prerogatives, pet

[182] Ibid., 10868-87; Ben Parfitt, "Native quits resource commission," *Vancouver Sun*, Aug 17, 1990; Dan Miller, "Now is the time to settle native claims," *Lumber Worker* (Sep 1990); "Settle the claims! Vancouver Island loggers protest Native court case to prevent logging in Tsitika," *Lumber Worker* (Nov 1990).

projects, administrative laxity, and fiscal inexperience portended financial ruin in 1991.[183]

In the moment, however, research in Upper Carmanah Walbran continued to bear fruit, with mounting evidence that not only trees made Carmanah Walbran home. Previously unknown Upper Carmanah canopy insects attracted the attention of UVic entomologist Neville Winchester, and an Environment Ministry survey of Anderson Lake found a unique species of rainbow trout, leading the agency to recommend an immediate review of harvesting plans in the West Walbran Creek drainage to minimize impacts on area fisheries resources. Most importantly, on August 3, John Kelson and WCWC researcher and UVic biology student Irene Manley discovered a marbled murrelet nest in the West Walbran, the first in Canada and just fourteenth worldwide. The bird, recently listed as a "threatened species" by the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada, was a preservationist boon akin to the spotted owl in Washington state, the recent subject of feature *New Yorker* and *TIME* articles. Kelson and Manley's fortuitous discovery, amid *Canadian Geographic* and *National Geographic* coverage of Vancouver Island forests, inspired a WCWC lawsuit to protect endangered marbled murrelet habitat. *MB Journal*, however, called them "one of BC's more common seabirds," suggesting that nests might not be rare, "just hard to find," and not necessarily old-growth dependent. *The Province*'s Brian Kieran asked why the WCWC did not sue to stop Victoria from dumping sewage into the ocean. "Thank goodness," he mockingly wrote of the murrelet case, "only logging was at stake."[184]

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[183] George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 148-9, 206.

[184] Catherine Caulfield, "The Ancient Forest," *The New Yorker,* May 14, 1990; Don Whiteley, "Watching The New Yorker watching us," *MB Journal* (Jul 1990); Sydney Haskell, "Shoot 'em, says Jack," *Monday Magazine,* Apr 26-May 2, 1990; Ted Gup, "Owl vs. Man: Who Gives A Hoot?" *TIME,* Jun 25, 1990, 56; Des Kennedy reviews *Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest* in *Canadian Geographic* 110, no. 1 (Feb/Mar 1990), 90; P. Law, ed. D.M.V. Coombes, "A Reconnaissance survey of Anderson Lake," MoE, Fisheries Branch (Aug 8, 1990), http://a100.gov.bc.ca/appsdata/acat/documents/r9030/Anderson_Lake_1169573533944_9cb491685b244ec4b459ec4f4af97d2c.pdf, accessed Apr 2019; "Carmanah decision a 'no-win' call," *Canadian Geographic* 110, no. 3 (Jun/Jul 1990), 7-10; "National Geographic story off balance: September issue will portray coastal forestry as 'ugly duckling,'" *MB Journal* (Aug 1990), 7; Rowe Findlay, "Will we save our own?" *National Geographic* 178 (Sep 1990), 106-36; Gord Eason, "The threat of preservation," *Canadian Geographic* 110, no. 3 (Jun/Jul 1990), 88; Tom Henry, "Big

Kieran's cynicism notwithstanding, the discovery of the nest provided new urgency to defend the Walbran. The first Walbran feature in a metropolitan daily appeared in Ben Parfitt's August 25 *Vancouver Sun* forest column. Citing the marbled murrelet nest and 10 kilometres of trails, Parfitt framed the WCWC as chief opponent to MacBlo and FCCL, with "trail builder Sydney Haskell" advising "allocating the East Walbran to sensible sustainable selective logging" and preserving the rest of the valley. FCCL's Don Hoffman projected that the 80,000 cubic metres to be annually harvested for 40-50 years in the TFL 46 Walbran would support 40-45 jobs. Previous park withdrawals and the Meares injunction, MacBlo's Stan Coleman noted, meant that 3.3 percent of TFL 44's 2.3-million-cubic-metre AAC was to come from the Walbran.[185]

Such warnings no doubt figured in the OGS Conservation sub-committee's September 5 recommendation against short-term harvest deferrals in Upper Carmanah and the Walbran. The two areas were referred to a program reviewing marbled murrelet habitat. Uncertainty about marbled murrelet nesting habits also contributed to the decision, but only 17 of 127 areas province-wide qualified for preservation. The same day, as part of a $500,000 park funding allocation, BC formally opened the Carmanah Pacific Provincial Park's main trail, having added a 60-vehicle parking area, tent pads near the entrance, and Camp Heaven pit toilets, formalizing the lower valley's recreational wilderness character. That week, a David Suzuki article crediting trails and marbled murrelet research for preservation made headlines across Canada.[186] While these tactics

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News, Little Bird," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 9-15, 1990; Irene Manley and John Kelson, "Description of Two Marbled Murrelet Tree Nests in the Walbran Valley, British Columbia," *Northwestern Naturalist* 76, no. 1 (1995), 26-8; Mark Hume, "Winds of Fear Chill Forest Industry: National Geographic Article Latest Worrying Sign," *Vancouver Sun,* Aug 21, 1990; "MB is no threat to marbled murrelet," *MB Journal* (Oct 1990); Brian Kieran, "The Great Marbled Murrelet Story," *The Province*, Nov 8, 1990.

[185] Ben Parfitt, "Walbran cited as next preservation hot spot: Western Canada Wilderness urges halt to logging in area," *Vancouver Sun,* Aug 25, 1990.

[186] "Carmanah gets new circular trail," *Lake News*, Sep 5, 1990; Old Growth Strategy Project, Conservation of Areas Team Sub-committee, *Towards an old growth strategy: short term deferral of critical areas of old growth* (Victoria: Sept 5, 1990), 4-5, 20, 43, BC Leg. Library BC O464 D: T6S56 1990; David Suzuki: "Work to Save Carmanah Not Finished," *Vancouver Sun,* Sep 8, 1990; "Ordinary Citizens make a Difference; Carmanah Valley Activists Find Ways

had made the difference in Carmanah, forest workers had not forgotten Carl Hinke's Meares Island tree-spike threats, nor the 1984 blockade of TFL 44 workers at C'is-a-qis Bay. While legal, Carmanah trailbuilding in the upper watershed contemporaneous to CFMAC debates drew ire from Alberni residents and loggers, inciting the first acts of civil disobedience in Carmanah Walbran.

Logger Blockades and the Destruction of the Upper Carmanah Research Station

Carmanah's park designation showed that activism worked. Loggers listened, often stealing WCWC road markers directing people into Carmanah, and in one instance leaving a burnt-out car with "WCWC" painted on it blocking a road. Environmentalists suffered the harassment in stride, even using the car as a road marker once moved aside. Logger activism intensified on Saturday September 22 when, in a measure of revenge for blockades elsewhere in BC, 20 loggers set up a roadblock near the Caycuse bridge that stopped 120 or so trail builders and tourists from accessing Carmanah. The peaceful protest merited no RCMP charges and was joined on Sunday by 30-40 people from Alberni, two from Lake Cowichan, and two from Duncan. With trail construction stopped, loggers won a tangible, if temporary, working class victory.[187]

On October 2, the WLAC submitted proposals for Walbran cutblocks in 1991 and 1992 and conceptual plans for logging over the following three years to the Duncan forest district manager, triggering the recusals of the Sierra Club, CFS, and WCWC upon accusations that the committee acted as a "rubber stamp" for FCCL harvesting plans. In a WCWC press release, Clinton Webb said that FCCL had "stacked the deck" with sympathetic stakeholders, including several ex-loggers. The WCWC's representative, Dianna Angus, a 33-year resident of the

to Save Rainforest," *The Gazette,* Sep 8, 1990; "If this B.C. Forest Isn't Saved, it Won't be for Lack of Trying," *Windsor Star,* Sep 8, 1990; "The Carmanah; A Continuing Fight to Save an Old-Growth Rainforest," *Ottawa Citizen,* Sep 9, 1990; "Grassroots Organization Felled Carmanah Logging Plans," *Edmonton Journal,* Sep 9, 1990.

[187] Rob Diotte, "Loggers block Carmanah: Trail building in upper valley seen as threat to their jobs," *Alberni Valley Times,* Sep 24, 1990; "Loggers set up blockade," *Lake News,* Sep 26, 1990; Jack Oswald, Cowichan Group, Sierra Club, "Sharing 'Unbeautiful B.C.'" *Monday Magazine,* Oct 11-17, 1990; George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 173-6.

Cowichan Valley, called the WLAC "a waste of time" set up by FCCL to secure the desired public input. ENGOs charged that the committee manipulated meeting minutes, approved specific cutblocks without discussing the overall level of area logging or assessments of non-timber values, and most importantly, had no leeway to consider a non-logging option.[188]

FCCL environmental forester Steve Lorimer responded by defending the "broad-based" WLAC as a representative source of community sentiment. Cowichan Valley Regional District (CVRD) chairman, Lake Cowichan alderman, and WLAC member Earle Darling explained that compared to FCCL's original plans, approved cutblocks were considerably smaller, more widely dispersed, and further from Walbran Creek tributaries. A supportive Brian Kieran lauded FCCL and the WLAC in an October 23 *Province* article, calling the firm's logging plans "a product of enlightened self-interest," but also "a real effort to save jobs and develop the forest resource in concert with local concerns." The *Lake News* noted that Walbran logging could help alleviate Lake Cowichan's 12.9 percent unemployment rate. Kieran sympathized with timber capital rather than environmentalism, with job numbers, timber supply, and profitability trumping protection for remnant wilderness. FCCL, he concluded, must feel "Damned if we do, Damned if we don't."[189]

Loggers felt this sentiment more pressingly than any, and on October 20, over 100 took matters into their own hands by setting up a roadblock near FCCL's Nitinat camp, disrupting the planned WCWC trail openings in Upper Carmanah Walbran. A benign *Lake News* article speculated that the act may have been to prevent Walbran trail building. RCMP Sgt. Ron Merchant merely warned the loggers to not build physical barriers. The purpose of the obstruction came to

[188] WCWC, "Fletcher Challenge Accused of 'Stacking the Deck,'" press release Oct 9, 1990, WCWC Files.
[189] Lorimer quoted in Olivia Scott, "Groups exit, cite 'phoney' committee," *The Province,* Oct 11, 1990; Stephen Weatherbe, "The (De)Greening of Walbran," *Monday Magazine,* Oct 18-24, 1990; Brian Kieran, "Logging Foes prefer posturing to partnership," *The Province,* Oct 23, 1990; "They withdraw from committee—Groups upset with Walbran logging plans," *Lake News,* Oct 24, 1990.

light on Monday when WCWC volunteers were finally able to return to the valley. Vandals had devastated kilometers of boardwalk and torched the Upper Carmanah research tent, causing $30,000 damage and sparing only the canopy platforms. A MacBlo spokesman denounced the vandalism but admitted that "We do not know those Franklin [division] employees involved in the recent blockade of the Carmanah Park access were *not* involved." Share Our Forests and the *Alberni Valley Times* considered the incident payback for tree spikes and lost jobs. Beyond the vandalism, Sid Tafler wrote in *Monday Magazine*, environmentalists had been "shaken by incidents ranging from the shooting of a pet dog, the trashing of a van and its contents and a string of threats of violence—even loose talk of hit lists and shootings."[190] While couched in rationality, opposition to preservationism had taken on a desperate—and violent—emotional character.

In November, to combat denigrations of "irrational" environmentalism, forest researcher Adam White released a quantitative valuation of Carmanah for the Canadian green capitalist think tank Environment Probe. *The Price of Preservation* calculated annual revenues from an upper watershed park at $162,000 compared to annual logging revenues of only $92,000—far less than the $600,000 estimated by the provincial government. In fact, logging the *entire* watershed over 20 years would net the province only $635,000 which, combined with lost tourist revenues in the lower valley meant that logging Upper Carmanah would *cost* the province $297,000. Even with the caveat that evaluating ecological and aesthetic benefit was impossible, White projected that over 20 years BC would profit $932,000 from protecting the entire watershed, meaning that lost wilderness, recreation, habitat, ecological, and biodiversity values represented a "de facto subsidy"

[190] "Loggers protest," *Alberni Valley Times*, Oct 22, 1990; "Loggers again block a road," *Lake News*, Oct 24, 1990; Rob Diotte, "Loggers fingered for breaking up Carmanah trail," *Alberni Valley Times*, Oct 24, 1990;"Vandalism isn't always just vandalism," *Alberni Valley Times*, Oct 25, 1990; "Vandalism denounced by MB," *MB Journal* (Nov 1990); Deborah Wilson, "'BACKLASH' as Resentment Grows in B.C.'s Tree-Cutting Regions, Logging Opponents Find Themselves the Target of a Campaign of Destruction: Tension Rises in Timber Country," *Globe and Mail*, Nov 12, 1990; Sid Tafler, "Talking and logging while the fires burn," *Monday Magazine*, Nov 7-13, 1990; Karen Schulz, "Who are the real forest subversives?" *Monday Magazine*, Dec 6-12, 1990; George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps*, 173-6.

to industry. Accurate or not, White's numbers reveal a current of neoliberal environmentalism. He framed his opposition to logging in purely market terms, arguing that the 2.4 percent return on investment gained by MacBlo from harvesting the upper valley was less than the approximately $2 million that could be made by investing capital outlays in low-risk stocks, and that "potential employment loss or gain [was], at best, a weak indicator of benefit." Job numbers had been declining for decades despite accelerated rates of old-growth harvest, with less labour-intensive technologies "inevitably" heralding layoffs. From his perspective based on "net economic benefit" and investment return, forest-dependent communities were beyond saving and far from a justification for logging Carmanah, a symbol both of the "plight of endangered areas around the world" and Indigenous resurgence via its inclusion in the Nuu-chah-nulth land claim.[191] Neither image boded well for loggers, least of all those in Alberni or Cowichan, who had seen hundreds if not thousands of their co-workers sent to the unemployment line in recent years

As George Hoberg writes in his study of policy change, 1990 was an exceptional year for public consultation and environmental influence in BC forest policymaking. Yet while initiatives like the OGS sought to "improve the environmental image of the sector," they were "largely symbolic or limited in magnitude."[192] In the case of Carmanah Walbran, this only tells half of the story. With FCCL unable to meet their 1990 public consultation requirements, the firm could not complete its plan to blast roads on both sides of the Walbran Creek to the Pacific Ocean, leaving the Central Walbran largely intact at year's end. By then, the myriad land-use committees were seen by the most devoted preservationists as insufficient responses to the imminent destruction of the world's ancient forests. Youthful, ecocentric civil disobedience soon overtook scientific

[191] Environment Probe, "Bottom-Up Environmentalism," https://environment.probeinternational.org/, accessed Jul 2019; Adam S White, *The Price of Preservation: An Analysis of timber values in the Carmanah Creek Watershed,* (Toronto: Environment Probe, Nov 23, 1990), Introduction, 1-2, 8-9; body, 14, 26, 33.
[192] Hoberg, "Policy Cycles," 26.

research, legal cases, and trailbuilding as the talisman of Walbran activism. The preceding three years proved that Socred consultation processes could not reconcile conflicting forest ontologies, or head off falldown, and they actively rejected the possibility of negotiating Indigenous land claims. Activists recognized this long before the FRC, WLAC, CFMAC, and OGS released their final reports, understanding clearly the process of talking and logging and the one sure-fire way to save ancient forests: standing in the way.

Chapter Four: Hot Summers in the Walbran Valley and a Failure to Find Consensus

"Wilderness needs no defense; it needs only more defenders." – Bobby Arbess, 2018 interview.

By 1991, Socred planning initiatives, Carmanah Pacific Park, and the temporary deferral of Walbran cutblocks did little to alleviate pressure for preservation, logging, or land claims. By July, young activists were directly challenging industrial forestry in the Walbran—and, in spasms, its colonial bedrock—with creative civil disobedience, leading to over 30 arrests. Charity ENGOs like the Sierra Club, WCWC, and Carmanah Forestry Society (CFS) could have their assets seized if staff broke the law. Individuals nominally associated with the Friends of Carmanah Walbran (FOCW), Environmental Youth Alliance (EYA), and Earth First! could be arrested without risking hard-earned organizational donations. Such civil disobedience both legitimized the "moderate" actions of charity ENGOs *and* threatened to associate the entire movement with ecoterrorism.

This chapter also explores how the Carmanah Walbran War in the Woods had the potential to incite Oka-style conflict as Peter Knighton invoked Qwa-Ba-Diwa nation-statehood and guardianship over the area in an attempt to stop the logging supported by the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC). In a pre-*Delgamuukw* legal context, however, only the most steadfast of settler activists supported the Qwa-Ba-Diwa land claim. The death of Oka veteran Terry DeLine curtailed the nascent Qwa-Ba-Diwa belligerence, leaving Indigenous perspectives on the margins of the Carmanah Walbran debate, one being funnelled through ever more state planning initiatives.

Finally, this chapter shows how sustainable development in BC came to be oriented toward economic, rather than ecological or community sustainability. The NDP won the 1991 provincial election with a left-based coalition hoping to find a consensus solution to the War in the Woods. Building off the Socreds' numerous commissions and strategies, the NDP unveiled their own—most notably the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE)—geared toward starting a new era of responsible, community-based forestry within ecological constraints. However, the

regulations emerging from CORE merely provoked a neoliberal backlash in the late 1990s that, re-encoded BC's unprotected forests within a purely industrial commodity paradigm. In short, the animosity, passion, days spent in jail, thousands of commission pages, and layoffs led to a government compromise that added thousands of hectares of new parks but no job guarantees, satisfying few and souring many on the idea that consensus could ever be attained in BC land use.

Impotent Legal Activism and the First Walbran Blockade

By 1991, ENGO narratives about Carmanah Walbran had gained momentum in framing the entire area as a park. Three factors soon complicated this preservationist discourse. First, on April 10, 1991, Burson-Marsteller established the Forest Alliance which, like Share groups, greens portrayed as a well-funded, poorly disguised corporate mouthpiece. Second, the Walbran Local Advisory Committee (WLAC) pushed successfully for an amended TFL 46 logging plan, giving FCCL an example of community cooperation and local direction. Finally, (typically young) individuals frustrated with talking as the Walbran was logged began to undertake direct action that could not be ignored or filtered through WCWC and Sierra Club media restricted by the legal constraints of charities.[193] By 1992, the Walbran would become as associated with hippie anarchy as it would with depictions of wilderness paradise or FCCL tree farming.

At the outset of 1991, the Sierra Club and WCWC remained the most prominent ENGO voices. The Sierra Club pamphlet *The End of the Ancient Forest* attacked MacBlo and FCCL for laying off hundreds of workers in the 1980s while making billions in profit, only briefly referring to "unsettled" Indigenous land claims. Overall, the pamphlet echoed previous ENGO rhetoric,

[193] Jack Munro and excommunicated Greenpeace founder Patrick Moore sat on the Forest Alliance board; Tom Henry, "*Tree Farm* by George Orwell: Image takes precedence in the debate over province's forests," *Monday Magazine,* Apr 18-24, 1991; Deborah Wilson, "Alliance challenged by environmentalists: Formed to enhance forest industry's image, critics say," *Globe and Mail,* Jul 8, 1991; Ben Parfitt, "PR Giants, President's Men, and B.C. Trees," *Forest Planning Canada* 8.4 (Jul/Aug 1992); Stephen Hume, "Threats and scapegoats no solution," *Vancouver Sun,* Nov 6, 1991; Stephen Hume, "Loggers maim Share groups' message," *Vancouver Sun,* Nov 25, 1992; "The Share Group Phenomenon," *Forest Planning Canada* 8.4 (Jul/Aug 1992); George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 231-2, 481.

citing "world class" hiking trails and a debt to future generations as reasons to keep Carmanah Walbran "untouched." The WCWC rebuilt their Upper Carmanah research station and worked with UVic and the Pacific Seabird Group (PSG)—one of the largest bodies of North American ornithologists—on marbled murrelet research. In January, the PSG called for the preservation of the bird's rare habitat: coniferous old growth within 75 kilometres of the ocean, which at its logical extreme precluded nearly all old-growth logging on the coast. Citing the birds' healthy population and poorly understood nesting habits, federal ministries refused to go to this extreme but MacBlo, recognizing that marbled murrelets would feature in any decision on Carmanah Walbran, refrained from logging a 70-hectare area around the nest discovered in August 1990. In January, upon appeal from the Sierra Club and the CFS, the OGS Conservation Deferral Review team overturned a September decision and endorsed a Walbran logging deferral, chiefly for the bird.[194]

In contrast, the WLAC gave the Cowichan Valley hope for continuity amidst rumours of corporate change, Youbou closure, and impending layoffs. In April, the WLAC recommended that FCCL preserve only specific "unique recreation sites" and environmentally sensitive areas while sustaining the Cowichan Valley economy by logging the rest in small, dispersed cutblocks. FRC commissioner Sandy Peel would note in his April interim report that ad hoc public input processes like the WLAC had only nominal influence on management plans, in the context of a scathing rebuke of AACs and industry practices. His 108 interim recommendations called for legislation to enhance stewardship, unify land use planning, and legislatively enshrine parameters for public input. The Socreds, already reeling from Premier Bill Vander Zalm's April 2 resignation amid

[194] Sierra Club-Victoria, *The End of the Ancient Forest* (1991), WCWC Files; Inter-ministry Management Committee, *Towards an Old Growth Strategy: Conservation of Areas Deferral Review Team Report* (Victoria: Jan 10, 1991), 12-3, BC Leg. Library, O464 D: C66 1991; Pacific Seabird Group and S. Kim Nelson, Chair of the Marbled Murrelet Committee, "Carmanah Walbran Resolution," Jan 25, 1991, WCWC Files; Forest Minister Dale Seip, Environment Minister Bill Munro, and the Canadian Wildlife Service's Jean-Pierre Savard and Gary Kaiser, *Interim Forest Management Recommendations to Conserve Marbled Murrelet Nesting Habitat in Coastal British Columbia* (Jan 29, 1991), WCWC Files; Tom Henry, "Old Growth test in Walbran," *Monday Magazine,* Feb 28-Mar 6, 1991.

conflict-of-interest allegations, made Rita Johnston interim—and in July, official—party leader. Ending the brief, nominal Socred dalliance with sustainable development rhetoric, Johnston made Dave Parker Parks Minister, which the WCWC's Joe Foy called "a bad joke, verging on the unbelievable." New Environment Minister Dave Mercier, an accountant, asserted his duty to balance economic and environmental values but could not think of a single past environmental position he had taken. In May, citing the 54,000 hectares of old growth in Carmanah and Pacific Rim parks, Johnston's cabinet rejected the OGS recommendation of a total Walbran deferral, paving the way for MacBlo and FCCL to harvest in 1991, if not as originally licenced.[195]

Lines dividing logging and preservationist interests were drawn in Walbran logging road gravel that month. FCCL employees found a spiked tree in the Cowichan district, and on April 24, a newly obstinate Syd Haskell and the CFS blocked a road into the Upper Walbran. Within weeks, several Victoria high school students began hunger strikes under the banner of the Environmental Youth Alliance (EYA), an organization founded by a UBC student in October 1989 to link high school environmental groups. Meanwhile, a brief from Lake Cowichan Secondary School students to the Round Table on Environment and Economy called for reforestation and protection for "wildlife, jobs, and our environment," but cautioned that, without logging, "Lake Cowichan would not exist."[196] Scenery and ecosystems had abstract value, but timber—not trees—paid mortgages.

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[195] "Five year plan for Caycuse," *Lake News,* Mar 20, 1991; "Won't affect Youbou," *Lake News,* Mar 20, 1991; "Recommendations—Walbran report," *Lake News,* Apr 10, 1991; A.L. (Sandy) Peel and FRC, *The Future of Our Forests* (Victoria: April 1991), 6, 12-7, 77, 105-7, BC Leg. Library F582 D: F87 1991; Steven Weatherbe, "Greens washed out in Rita's cabinet," *Monday Magazine,* Apr 18-24, 1991; Lorne Scheffer, "Caycuse employee protests Walbran deferral," *Newsline* (Apr 1991); Tom Henry, "Countdown for Walbran Core," *Monday Magazine,* Jan 24-30, 1991; Tom Henry, "TIMBER! Amid a jumble of committees and reports on our forests, one thing is clear: We're not out of the woods yet," *Monday Magazine,* Apr 4-10, 1991; Craig Piprell, "The future looks good—on paper," *Monday Magazine,* May 16-22, 1991; "Systematic Burial of Forest Resources Commission Report Begins at Ministry of Forests," *Forest Planning Canada* 7.4 (Jul/Aug 1991).

[196] Richard Watts, "MacBlo to sue if roadblock axes Walbran work," *Times Colonist,* Apr 24, 1991; Glenn Bohn, "Trail-Builders Delay Loggers: No Arrests, Island RCMP Say," *Vancouver Sun*, Apr 25, 1991; Olivia Scott, "We Will Sue Protesters, Says MacBlo," *The Province*, Apr 25, 1991; "Hunger Strike Staged to Halt Logging," *Vancouver Sun,* May 28, 1991; "Spiked tree found," *Lake News,* May 15, 1991; "Four to take part in Vancouver forum," *Lake News,* Jul 24, 1991; *"*TEXT OF STUDENTS' BRIEF ON FORESTRY," *Lake News,* Jul 24, 1991.

FCCL's 1991 *Managing the Walbran* conveyed a similar, if corporatized, spin on old-growth logging. The pamphlet acknowledged the "recreation potential" of the Central Walbran but disagreed that it had unique features, noting that less than two percent of the 600 woods-tour surveys from Victoria visitors in 1990 favoured total preservation. FCCL flattened the scope of environmental demands into discrete categories—tree composition, silvicultural plans, animal species, and jobs—and implied that preservationists were a misguided, strident minority. Curiously, displays at the respective June 14-15 and June 21-22 Victoria information forums for TFL 44 and 46 MWPs did not reference job numbers, but FCCL had fulfilled TFL 46 public input requirements with the WLAC, woods tours, and public hearings, and on July 4, the BCFS approved 12.1 kilometres of new roads and 167 hectares of cutblocks in the Walbran over the next two years. Unlike in Carmanah, education, trails, and public pressure did not stop Walbran logging, and with the cabinet vetoing the OGS deferrals, nor did marbled murrelets, inviting new voices—and bodies—into the forest debate, ones that did not restrict themselves to legally condoned activism.[197]

"The Road Stops Here": A Hot Summer of Civil Disobedience in the Walbran Valley

With state approval secured, FCCL moved to cut roads south along both sides of Walbran Creek, prompting civil disobedience by the FOCW, individuals loosely affiliated with the CFS, EYA, and Earth First! On July 8, a CFS leaflet appealed to people of "peaceful presence and common sense" to hike, swim, and camp in the Walbran—and, if willing, risk arrest by obstructing road building. People, mostly young urbanites from Victoria, the Gulf Islands, Europe, and the US, responded swiftly, establishing a protest camp at the "bridge to nowhere" (Fig. 16).[198]

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[197] FCCL, *Managing the Walbran* (Summer 1991), UVic Special Collections, SD146 B7F428 1991; Tom Henry, "Environmentalists dump on Mac Blo's (Un)Manageable and (Un)Workable Plan," *Monday Magazine,* Jun 20-26, 1991; Cameron Young, "More clearcuts, fewer jobs," *Monday Magazine,* Jul 11-17, 1991; BC MoF, BCFS, *Lower Walbran Valley Backgrounder* (July 1991), BC Leg. Library F6 D: L684 1991; WCWC, Joe Foy, Randy Stoltmann, Dennis Kangasniemi, and Clinton Webb, "Walbran Logging Road Permits Issued: WCWC releases hiking trail guide to threatened wilderness area," press release, Jul 5, 1991, WCWC Files; WCWC, Randy Stoltmann, *Walbran Road Access and Recreation Map,* Jul 5, 1991, UVic Special Collections, G3514.52 W2E633 1991 S.

[198] CFS, "Hot Summer in the Walbran Valley: Fletcher Challenge Has Begun Road Building in the Walbran Rainforest. The Road Stops Here," Jul 8, 1991, WCWC Files.

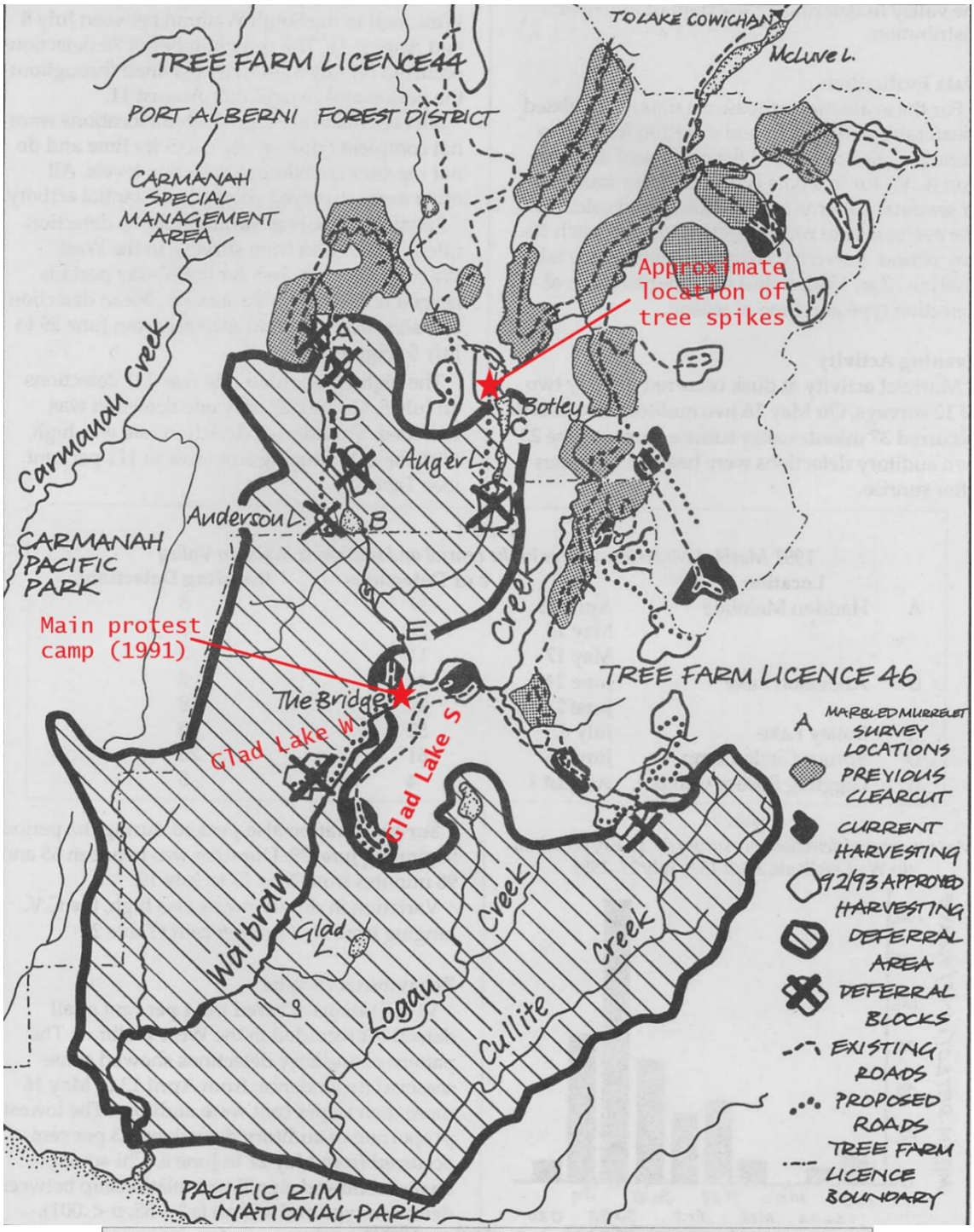

Table 1
1991 Marbled Murrelet surveys in the central and southwest Walbran Valley

	Location	Date	# of Detections	Breeding Detections
A	Haddon Mainline	April 28	37	8
		May 15	22	0
		May 17	11	0
B	Anderson Lake	June 24	44	2
		June 24	39	8
C	Botley Lake	July 6	52	8
D	Spruce Circle Camp	June 25	61	26
E	Giggling Spruce Camp	August 1	4	0

Fig. 16: The Walbran, with 1992 deferrals, adapted from Friends of Ecological Reserves, *The Log* (Mar 1992), 13-4.

For 78 days after July 15, to daily coverage in the *Vancouver Sun*, *Province*, and *Times-Colonist*, blockades became standard sights in the Walbran. When on July 17 Syd Haskell and 20 young people turned back a roadbuilding crew, FCCL workers asserted their legal right to log and collected the names of protesters who identified themselves. The next day, the BC Supreme Court granted FCCL an injunction against Haskell, Jason Miller, and "persons unknown," which made it illegal to interfere with logging and road construction in the Walbran. Arrests for breaking the injunction became near-daily occurrences after July 22. The first day saw a single 16-year-old girl arrested, a strategic decision devised by activists after the mass arrests at Tsitika the previous year had garnered little media support. Metropolitan dailies initially sympathized with activists' self-professed noble intentions, notably those of the EYA, but their extensive, if superficial—limited by the area's remoteness—also cast blockaders as "teenagers egged on by adults," neither having "any notion of the importance of law to our society," as Judy Lindsay of the *Sun* put it.[199]

In contrast to media coverage of the protest, which chiefly quoted RCMP, mainstream ENGO, union, state, and company spokespeople, Christine Lowther's *A Cabin in Clayoquot* provides a daily, on-the-ground account of defiant, creative resistance. She refers to people by first names and pseudonyms and blurs the conventional lines between nature and humanity with poems and songs that, for example, personify Anderson Lake and describe her friends becoming one with the forest. Written by a 23-year-old Gabriola-Island-based activist in the process of finding

[199] Haskell interview; "Fletcher Challenge Road Building Crew Halted, WCWC Calls for Cooling off Period," Jul 17, 1991, WCWC Files; Glenn Bohn, "15 protesters block loggers: Fletcher Challenge to seek injunction for Walbran Valley," *Vancouver Sun,* Jul 17, 1991; Olivia Scott, "Fight Brews Over Walbran: Group Battles Logging-Road Plan," *The Province*, Jul 17, 1991; Glenn Bohn, "Logging Firm Tapes Blockade by Protesters," *Vancouver Sun,* Jul 18, 1991; the injunction extended to the Logan and Cullite watersheds as well, FCC Injunction, BC Supreme Court Vancouver Registry no. .c915008, Jul 18, 1991; Claude Richmond, "Forest Minister Says Law Must be Upheld," MoF press release, Jul 18, 1991, WCWC Files; Glenn Bohn, "Forestry Position Protested: Richmond's Office Occupied Over Walbran Valley Logging," *Vancouver Sun,* Jul 20, 1991; "Walbran Go-Ahead," *The Province,* Jul 21, 1991; Olivia Scott, "Walbran Showdown Expected Today: Protesters Ready for Arrests," *The Province*, Jul 22, 1991; "Walbran Update July 22, 1991," WCWC Files; Olivia Scott, "Protest Curbs Crews: 16-Year-Old Girl Impedes Logging in Walbran Valley," *The Province*, Jul 23, 1991; "Walbran Still Blocked," *The Province*, Jul 24, 1991; Judy Lindsay, "Walbran protesters put the axe to law, process, and history," *Vancouver Sun,* Aug 6, 1991.

purpose, the proudly biased text displays a youthful, ecocentric ontology typical of Walbran radicals who cheerfully, if seriously, undertook illegal activism in the service of preservation.

Christine arrived to a "solemn affair" on July 23: two women chained to a charred, uprooted stump blocking Glad Lake Mainline. As workers dismantled the obstruction, one of the blockaders told them that she did not want to take their jobs but instead to save the forest "for the young people—for your children—for you." Although Christine was handed an injunction, RCMP officers stated that no arrests would be made for three days. Once the majority of the FCCL crew left, having made far less progress than planned, blockaders celebrated, a few loggers watched, and one protester descended a tree, singing: "We are the dance of the moon and sun/ We are the power in every one/ We are the hope that will never die/ We are the turning of the tide."[200]

The next day, Christine acclimatized herself to the bustling if small protest camp recently established on Glad Lake West across the Walbran Creek bridge. A sign stated: "THE ROAD STOPS HERE." She explored the CFS trails and hiked to "Fletcher Falls," damning the name derived from the company which intended to devastate its surrounds. There, she realized that 13 years of schooling had taught her almost nothing about BC's old-growth rainforest—and less about the rate at which it was logged. By her first full day, the idealistic but little-informed activist carried a visceral connection to the "magical place" and "magical time" manifested in ancient cedars, "mysterious, awake, and full of wisdom." "The concept of a blockade feels so right," she concluded, "I can feel it in my gut."[201]

On July 25, the buoyant mood of the early blockades met a swift reminder of the area's uncertain fate. Activists awoke to FCCL workers and police "storming" the camp. Hiding in the woods, hearing the first trees fall in the distance as FCCL crews went to work on Glad Lake South,

[200] Christine Lowther, *A Cabin in Clayoquot* (Gabriola: Quadra Printing/Pacific Edge Publishing Ltd., 1997), iv-v, 1.
[201] Ibid., 2-4.

a terrified Christine and her friends felt that they were being "hunted like animals." Over dinner, the activist camp reconvened, with plans to re-establish obstructions that night. The five new blockades erected at intervals along Glad Lake Mainline were quickly dismantled by FCCL road crews the next morning. Undeterred, tree "runners" ran through active logging areas screaming, impeding work, and endangering loggers and themselves. RCMP responded with K9 units but would not scale trees to arrest tree sitters, soon making tree sitting the most effective form of civil disobedience which, as depicted by Christine, let activists get "closer spiritually to the tree."[202]

On July 27, Christine and two friends explored the southern trail and saw a marble canyon carved by millennia of clear green water: "a glory of creation that should never be hurt." After hiking to Anderson Lake and Auger Lake over two days, the party returned to the protest camp on July 29, learning that the RCMP had made several more arrests and that FCCL wanted to add a "no camping" provision to the injunction prohibiting the obstruction of logging operations. Juxtaposing her awe-inspiring hikes with state defence of forest industrialization, Christine's account shows the activist community's deep connection to the area's old growth, a symbol of ecological paradise and the fragile biosphere. She also shows the "grim determination" of workers and police to do their jobs, succinctly conveying how the decisions made by FCCL executives and the BC forest bureaucracy brought activists and loggers into acrimonious conflict.[203]

Heated blockade debates did little to change anyone's perspective on proper forest use. Tensions ran high: Christine's scarf veil made a "cop" quip that it was "beginning to look like Oka" and threats were made against activist bodies and equipment. When asked about clearcutting and the criminalization of forest activism on July 30, one police officer claimed that "as agents of the courts, we're caught in the middle," but the RCMP stood by as a faller cut branches beneath a

[202] Ibid., 3-4.
[203] Ibid., 5-8.

tree sitter, stating that if he killed the protester, he would "bury" him. Despite the danger—and dwindling number of sitters following arrests—tree sitting proved to be the best method of delaying FCCL roads. By August, then, organic, spontaneous lawbreaking differentiated Walbran activism from the moderate, charity-based lawsuits, trailbuilding, and public outreach of Carmanah. As such, Christine's messy, sometimes unclear chronicle provides a revealing, if individual, depiction of the idiosyncratic motivations of Walbran activists which were, and are, difficult for media to ascertain, in part because of a reticence to trust outsiders. For example, when pressed on tactics, activist Bobby Arbess asked me: "How do I know you're not a cop?"[204]

Fig. 17: Tree Sitting, photo courtesy of Bobby Arbess.

Cowichan and Victoria Respond to the "Kids" in the Walbran Valley

The initial sympathy for young lawbreakers soon wore thin, particularly on the part of Cowichan Valley media and the NTC. The Walbran dominated August 7 *Lake News* coverage, with a full-page WLAC ad (also printed in the *Times-Colonist*) imploring readers to reject the "small group of people" having a "a summer lark of lawlessness" in favour of the "balanced" harvesting plan reached after months of "consultation and consensus." An article reporting on the

[204] Ibid., 8-11; Bobby Arbess and Peter Cressey interviews.

arrests of nine people in the Walbran featured NTC chief—and WLAC and CFMAC member—Jack Thompson, who asserted that environmentalists did not represent Indigenous concerns. His people could speak for themselves, he said, and were "not necessarily against logging in the Walbran." A letter to the *Times-Colonist* from Cowichan Lake "logger's wife" Sherri Brubaker tried to reason with Victoria readers by pointing out protesters' ignorance of logging communities and industry. She wondered if activists had jobs lined up for the "thousands of people" they intended to put out of work, before concluding that they were likely unemployed, and supported by forestry-funded employment insurance. A *Lake News* editorial questioned why youth would protest now, when WLAC meetings had gone by without confrontation, and declared that a solution needed to come through "diplomatic" channels.[205] These articles painted Victoria environmentalists as spoiled, bored children on vacation, either ignorant of, or disinterested in, the grave threat they posed to Cowichan Valley forest jobs.

Victoria's *Monday Magazine* and *Time-Colonist* readers, while broadly sympathetic to Cowichan Valley woodworkers' struggle against short-sighted FCCL profit-seeking, continued to frame the Walbran forest as inviolate. While the former publication maintained a detached, journalistic tone about the high-paying jobs and "unspoiled" wilderness at stake, its letters section overflowed with support for activists, including one lauding youth not yet "twisted," "compromised," or "tied down by the system" who adhered to the "higher law" of "nature."[206]

Public opinion may have been divided, but the Canadian legal system had no tolerance for the actions of dissenters. On August 8, Judge Lance Finch ruled that 16 of the 18 people arrested

[205] Bill Routley, "Stop valley to valley fighting on logging," *Lake News* Aug 7, 1991; WLAC, "A Hot Summer Of Lawbreaking Or Balance In The Walbran Forest?" *Lake News,* Aug 7, 1991; Thompson quoted in "Local Police in Walbran: Interfering with roads nets nine arrests," *Lake News,* Aug 7, 1991; Sherri Brubaker, "from a logger's wife," *Times-Colonist,* Aug 10, 1991; Editorial, "Why do people care about the Walbran?" *Lake News,* Aug 14, 1991.
[206] Tom Henry, "Undercut: For loggers in the Walbran, a pay cheque has a certain beauty, too," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 1-7, 1991; Chris Banner, "Standing by the forest: Protester's plea to stop the folly" *Monday Magazine,* Aug 1-7, 1991; "Workers idled by two-year logging moratorium should be compensated monetarily, says mayor," *Times-Colonist,* Aug 9, 1991; David Adamson, "Many hearts are with the few," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 8-14, 1991.

to that point in the Walbran would be held in contempt for "mass, organized and public disobedience" in defiance of FCCL's injunction. Two were too young to prosecute. In addition, FCCL filed lawsuits against 41 people, targeting activist figureheads like Haskell and Saul Arbess of the CFS, and tree-climbing instructor Paul Winstanley. Intended to intimidate and drain activist resources more than win, strategic lawsuits against public participation (SLAPPs) used claims of "conspiracy" to try and drag people out of the woods and into court. Additionally, at 5:30 a.m. on August 15, the morning after a supposed well-wisher had delivered a pick-up-truck load of beer, RCMP and FCCL occupied the protest camp, dismantled the campsite and unoccupied tree-sitting platforms, and loggers began falling trees in the vicinity. The next day the RCMP announced that sitters would be charged with resisting arrest rather than merely contempt of court, as word spread that logging equipment had been vandalized. Two days later, RCMP set up a command post on the bridge to enable 24-hour surveillance, pushing blockades and trees sits back as the Glad Lake West road advanced, and dispersing opposition to Glad Lake South and the Botley Lake area. Yet despite the seizure of climbing equipment, a dwindling group continued to ascend trees in the various falling zones at 4 a.m. every day prior to RCMP arrival, prepared to stay for days at time.[207]

As FCCL forcefully asserted its legal rights and prepared to log 70 hectares that fall, Cowichan *Lake News* coverage continued to frame Walbran activists as misguided urban teens. Both NDP MLA for Nanaimo Jan Pullinger and Socred Cowichan-Malahat MLA Graham Bruce supported FCCL's decision to continue logging, the latter countering praise for "kids" in the Walbran trees with reference to daily arrests, concealed identities, equipment damage, wasted police resources, and impact on Cowichan livelihoods. Lake Cowichan mayor Earle Darling asked if Victoria would return the decades of BC government revenues gleaned from Cowichan forests.

[207] Richard Watts, "Judge: Walbran 16 facing criminal contempt," *Times-Colonist,* Aug 9, 1991; Lowther, *A Cabin in Clayoquot,* 12-4; Chris Banner, "Raising the stakes in the Walbran: Arrests and confrontation have only hardened the blockaders' resolve," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 22-28, 1991; Kim Goldberg, "SLAPPs come to Canada: Strategic Lawsuits are Designed to Silence the Public and Tie Up the Courts," *Earthkeeper* 3, no. 6 (Aug/Sep 1993), 13-5.

Frank Walker dedicated a letter to Victoria Mayor David Turner and the "children of all ages in the Walbran Valley," arguing that international trade had made Canada one of the wealthiest nations in the world and that the "real environmental damage" would come if old-growth logging was halted "to give a larger playground to the children of Victoria." Having attacked corporate maladministration in 1990, Walker now blamed Victoria kids for dooming Cowichan by upending its sole industry. For Cowichan residents, the Walbran was none of Victoria's business.[208]

With an election on the horizon, Graham Bruce demanded that the NDP support Walbran logging and "rational" forest management that served the silent, working majority. Diverging from the course set by Progressive Conservative MP Bob Wenman's honorary opening of the WCWC Carmanah trail in 1988, the party's federal Nanaimo-Cowichan delegate Mark Couturier attacked a 1991 convention motion calling for a moratorium on Walbran logging, arguing against "more environmental studies, more time lost and more confusion." Because woods workers knew the forest better than anyone and loved to fish and hunt, he asserted, they "would be the first to report" any forest practice violations.[209] Unlike Nitinat or Carmanah, no high-profile politicians championed Walbran preservation, leading activists to re-engage with forest workers on finding a solution to the longstanding issues of forest mismanagement and dwindling old-growth forests.

The South Island Forest Accord: A Red Green Alliance Finds Common Ground in Theory

In spite—or because—of the enmity of the hot Walbran summer, on September 6 five ENGOs and the IWA signed the South Island Forest Accord (SIFA), a tentative rapprochement

[208] "RCMP set up command post," *Lake News,* Aug 21, 1991; "Bruce questions that 'the kids in the Walbran trees' are taking part in a 'rightful' protest," *Lake News,* Aug 21, 1991; "Mayor Darling asks the question: Will they give back forestry revenues?" *Lake News*, Aug 21, 1991; "In BC, money does grow on trees, says Bruce," *Lake News,* Aug 21, 1991; Frank Walker, "Problem in Walbran caused by poor education offered in Lotus Land," *Lake News,* Aug 21, 1991; R.S. Mills, "Walbran protestors—biting the hand that feeds," *Lake News,* Aug 21, 1991; "Bid to stop Walbran road leads to arrests," *Newsline* (Aug 1991).

[209] "Two more arrested in Walbran," *Lake News,* Aug 28, 1991; "A Lake Cowichan Faller: His point of view," *Lake News,* Aug 28, 1991; "Graham Bruce asks—Would Harcourt allow logging?" *Lake News,* Aug 28, 1991; Mark Couturier, "Conservative delegates agree with Couturier," *Lake News,* Aug 28, 1991.

refocusing red and green critiques on corporate mismanagement. Akin to the 1989 Clayoquot Sound Tin-Wis Coalition (minus Nuu-chah-nulth signatories), the SIFA articulated a vision of sustainable forestry guided by local concerns rather than corporate profit.[210]

Three weeks of discussions led to representatives of the FOCW, Sierra Club, WCWC, CFS, and South Vancouver Island EYA and IWA 1-80 signing the SIFA. The agreement, avowing "common ground and unity of purpose" to combat decades of industrial abuse, focused on old-growth protection, job creation, local decision-making, improved harvest practices, and resolving Indigenous claims. As "a first step in an ongoing dialogue," the SIFA represented a tentative red/green alliance calling for stronger legislative protections against cutting and running, with increased BCFS funding to enable the agency to track and enforce harvest practice policy.[211]

Opinions on the SIFA were split down political-party lines with the NDP, as Bobby Arbess argues, using it as a framework for its 1991 election platform. Pullinger, heralding "a new era of co-operation and consensus in BC's embattled forests" that would end the valley-by-valley fights "tearing our communities apart," suggested that an NDP government would install community-level consensus-based management. IWA 1-80 president Bill Routley attacked industry for prioritizing profit over jobs and government-initiated planning committees for perpetuating conflict. Jack Munro deemed the SIFA a "breakthrough" for "continuously warring people," but MacBlo manager Stan Coleman felt it paradoxical to try and preserve both "timber and jobs."[212]

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[210] Kim Goldberg, "Vancouver Island Coalition Unites Loggers, 'Tree-Huggers'," *Canadian Dimension* 24, no. 8 (Nov/Dec 1990); Frank Cox, "The Tin Wis Coalition," *Canadian Dimension* 26, no. 2 (March 1992); Brian Kelcey, "From Common Resolutions ... to Conflict Resolution," *Canadian Dimension* 26, no. 2 (Mar 1992); Ray Travers chaired the Tin-Wis Coalition, Patrick Durrant, "Natives Seek New Set of Forest Rules," *The Province,* Jun 28, 1991.
[211] "Text of the South Island Accord," *Lake News,* Sep 11, 1991; Ben Parfitt, "Tree-huggers meet cutters" *Vancouver Sun,* Sep 5, 1991; "Walbran at Newcombe: IWA, environmentalists share issues in Duncan," *Times-Colonist,* Sep 6, 1991.
[212] "Jan Pullinger says—'New era of co-operation,'" *Lake News,* Sep 11, 1991; Munro and Coleman quoted in Patricia Lush, "B.C. forest workers and environmentalists unite: Agreement signed to preserve jobs and timber," *Globe and Mail,* Sep 7, 1991; Bobby Arbess interview.

The SIFA had no policy impact, did not stop direct action, and involved no Indigenous signatories, but its timely critique of corporatism boosted the NDP's Vancouver Island prospects in the coming provincial election. Echoing the temporarily unified red/green critique of forest management, Cowichan Alderman Leon Portelance deemed Socred policy as detrimental to both "labor and ecology." Yvonne Green, writing as an "environmentalist whose husband and son both work in the forest industry," blamed misguided Socred policies for the mergers, closures, and log exports that fed "controversy and confrontation." She argued that workers should critique government, not protesters, who in turn should direct their "admirable energy, ingenuity and expertise" to "political action," rather than building blockades. For many Cowichan Lake residents, then, an NDP election victory offered hope for an end to the state/corporate alliance that precipitated and perpetuated Walbran conflict.[213]

Despite optimism for consensus, activists continued to impede logging operations in the Walbran, proving that mainstream ENGOs did not control the environmental movement. A September 9 blockade of protesters clad in only ski masks prompted IWA 1-80 vice president and WLAC participant Carmen Rocco to express his strong preference for dealing with "responsible groups" of "civilized people" over those who would sit in a tree for days, cover themselves in feces, and throw it at RCMP officers. Rocco was referring to an unidentified travelling American activist and his "Mountie repellent," a now legendary instance of fringe environmentalism in the Walbran. This marked the beginning of a shift in media depictions of activists from determined if naïve youth to dangerous, anarchistic radicals linked to Earth First!, an American group notorious for sabotage and tree spiking. Two weeks after the SIFA signing, MacBlo employees reportedly discovered nails in Upper Walbran trees. Paul Watson, Greenpeace co-founder and *Earth First!*

[213] Leon Portelance, "He should be ashamed," *Lake News,* Sep 11, 1991; W.O. Routley, "Political posturing," *Lake News,* Sep 11, 1991; Yvonne Green, "Agree with letter writers," *Lake News,* Sep 18, 1991.

Journal contact for BC, doubted that the group was active in the Walbran, while Haskell suggested to the *Sun* that, like the equipment sabotaged in August, companies had the trees spiked to discredit activists. This uncertainty further encouraged moderate ENGOs and the IWA to believe that the NDP could better resolve the Walbran conflict than the corporate-friendly Socreds.[214]

The 1991 Provincial Election and the NDP's *Better Way*

As an NDP coalition found common ground, the Socreds struggled to maintain a foothold in the Cowichan Valley, and indeed, the province. For the first time since July, the September 25 and October 2 issues of the *Lake News* did not mention the Walbran, instead prioritizing election coverage. The former edition featured two full-page Socred ads, a Hazel Beech letter asking if Cowichan was naïve enough to re-elect the Socreds, and numerous articles on Bruce and Pullinger, who, while both sitting MLAs, competed for the newly redistricted Cowichan-Ladysmith riding. Whereas Vander Zalm had contained activist energy with neoliberal sustainable development initiatives, Rita Johnston called environmentalists "terrorists" holding BC "hostage." She visited the North Cowichan Municipal Forest on October 3 to assert that the "small protest group" in the Walbran would no longer be allowed to disrupt the lives of working families and to challenge NDP leader Mike Harcourt to "come clean" about the party's flirtation with a job-killing Walbran moratorium. Later that day in Victoria, Johnston was pelted with a handful of dirt and had her bus surrounded by protesters calling *her* an "eco-terrorist." That week, however, Walbran activists called off blockades in the hope of short-circuiting the Socred law-and-order narrative and thus maintain the fragile SIFA environmentalist/labour bloc developing behind the NDP.[215]

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[214] "Protests in Walbran despite Accord," *Lake News,* Sep 11, 1991; Tom Henry, "Old Growth 'Stool-Man' Protester Speaks Up," *Monday Magazine,* Sep 26-Oct 2, 1991; Joseph Fall, "Lack of Faith Renewed," *Monday Magazine,* Sep 26-Oct 2, 1991; Glenn Bohn, "Radical Group Suspected in B.C. Acts," *Vancouver Sun,* Sep 20, 1991; Glenn Bohn, "Walbran activists deny link to radical environmental group," *Vancouver Sun,* Sep 21, 1991; Glenn Bohn, "Arrests, injury, tree spiking escalate battle over Walbran," *Vancouver Sun,* Sep 24, 1991; Glenn Bohn, "Tree-Sitter Urges Protesters to Consider Aggressive Tactics," *Vancouver Sun,* Sep 25, 1991; Peter Cressey and Bobby Arbess interviews; Freebird, "High thoughts from Walbran Valley," *Earth First! Journal* 11, no. 8 (Sep 23, 1991), 7.

[215] "Election primer: Graham Bruce & Jan Pullinger," *Lake News,* Sep 25, 1991; "Pullinger says she's pleased by election call," *Lake News,* Sep 25, 1991; "Let's Keep Graham Working for Us: Re-Elect Graham Bruce," *Lake News,*

FCCL's proposed sale of the northern portion of TFL 46 to International Forest Products (Interfor) provided more common ground for workers and environmentalists, both of whom linked the sale to the Socreds tendency to prioritize corporate interests over local fibre supply or ecological sustainability. Beyond losing 101,000 cubic metres to Interfor, TFL 46 faced a five percent AAC reduction in the sale, which despite Graham Bruce's reassurances, Bill Routley portrayed as the death knell for the Youbou mill.[216]

The Socreds continued to stake their platform on the economy, claiming to support jobs first and foremost. This allowed the NDP and a revitalized Liberal party to stake out political turf on the social democratic and neoliberal sides of sustainable development, both pledging to protect 12 percent of BC's land base. At the October 11 All-Candidates meeting in Lake Cowichan, attended by 200 people, Bruce broke rank with his party to oppose the TFL 46 sale, promised $10 billion in Vancouver Island infrastructure improvements, and drew derisive laugher from the crowd with his description of sound Socred fiscal management. Pullinger asserted that the NDP would not sign off on the TFL 46 sale, condemned rising taxes for working families, and affirmed the NDP's 48-point *A Better Way* platform, which promised to develop a Forest Practices Code, incentivize value-added production, reduce log exports, and establish a royal commission on forestry to fulfill the 1990 Environment and Jobs Accord's vision of ecologically sustainable, community-based development. On October 17, Pullinger won the seat with 57 percent of the vote, part of an NDP wave that brought the party back to power after 16 years in opposition. With the resurgent Liberals splitting the free-enterprise vote, the Socreds retained only seven seats, the last

Sep 25, 1991; Hazel Beech, "Are we so naïve?" *Lake News,* Sep 25, 1991; "Rita says—Must control people who hold up others' lives," *Lake News* Oct 9, 1991; Steven Weatherbe, "Johnston Picks Jobs Over Trees," *Monday Magazine,* Sept 26-Oct 2, 1991; Tom Henry, "Protesters Back Out of Walbran, Away from Johnston's Swings," *Monday Magazine,* Oct 3-9, 1991; Haskell interview; Sockeye Sue and Freebird, "A Tenuous Pause in Walbran Valley," *Earth First! Journal* 12, no. 1 (Nov 1, 1991), 23.

[216] "Forests, protesters main concerns of public," *Lake News,* Oct 2, 1991; Routley, "Outdated harvest formula?" *Lake News,* Oct 2, 1991; Ben Parfitt, "Split of TFL 46 worries union," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 12, 1991.

they would ever win. Business leaders began fearmongering immediately after the election, with the *Sun*'s Nicole Parton warning that 23 publicly traded forest companies faced total losses of $2 billion as the result of weak domestic markets, high interest rates, a high Canadian dollar, high BC stumpage rates, slow logging approvals, park withdrawals, land claims, and protesters.[217]

The NDP faced a host of problems upon taking office. The brittle worker/environmentalist alliance soon fractured, as the land-use and ontological conflicts at the root of the War in the Woods persisted and radicals broke the election ceasefire. Though the CFS disavowed its recent role in civil disobedience, when new Forest Minister Dan Miller, a former woodworker, allowed companies to "log around" contentious areas prior to land-use decisions, blockades returned to the Walbran. For Cowichan Lake residents already upset by arrestees' suspended sentences and light community service penalties, the blockades stung, costing environmentalists the small goodwill bought by the SIFA. The NDP earned IWA contempt in December by backtracking on its campaign promise to stop FCCL's sale of part of TFL 46 to Interfor. One of the 22 conditions of the sale was the addition of a Youbou mill appurtenancy clause to ensure community stability, but the NDP's incapacity to stop blockades indicated that the elements of the leftist coalition could not reconcile their own interests, let alone the larger issues of War in the Woods conflict.[218]

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[217] "Gordon Wilson's debate triumph in BC," CBC News Archives, Oct 8, 1991, https://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/bc-elections-1991-gordon-wilsons-debate-triumph, accessed May 2019; Glenn Bohn, "Environmental rhetoric toxic: Parties recognize recession failed to dampen voters' interest in issue," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 8, 1991; Doug Ward, "Platform-on-hold promises a smorgasbord sampling of grit and green: In the rush of debate afterglow, Liberals get down to business," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 12, 1991; Bohn, "Foes agree to pursue peace pact in forests," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 11, 1991; Bohn, "Green and Mean: Political Rhetoric and Reality," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 12, 1991; "Unionists and environmental groups vow to end confrontation in woods," *Lumber Worker* (Nov 1991); "The candidates: They vied for votes," *Lake News,* Oct 16, 1991; NDP, *A Better Way for British Columbia: Two Year Progress Report* (Victoria: Mar 1994), 17-21, 32, BC Leg. Library P 324.2711 O7 N532da; "NDP sweeps Lake area," *Lake News,* Oct 23, 1991; David Baines and Glenn Bohn, "Pressure on NDP worries business," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 19, 1991; Nicole Parton, "Casualty list keeps growing in war over the woods," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 23, 1991.

[218] Sid Tafler, "A tough sell for new government," *Monday Magazine,* Oct 31-Nov 6, 1991; Steve Weatherbe, "Carmanah Forestry Society Washes Hands," *Monday Magazine,* Nov 7-13, 1991; "Protest riles logger," *Vancouver Sun*, Oct 25, 1991; Glenn Bohn, "Walbran back on environmental burner after election cold spell," *Vancouver Sun,* Oct 29, 1991; "Walbran entry bid shot down," *Times-Colonist,* Oct 31, 1991; Glenn Bohn, "Walbran Protesters Declare Ceasefire in Blockade Battle," *Vancouver Sun,* Nov 2, 1991; "The IWA will sue," *Lake News,* Nov 6, 1991;

Attempting to fulfill another campaign promise, the NDP and federal government began negotiating a $9-million settlement with the Ditidaht for land taken for Carmanah and Nitinat parks. Yet, as Peter Knighton maintained in a letter to George Watts of the NTC, the Ditidaht claim rested on Indian Act—not hereditary—authority, arguing that the Qwa-Ba-Diwa should be the ones at the negotiating table. At the annual NTC conference, alternatively, the WCWC's Clinton Webb and Randy Stoltmann advocated expanding the 22,896-hectare Pacific Rim National Park by 32,300 hectares. According to Paul George, the overture fell on deaf ears due to the NTC's "notoriously touchy" stance on parks and wariness of "white do-gooders" after ENGOs failed to come through with financial support for their costly Meares Island court case.[219] More than anything, post-election discord indicated that the major source of agreement between workers, environmentalists, and Indigenous people was antipathy for the Socreds, leaving the NDP much work to do to reconcile the myriad structural causes of the War in the Woods, to say nothing of their conflicting conceptions of nature and appropriate land use.

CORE Old-Growth Deferrals and Planning to Log Carmanah Walbran

After using the fall to get their bearings by soliciting input from ENGOs and unions, the NDP swiftly reoriented BC toward *A Better Way* at the start of 1992 with a flurry of policy decisions including a drastic reduction in Vancouver Island TFL AACs, old-growth logging deferrals, and announcement of a new stakeholder process, the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE) to facilitate peace in the woods. On January 2, Chief Forester John Cuthbert slashed the AACs of TFLs 44 and 46 by 14 and 29 percent respectively in an effort to bring cutting rates down to sustainable levels, disappointing workers and environmentalists alike. On January

"Police cost high in Walbran," *Lake News,* Nov 6, 1991; Ben Parfitt, "NDP Sets 22 Conditions for Cutting Rights Transfer: Interfor, Fletcher Pleased but Opponents Skeptical," *Vancouver Sun,* Dec 6, 1991.

[219] "Land claim settlement: More than $9 million for Band?" *Lake News,* Dec 18, 1991; Peter Knighton, *Carmanah and Her Hereditary Guardians* (May 26, 1992), 5; Randy Stoltmann, "A Proposal for Completion of the West Coast Trail Unit of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve" (Dec 1991), WCWC Files; George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 216, 481-2; "Native calls for unity with workers of B.C. Fed," *Lumber Worker* (Dec 1991).

7, FCCL South Island manager Don Hoffman announced that 120 of the 700 workers in TFL 46 operations would be laid off in the AAC cutback, a decision Bill Routley said would dump Youbou workers "on to the street." Few Cowichan residents saw FCCL's curtailment of Youbou production as anything but a dire omen for area sawmilling, particularly given that the mill had lost $5 million in 1991—$800,000 in December alone. Not counting employment insurance, forests provided a staggering 91 percent of Cowichan Lake income, by far the highest among BC's 200 forest-dependent communities. Nevertheless, Syd Haskell told the *Sun* that the NDP "log around" policy meant that he had misjudged the party's "ethics and integrity" regarding moratoriums. Radicals promised "violence in the forests next summer," he warned. Having expected moratoriums "all over the place," a resigned Cowichan Lake Mayor Earle Darling took some solace in at least knowing "where we are."[220]

Darling's hope that conditions would not worsen proved illusory on January 21 when, in an attempt to create a "climate where parties can come together in good faith" to solve regional land-use conflict, Forest Minister Miller announced 18-month logging deferrals in seven contentious Vancouver Island areas, including Tsitika, Nahmint, Tahsish-Kwois, and seven cutblocks in the Walbran. The same day, promising that the NDP's "log around" policy would ensure against further layoffs, Premier Mike Harcourt appointed provincial Ombudsman Stephen Owen to head CORE, an 18-month process that tasked regional "roundtables" with reaching consensus on land-use policy and, as recommended by the Brundtland report, protecting 12 percent

[220] A.L. (Sandy) Peel, FRC, *Land Use Planning for British Columbia* (Dec 1991), BC Leg. Library F583 D: L264 1991; Garry Horne and Charlotte Penner, Ministry of Finance, Planning & Statistics Division, FRC background paper, *British Columbia Community Employment Dependencies* (Feb 1992), 10-5, BC Leg. Library BC F583 D: B755 1992; Haskell quoted in Glenn Bohn, "Turning Sour: After less than three months in power, the NDP faces charges of a 'betrayal' for keeping just one of 18 election promises," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 4, 1992; Ben Parfitt and Justine Hunter, "Cutting rights on Island trimmed: Contested stands of old-growth forests," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 3, 1992; Syd Haskell, "Something Nasty in the Woodshed," *Monday Magazine,* Jan 2-8, 1992; Judy Lindsay, "Miller showed art of compromise in Island harvest reduction," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 4, 1992; "Forestry cutbacks: 'Little impact on jobs at this time,' says Mayor Earle Darling," *Lake News,* Jan 8, 1992; "TFL cuts to cause 120 jobs lost, says Fletcher Challenge manager," *Lake News,* Jan 8, 1992; Ben Parfitt, "Youbou job cuts merely first step toward mill closure, union warns," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 16, 1992; Macdonald Scott, "Terra Prima," *Monday Magazine,* Jan 16-22, 1992.

of BC's land base, with priority for distinctive or rare ecosystems. Owen described CORE as "a civil and adult way" for stakeholders to engage with each other, Vicky Husband called deferrals a "step in the right direction," and FCCL's Bob Beard felt "reasonably optimistic" that CORE could end the bickering over BC forests, but MacBlo's Stan Coleman doubted the feasibility of the "log around" in zero-sum terms: "What happens after 18 months? If we lose the land, we lose jobs."[221]

Fig. 18: "Whaddya wanna be when you grow up?" *Lake News*, Feb 26, 1992.

Lake News coverage framed CORE as another broken promise to rural interests. A January 22 editorial stated that the establishment of CORE and FCCL layoffs had brought "continuous disquiet" to TFL 46, asking readers to think of the "silent majority." Caycuse's Ron Mills gestured toward the shared interest of the IWA and ENGOs in stripping FCCL of TFL 46 to encourage employment and ecosystem sustainability over short-term profit. In February, MacBlo shuttered its TFL 44 Franklin-Cameron division near Nitinat, laying off over 400 workers. Representatives stated that FCCL had no "death wish" for TFL 46 sawmilling, but the firm laid off an additional 40 at Youbou and 154 in a Renfrew-Caycuse logging division amalgamation, projecting that by

[221] With its own land-use process, Clayoquot Sound was not part of the CORE mandate, leading environmentalists to question whether the Vancouver Island roundtable had sufficient purview to ensure comprehensive regional ecological sustainability; Glenn Bohn, "Walbran Valley a Top Item on List of Wilderness Areas to be Protected," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 21, 1992; Glenn Bohn, "Owen to tackle logging disputes: Land use plan takes peaceful approach," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 22, 1992; Miller quoted in Glenn Bohn, "Clearcutting Contention Deferred to Higher Ground," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 22, 1992; "18-month deferral for Walbran logging," *Lake News,* Jan 22, 1992; Lora Grindlay and Brian Kieran, "Harcourt unveils plan to bring forest peace: NDP sets moratorium on logging in three controversial areas," *The Province,* Jan 22, 1992; Dan Graham, "A Good Compromise," *Monday Magazine,* Jan 30-Feb 5, 1992.

1994, fibre supply constraints would limit Youbou to about 159 days of work, two-thirds of a full year.[222] The long-anticipated death of the Youbou sawmill had begun.

With livelihoods at stake, loggers resented environmentalists' ever-growing demands, although early 1992 witnessed some attempts at dialogue. To raise awareness of the Walbran and open channels of communication with workers, an ENGO coalition led a 200-kilometre walk from the Walbran to Victoria. On February 12, the march, numbering about 40, arrived in Youbou at the 4 p.m. shift change. Tensions ran high, with *Lake News* contributor Edna Slater noting "a punch or two" from workers before the sides sat down to talk, finding little common ground beyond contempt for FCCL. Two days later, the walkers debated 35 residents, including some SIFA signatories, at a press-barred event in Lake Cowichan.[223] In the end, the walk inspired little hope in workers that activists could, or cared, to ameliorate the deindustrialization of Cowichan Lake.

FCCL officials met with Youbou millworkers in March to address bitterness over layoffs, blaming high costs, weak markets, and preservation-induced log shortages. Dan Gelz explained that FCCL's Cowichan operation had lost $9 million annually the preceding two years, but Routley cited the long history of mismanagement and clearcutting in precipitating the unfolding crisis. After "all these promises over the over the years of sustainability," he told the *Sun*, people felt "lied to and cheated." Routley hosted a community meeting at Lake Cowichan Centennial Hall later that month that attracted over 500 people, including Dan Miller. Routley demanded that government take steps to protect "wilting communities" in the Cowichan Valley by investing in silviculture and re-orienting the TFL system toward community stability. IWA members wanted "job creation," not "handouts," he declared to thunderous applause. With Miller noncommittal, the

[222] *Lake News* editorial, Jan 22, 1992; R. Mills, "Frustrated with forest company," *Lake News,* Jan 29, 1992; "No death wish," *Lake News,* Feb 5, 1992; "Jobs lost by 20 in area," *Lake News,* Feb 19, 1992; "Clause needed to preserve jobs," *Lake News,* Feb 26, 1992.
[223] "Walbran Walkers—Someone breaks window of house where they stay," *Lake News,* Feb 19, 1992; Slater quoted in "Walbran walkers meet with Youbou mill workers," *Lake News,* Feb 19, 1992; *Lake News* editorial, Feb 19, 1992.

meeting did little other than show the "human agony of job uncertainty," wrote the *Lake News.* Youbou reopened in May after another fibre-shortage-induced closure, but so did retraining centers in Duncan and Lake Cowichan.[224] While angry with preservationists, most Cowichan Valley residents chiefly blamed their precarious economic future on corporations and government.

As FCCL and the Cowichan Valley grappled with the fallout from and first round of NDP land-use strategies, spring brought further upheaval as Socred-initiated planning processes wound down. FRC Commissioner Sandy Peel reiterated the alarm he raised in 1991 about unsustainable forest practices, suggesting that BC needed to triple its silvicultural investment, reallocate huge amounts of wood toward value-added production, and *halve* provincial AAC. Harcourt called such a reduction a "doomsday scenario" for resource communities. Avoiding such extremes, the NDP prepared to significantly change the tack of BC forestry. On April 7, the party released a five-year provincial forest management plan to accompany CORE which called for harvest level reviews, a major inventory update, the shelving of the FRC after it concluded its mandate by submitting advice on a Forest Practices Code framework, and detailed analyses of conflict areas.[225]

Work along that line was already underway by the WLAC and Carmanah Forest Management Advisory Committee (CFMAC), which suggested hydrological studies, smaller clearcut openings, and ongoing multi-departmental monitoring to retain old-growth "attributes" in Carmanah that same April. The CFMAC concluded that Upper Carmanah had "negligible recreation opportunities," that "Natives" had no widespread antipathy to logging and therefore,

[224] "Forest company meets with workers," *Lake News,* Mar 18, 1992; Gelz and Routley quoted in Ben Parfitt, "South Island forest jobs face axe: Fletcher cites high costs, reduction in allowable cut," *Vancouver Sun,* Mar 14, 1992; "Fletcher Layoffs," *Globe and Mail*, Mar 21, 1992; "150 logging jobs lost; 200 Youbou millworkers face layoff," *Times*-Colonist, Mar 20, 1992; Routley quoted in "Loggers demand answers for lay-offs," *Lake News,* Mar 25, 1992; "Standing room only," *Lake News,* Mar 25, 1992; *Lake News* editorial Mar 25, 1992; "Pullinger committed to woods' jobs," *Lake News*, Mar 25, 1992; "Co. says—It's back to work for some employees," *Lake News,* Apr 8, 1992.
[225] Harcourt quoted in Vaughn Palmer, "Peel's Alarm: We Should be Listening," *Vancouver Sun,* May 8, 1992; BCEN, "Forest Management Goals Outlined in Five-year Plan," *Eco-Chips* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1992).

MacBlo ought to employ Indigenous loggers where possible pending resolution of the Nuu-chah-nulth land claim. Yet a *Monday Magazine* poll found that 75 percent of 1,800 respondents from Victoria to as far abroad as the UK supported preserving the entire valley. With the valley constructed by ENGOs as a wilderness paradise, the committees' focus on "attributes" rather than intact ecosystems met predictable preservationist scorn.[226]

The focus on old-growth attributes extended to the processes funnelling information to CORE. Falling somewhat short of a true ecosystem perspective, the OGS, for example, called for significant steps to ensure the sustainability of "a full spectrum of old growth values," not expansive regional ecosystems. On May 6, the NDP amalgamated Parks and Wilderness for the '90s and the OGS into the Protected Areas Strategy (PAS), which along with new Biodiversity Strategy—intended to advise on protecting species and genetic diversity—joined CORE as major NDP sustainable development vehicles. The PAS mandate was to expand protected areas beyond recreation or conservation needs to address "the full level of biological, natural, and cultural heritage resources," evidence that despite the somewhat circumscribed old-growth preservation goals, ecological sensibilities had made serious inroads into NDP policy.[227] During the first half of 1992, then, the NDP made slow, if steady, moves toward reforming forest practices, but rejected Peel's call for further, drastic AAC reductions and, by allowing companies to "log around" old-growth deferral areas, steeled the resolve of activists to take direct action.

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[226] CFMAC, *Forest Management in the Upper Carmanah Valley: Recommendations of the Public Advisory Council submitted to the Minister of Forests* (March 1992), vii-xii, xxi, 16-17, 43-45, BC Leg. Library, BC C3294 D: F67 1992; Tom Henry, "Up a tree without a rope: a new plan for clearcuts in the Upper Carmanah," *Monday Magazine,* April 16-22, 1992; Tom Henry, "Carmanah logging: public says no, NDP says yes," *Monday Magazine,* May 14-20, 1992; Tom Henry, "Carmanah: getting the message to Miller," *Monday Magazine,* May 21-27, 1992.

[227] BC, MoF, MoELP "Government Unveils Protected Areas Strategy: Parks and Wilderness Plan detailed," press release May 6, 1992, in Parks and Wilderness for the 90's, *Towards a Protected Areas Strategy for BC,* BC Leg. Library, BC E5236 D: T682 1992; Glenn Bohn and Ben Parfitt, "Harcourt attacks 'doomsday' forest report," *Vancouver Sun,* May 7, 1992; MOF, OGS, *An Old Growth Strategy for British Columbia* (May 1992), 1-2, 33, BC Leg. Library O464 D: O64 1992; BC, Land Use Coordination Office, *A Protected Areas Strategy for British Columbia* (Victoria, 1993), 1, BC Leg. Library BC ZE D: P7632 1993; "New forestry controls taken by government," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 20, 1992; FRC, *Concluding Comments* (July 1992), 2-4, BC Leg. Library DOC BC F583 D: C66 1992.

A Monkeywrench in the Environmental Movement

As the NDP struggled to formulate land-use processes in search of consensus, circumstances in the Walbran shifted significantly with the discovery of tree spikes and sabotaged equipment in the spring of 1992, further destabilizing environmental movement coherence and hardening public attitudes toward preservationists. Violent dissent represented a pressing problem for moderate ENGOs since portrayals of the movement conflated charities like the WCWC, Sierra Club, and CFS, direct-action groups like the EYA and FOCW who facilitated non-violent civil disobedience like blockades and tree sits, and anonymous individuals nominally affiliated with Earth First!, an American-based social network that formally advocated "ecotage."

Earth First! founder Dave Foreman defined ecotage as attacks levelled "at inanimate machines and tools that are destroying life," and that therefore tree spikers had the "moral obligation" to notify authorities if their action made trees hazardous to log. "Mindless, erratic vandalism," he continued, would be both unethical and lose popular sympathy. Political philosopher Steve Vanderheiden broadly characterizes ecotage an "intermediate case between terrorism (which is always wrong) and civil disobedience (which is sometimes justified)." However, tree spikes' both real and *perceived* danger and potential for indiscriminate violence blur this distinction.[228] While Walbran ecotage harmed no one physically and came only after tactics like tree sitting and blockades failed, no one took responsibility or warned operators, endangering worker lives and livelihoods—and the reputations of ENGOs and activists, moderate or otherwise.

Latent divisions in the environmental movement deepened in the first months of 1992, first *among* ENGOs, and secondly between charity ENGOs and radical environmentalists. The initial

[228] Steve Vanderheiden, "Eco-terrorism or Justified Resistance? Radical Environmentalism and the 'War on Terror,'" *Politics & Society* 33, no. 3 (2005), 426, 438; Dave Foreman, "Strategic Monkeywrenching," in *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, 3rd ed., eds. Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood (Chico: Abbzug Press, 1993), 23-5.

schism stemmed from a November 1991 meeting between the BCEN Forest Caucus and the new NDP government. The Forest Caucus laid out preservation targets that directly informed the seven Vancouver Island deferral areas announced by the NDP in January. Part of the BCEN but not the Forest Caucus, the WCWC had different moratorium priorities and resented being linked to forests associated with lawbreaking. Paul George felt that the deferrals seemed to have been placed on areas where civil disobedience defined opposition, asking in *Monday Magazine* why the NDP failed to reward people going through "proper channels" rather than giving the "squeaky wheel" the "grease." Yet even people who supported the NDP deferral areas accused the party of misrepresenting their extent. In his typical blunt manner, Syd Haskell claimed that the NDP had "out-sleazed the Socreds," noting that in total, TFLs 44 and 46 had only 107 hectares deferred. The licences had 312 hectares of cutblocks approved for logging by 1993, including a contentious cutblock across the Glad Lake West "bridge to nowhere," the main site of 1991 animosity. The slow-going establishment of the PAS, Biodiversity Strategy, Forest Practices Code, and CORE allowed constructions of the Walbran to drift away from the initial activist framing of the area as a slice of sublime wilderness. Free-thinkers, rabble-rousers, anarchists, and those with disdain for charity ENGOs soon joined young idealists, adding to the area's association with lawbreaking and validating George's unease about associating with the increasingly radical Walbran protests.[229]

The Victoria chapter of Earth First! (Terra Prima!) soon became the face of such tactics in the Walbran. The group asserted that the environment took precedence over human society, thereby legitimating the use of extreme measures to disrupt logging. Thus, in April, when Pat

[229] Glenn Bohn, "Anti-Logging Group seen as New Tooth on Old Saw: MacBlo Allegation Sparks Feud Over Earth First!" *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 16, 1992; Glenn Bohn, "Walbran Valley a Top Item on List of Wilderness Areas to be Protected," *Vancouver Sun,* Jan 21, 1992; George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 214; Haskell and George quoted in Tom Henry, "Logging as usual: Environmentalists say they get the short end of the stick from the new government's logging deferral plan," *Monday Magazine,* Feb 13-19, 1992; Stephen Sherlock, "Talk N' Log Plan Contentious," *Monday Magazine,* Feb 27-Mar 4, 1992; correspondence with Jim Cooperman of the BCEN.

Carson Bulldozing workers contracting for MacBlo were reported to have discovered 84 tree spikes near Botley Lake, Earth First! became an obvious suspect. Although MacBlo blamed the spikes on the "unnecessarily provocative" statements made by the WCWC and CFS, both groups denounced spiking, offering $1,000 and $2,000 rewards respectively for information on spikers. In response, anonymous vandals glued the locks on the WCWC's Vancouver office and put up a wanted poster denoting Joe Foy as a traitor that read: "Responsible environmentalists work for the Earth, not for the police." Hoping to dissuade logging, and unconcerned with sullying the moderate depiction of the movement, Paul Watson declared that Earth First! had spiked 2,000 trees in the Walbran in 1990, contradicting both his statement from fall 1991 and that of an Oregon Earth First! representative. The *Lumber Worker* demanded that the Criminal Code be updated to more harshly punish the "lunatic fringe," with logger Dan Taylor calling tree spikes "nothing less" than "attempted murder." Haskell again suggested that the discovered spikes conveniently stole the news cycle from layoffs, and implied that MacBlo had the trees spiked to gain public sympathy for further injunctions. Unconvinced, Dan Miller called spiking "a deliberate attempt to cause injury or death to forest workers," not an effort to foster ecosystem-based land-use solutions.[230]

As tree spiking shattered environmentalist cohesiveness, the WCWC nearly disintegrated from within. In late April, the entire board of directors stepped down amid drastic deficits, disagreements over potential staff layoffs, and accusations that Paul George and his wife Adrianne Carr ran the group poorly. When the dust settled, Joe Foy joined George and Carr in leading the

[230] Glenn Bohn, "Loggers, activists clash over Carmanah," *Vancouver Sun,* Mar 20, 1992; Ben Parfitt, "Tree Spiking in Walbran Valley Brings Police Probe, Reward Offer," *Vancouver Sun,* Apr 9, 1992; Robert Matas, "Tree-Spiking Incident Condemned in BC," *Globe and Mail,* Apr 9, 1992; Gordon Clark, "'Terrorism' Fails," *The Province,* Apr 9, 1992; Gordon Clark, "Arming the Trees: Watson Praises Spikes," *The Province,* Apr 10, 1992; Don Hauka, "Even Radicals Condemn Tactic," *The Province,* Apr 24, 1992; Don Hauka, "War In The Walbran: Missile-Style Tree Spikes Raise Ante in Forest Fight," *The Province,* Apr 24, 1992; Glenn Bohn, "Environmentalist Spiked for Bounty," *Vancouver Sun,* Apr 24, 1992; Peggy Sue McCrae, "BC 'Wilderness' Group Offers Reward for Spiker," *Earth First! Journal* (May 1, 1992) 1, 36; Taylor quoted in "The Spike Scare," *Lumber Worker* (Jun 1992); Miller quoted in "Forest Minister, A-G call for new criminal laws to deter spikers," *Lumber Worker* (Jun 1992).

organization. The three then undertook the unenviable task of laying off half of the WCWC's staff, including Randy Stoltmann, whose desire to prepare technical forestry briefs clashed with the need to raise donations to remain solvent, a sign of the times to come. Self-sufficiency had become as necessary as robust advocacy. Thus, as Walbran radicals physically impeded logging, charity ENGOs continued their broad strategies of public education with mindsets geared toward slow, incremental change within the framework of the Canadian legal system. By so doing, their park wins would inherently validate colonial authority at the expense of Indigenous nations.[231]

The disavowal of ecotage by ENGOs did nothing to stop unidentified saboteurs. In May, Pat Carson Bulldozing discovered a total of $100,000 in damages to equipment. Two months later, debris was again dumped into Carson Bulldozing fuel tanks, 17 FOCW and Earth First! activists blockaded a Franklin River bridge, and protesters occupied MacBlo's Vancouver offices. Continued confusion about tree spiking led the CFS board to attempt a "coup" against Syd Haskell after he was incorrectly reported as having hired Bobby Arbess—now an Earth First! spokesman who denied knowledge of tree spiking but compared it to "inoculating" the forest—to carry out ecotage in the Walbran.[232] The dissonance between environmentalists who deigned to articulate their demands within the circumscribed CORE stakeholder framework and radical ecocentrists for whom compromise was equivalent to treason against the planet seemed to have become untenable. Along with the threat posed by tree spikes, these factors incited rising worker hostility and violence. The emergence of Qwa-Ba-Diwa militarism further muddled these discourses of nature, all of which remained weak ontologies competing against the hegemony of capitalist nature.

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[231] George, *Big Trees Not Big Stumps,* 137, 173-6, 222-4.

[232] "No spikes in Walbran," *Newsline* (April 1992); "Vandals strike in the Walbran," *Newsline* (May 1992); "Guards are hired after major damage in Walbran," *Lake News,* May 27, 1992; Ann Rees, "Eco-soldiers say war's on," *The Province,* Jul 12, 1992; "Spikes of death," *Lake News,* Jul 22, 1992; "Protests hit Walbran again," *Lake News,* Jul 22, 1992; Craig Piprell, "Anti-Haskell Coup Attempt," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 6-12, 1992; Syd Haskell, "Bandwagon of Controversy," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 13-19, 1992.

The State of Qwa-Ba-Diwa and the Rejection of Environmental Colonialism

While the May 1992 BCEN annual general meeting featured Indigenous speakers for the first time, alliances between ENGOs and Indigenous groups remained tenuous at best, with NTC support for the CFMAC and WLAC logging plans a clear example of Nuu-chah-nulth ambivalence to wilderness preservation. The Qwa-Ba-Diwa, whose Knighton family had participated in *Artistic Visions of an Ancient Rainforest* and the Carmanah trail opening, distanced themselves from the ENGO Carmanah Walbran campaign in favour of seeking independence from Canada and the Canadian-state-backed NTC. Peter Knighton attacked Canada's $9 million compensation payment to the "Ditidaht Indian Act band" for the transfer of Pacific Rim guardianship as illegitimate, citing historical sources from the Canadian government and oral history that showed that the Qwa-Ba-Diwa had not been considered part of the Ditidaht political grouping until being relocated to Nitinat Lake in the 1930s. Knighton's three-year quest to assert Qwa-Ba-Diwa authority over Carmanah Walbran hinged on challenging "the perception that Carmanah refers to a valley of old-growth trees, not a culture and people with the hereditary responsibility of guarding the area," he told *Monday Magazine.* He even pleaded his case to the United Nations human rights tribunal in Geneva in May 1992, calling on the court to stop Carmanah Walbran ecocide and Qwa-Ba-Diwa genocide. Citing inadequate evidence, however, Canadian Environment Minster Jean Charest rejected the Qwa-Ba-Diwa claim, pushing Knighton toward more aggressive tactics.[233]

A small, if vocal subset of youth activism in Carmanah had devoted energy toward the Qwa-Ba-Diwa decolonization movement since 1991. For example, UVic student and Walbran arrestee John Shafer wrote to *Monday Magazine* that he opposed logging on "unceded

[233] James Mackinnon, "But whose forest is it?" *Monday Magazine,* Jun 11-17, 1992; Eric Plummer, "Carmanah, My Carmanah: Peter Knighton leaves behind a legacy of advocacy for his territory," *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Jul 6, 2018; Knighton, *Carmanah and Her Hereditary Guardians,* 6-9; Knighton "Ecocide as Genocide Declaration," May 29, 1992, http://sisis.nativeweb.org/sov/ecogen1.html and http://sisis.nativeweb.org/sov/ecogen2.html, accessed Jun 2019;

unsurrendered native territory." Knighton appreciated the attention brought to the area by ENGOs but described their support for Qwa-Ba-Diwa rights as "hot air." In a widely disseminated letter, Knighton expressed "profound disillusionment" with Joe Foy and the WCWC for "cashing in" on the name Carmanah to "promote its own bureaucratic empire building" while doing "nothing to stop the genocide of native people," instead serving as "part of the power structure that pretends the *Forest Act* applies." In a July edition of the Indigenous newspaper *Windspeaker,* he expressed his respect for "the persons, whoever they are, who have spiked the trees in the Walbran valley of my country, Carmanah." He felt that spikes contributed to stopping the "ongoing genocide" in the area, and in doing so, might "save more lives than they place at risk." In August, Knighton, his wife Monique, and a few activists blocked the main road from Caycuse to the Walbran near McLure Lake, which the *Lake News* framed as merely a gambit to acquire part of the $9 million land settlement granted to the Ditidaht. In fact, it was an attempt to reorient forest use in accordance with Qwa-Ba-Diwa values and stop harvesting the "log around" cutblocks immediately adjacent to the deferral area, including one past the "bridge to nowhere."[234]

While Walbran radicalism produced a muddy narrative and threatened to taint the entire environmental movement with ecoterrorism, Clayoquot Sound activism began to dominate War in the Woods discourse, attracting many of the more moderate Walbran activists. On August 26, Christine Lowther returned to the Walbran after spending much of the summer in Clayoquot. A logging road had replaced the Emerald Pool trail, forking to a pile of rubble and a clearcut. Slash, half-finished boardwalks, and haphazard new trails ruined the area's "pristine" character. Logging

[234] "Natives stay out of Walbran fight," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 22-28, 1991; "Raising the stakes in the Walbran," Aug 22-28, 1991; John Shafer, "Grafting a New Tree in the Old Forest," *Monday Magazine,* Aug 22-28, 1991; Peter Knighton, letter "RE: 'War in the Walbran': Headline A1, April 24, 1992, *The Province,*" UVic Sierra Club fonds, 1995-006, Box 8, Folder 31; Peter Knighton, "Clear-cutting contributes to genocide," *Windspeaker,* Jul 6, 1992; Craig Piprell, "Walbran camera angles: Licensing the Public," *Monday Magazine,* Jun 11-17, 1992; "$9.2 million stirs trouble in Walbran," *Lake News,* Aug 26, 1992.

and "wreck-reation" elicited disgust from the ecocentric Christine. Later, in the injunction zone illegally after having been arrested in Clayoquot, she hid in the bushes, observing the arrest of an activist dangling on a log off a bridge on the road to Botley Lake. A proponent of decolonization, the activist claimed to be a "protected citizen" of the "State of Qwa-Ba-Diwa" during his trial.[235]

With blockades only delaying logging, Indigenous activists took more extreme steps to challenge colonial authority. The Qwa-Ba-Diwa independence movement ramped up in summer 1992 with the arrival of Mohawk Terry DeLine. Bringing experience from Oka, DeLine used his West Vancouver apartment as a Qwa-Ba-Diwa "ministry," issuing passports, work visas, and citizenship documents for the nation. The NTC responded by threatening to ban Knighton's supporters from the Ditidaht band list and reserve services, prompting Qwa-Ba-Diwa living in Ditidaht to abandon his cause. On October 8, unnamed men broke into the Qwa-Ba-Diwa "ministry," stole phones, equipment, a computer, and put a gun to DeLine's head. Undaunted, DeLine predicted violence in the Walbran if the Qwa-Ba-Diwa claim did not receive the appropriate respect. However, shortly after an October *Monday Magazine* article hailing the "new nation on Vancouver Island," DeLine perished after his boat capsized en route to Knighton's cabin at Carmanah Point. An increasingly isolated Knighton would carry on, but the Qwa-Ba-Diwa independence movement that had promised a true war in the Walbran sank with DeLine's boat.[236]

In April 1993, the NDP announced that parts of Clayoquot Sound would be logged, inciting mass protests for three months that resulted in over 800 arrests. In contrast to Walbran activism, stricter planning let people from all walks of life feel comfortable participating in direct action,

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[235] Lowther, *A Cabin in Clayoquot,* 22-4; "Hunger strikers protest imprisonment," *Monday Magazine,* Sep 24-30, 1992; Sarah Pralle, *Branching Out, Digging In: Environmental Advocacy and Agenda Setting* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2006), 90-3.

[236] Stuart Hunter, "Vancouver Island 'Nations' Seek Ties," *The Province,* Aug 23, 1992; "Status Issue for Prisoner," *The Province,* Sep 22, 1992; James Mackinnon, "A new nation on Vancouver Island," *Monday Magazine,* Oct 22-28, 1992; James Mackinnon, "Carmanah Leader dies at point," *Monday Magazine,* Oct 29-Nov 4, 1992; James MacKinnon, "Judge Won't Budge for Christmas," *Monday Magazine,* Dec 17-23, 1992.

casting the preservation movement as reasonable rather than radical. While settler activists in Clayoquot risked trammelling Indigenous rights by advocating new parks, the Nuu-chah-nulth were major players in the land-use decision-making process. Such was not the case in Carmanah Walbran, with Peter Knighton's campaign swallowed by the discursive tidal wave of CORE.[237]

In a July 1993 interview with UVic student radio, Knighton explained that environmentalists had only just come to the "very edge" of the land claim issue. For too long Indigenous people had been portrayed as "in the way" of a preoccupation with "changing resources into dollars," he asserted, and any environmental movement needed to consider the sovereignty of unceded territory. In a 1995 interview, Pacheedaht band member Harriet Nahanee said Canadians "took our culture…our spine," breaking a cycle that had perpetuated her people and the environment for 50,000 years. She hoped for an "Aboriginal Malcolm X to put some pride back into these lost souls." In short, both called for significant change from all Canadians, including environmentalists.[238] Such revolutionary discussions of coloniality would not be soon forthcoming, however, as Indigenous interests remained but one stake among many in the eyes of the BC state, one the NDP intended to integrate into the CORE consensus process.

Beyond AAC cuts and temporary harvest deferrals, through summer 1993 NDP governance showed considerable continuity with the Socred years. Land-use strategies and CORE promised a comprehensive resolution of resource fights, ENGOs lobbied and educated, blockades

[237] Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest,* 1-2; Karen Charleson, "Parks: Another Insult to Natives," *Globe and Mail,* Jan 15, 1993; James Mackinnon, "Clayoquot: Natives Left Out," *Monday Magazine,* May 6-12, 1993; Glenn Bohn, "California Worker Seriously Injured in 1987, Police Say," *Vancouver Sun,* Apr 16, 1993.
[238] CFUV interviews, "Voices of Resistance," transcribed by John Shafer and Chris Vance in *All That's Left is Struggle* (Victoria: 1995): Peter Knighton, Qwa-Ba-Diwa nation, (Jul 1993), http://sisis.nativeweb.org/sov/allqwa.html, accessed Jul 2019; Harriet Nahanee, Pacheedaht nation (Jul 1995), http://sisis.nativeweb.org/sov/allnahan.html, accessed Jul 2019; *Monday Magazine* letters and editorials often championed the Qwa-Ba-Diwa cause: John Shafer, "Vested Interests Conflicting," *Monday Magazine,* Feb 6-12, 1992; Roger Clark, "Favours & Funds & White Values," *Monday Magazine,* Feb 20-26, 1992; James Mackinnon, "But whose forest is it?" *Monday Magazine,* Jun 11-17, 1992; Craig Piprell, "Walbran camera angles: Licensing the Public," *Monday Magazine,* Jun 11-17, 1992.

and intermittent ecotage continued, and multinationals accumulated assets in a manner that disregarded rural concerns. In December 1992, Fletcher Challenge acquired the remaining assets of Crown Forest Industries from Canadian Forest Products for $897 million and began a process to formally merge the company with FCCL.[239] Youbou became an even smaller part of a corporate empire which continued to offer dubious assurances that the mill would continue running.

Ecotage, however, had become inextricably linked to the Walbran and, while slowing its destruction for the moment, weakened support for ecocentric constructions of nature by alienating ENGOs like the WCWC and most British Columbians. The overlapping, problematic, disputed "natures" of the Walbran did not fit idyllic environmentalist narratives, rational lumbering narratives, nor even decolonization narratives, contributing to its eventual divided fate. Compared to the adjacent Carmanah—*the* symbol of south island preservation—the Walbran was less special, and of low priority given CORE's mandate to retain ecosystems underrepresented in parks.

CORE: Seeking Consensus and *A 2020 Vision for Vancouver Island*

The 18-month CORE process revolved around compartmentalized regional stakeholder roundtables with mandates to find consensus recommendations on a wide variety of forest issues, including determining which areas to be protected to meet the 12 percent preservation target. Each Table was to submit a report to Commissioner Owen, who would then suggest policy changes to government on how to ensure the sustainability of environmental, economic, and social systems.

After preliminary public meetings in the spring to determine appropriate stakeholders, the Vancouver Island Round Table began deliberating in August 1992 with a focus on new regulatory initiatives and parks, not overhauling tenure or management structures. Its 14 "sectors" represented agriculture, fisheries, mining, social and economic stability, youth, general employment, direct

[239] "Won't sell Youbou mill," *Lake News,* Nov 11, 1992; Robert Williamson, "Fletcher Canada Deal Eases Parent's Woes," *Globe and Mail,* Dec 15, 1992; "Fletcher Challenge buys CFP's lands and mills," *Lake News,* Dec 23, 1992.

forest employment, forest industry independents, forest managers and manufacturers, local government, provincial government, outdoor recreation, tourism, and conservation. Each had one seat save for the conservation sector, which felt that three seats were required to "effectively represent the diversity of interests within the conservation community" that included over 150 ENGOs (*not* counting groups like Terra Prima! or the FOCW). Although CORE was committed, nominally, to increase Indigenous involvement in land-use planning, it offered little incentive for Indigenous participation. While occasionally participating in Table meetings, most nations rejected invitations since ongoing land claims made their stake in the outcome much different than that of other stakeholders. Indeed, they rejected the very idea of being "stakeholders."[240]

With Vancouver Island already having over 10 percent of its area designated as parks, the conservation sector had to significantly diminish the most ardent demands of its constituents, a sign that reconciling ecocentric and industrial views of appropriate forest (non-)use would be a tall, if not impossible order. The most strident conservationists demanded upwards of 33 percent protection, but the sector's official stance called for 18 percent, in consideration of the 12 percent target steadfastly held by industry and workers representatives. In interviews with sector representatives conducted for her master's thesis, Mae Burrows heard many say that the Table had subordinated substantive issues to "process oriented" discussions. The mediators, both lawyers, "contained" conflict instead of allowing open discussion over areas like Carmanah Walbran, which often got bogged down in theoretical debates rather than the specifics of land-use designations.[241]

Despite nominal progress and fruitful discussions, the Table's short, one-year time frame, expansive, difficult mandate, and the significant ontological differences of stakeholders proved

[240] *Vancouver Island Land Use Plan,* Vol. III (Victoria: CORE, Feb 1994), 13.
[241] Mae Burrows, "Consensus Negotiation: Conflict Resolution or Containment, Vancouver Island CORE: a Case Study," (Master's Thesis, SFU, 1996), 50-1, 110-1; Paul George *Big Trees Not Big Stumps*, 177; "CORE inches towards land use solutions," *Newsline* (Apr 1993); Saul Arbess interview; Vancouver Island CORE Regional Planning Table, "A 2020 Vision for Vancouver Island," May 13, 1993, in *Vancouver Island Land Use Plan,* Vol. III (Feb 1994), 8-9, 13 and Appendix One, *Conservation Sector Statement of Accountability and Authority* (Updated Dec 8, 1993).

too much to overcome, and the body disbanded without having reached consensus by the August 31, 1993 deadline. The only document to emerge from the process with unilateral sector support was the insubstantial "2020 Vision for Vancouver Island," which placed "the highest values on the health and well-being of the land, communities, and people of our region," and sought sustainable "balance in all things" including employment, ecosystems, economy, and the distribution of decision-making power. As Mae Burrows argues, the incommensurability of anthropocentric, industrialist worldviews and ecocentric, environmentalist worldviews meant that "the dominant interests" of the state and corporations stood the most to gain from an inherently quixotic "consensus" process. Interest groups, she concluded, would be better off devoting their time and energy to public education and advocacy rather than stakeholder processes like CORE, which only serve to "contain debate."[242] In short, the framework restricted the degree to which ecological sustainability could be conceived, let alone achieved.

Cobbled together from the non-consensus Table report, CORE Commissioner Stephen Owen's Vancouver Island report came out on February 10, 1994, doing nothing whatsoever to resolve the War in the Woods. Owen recommended that protected areas be increased from 10.3 to 13 percent of the Vancouver Island land base—including all of Carmanah, Hitchie Creek in Nitinat, and unspecified parts of the Walbran—and that an additional 8 percent be designated as regionally significant "corridors" to be logged in a manner that did not compromise ecosystem, cultural, or recreational values. The Central Walbran, eventually called Special Management Zone (SMZ) 21, would become one such area. Having failed to satisfy industry, workers, and environmentalists, Owen defended the plan as "a path to economic, environmental and social sustainability," expressing a naïve hope that the forthcoming compensation to companies for lost

[242] "IWA pulls out of CORE meetings," *Lake News,* Dec 1, 1993; Kim Pollock, "Island CORE Table process winds up without answers," *Lumber Worker* (Dec 1993); Judith Lavoie, "CORE Chief Awaits Hot Seat as Logging Report Released," *Times-Colonist,* Feb 6, 1994; Burrows, "Consensus Negotiation," 111.

tenures would be invested in sustainable employment to offset the projected loss of 900 to 1,500 jobs.[243]

Owen knew his Walbran parkland proposal would directly impact Youbou, with the mill projected to lose 80,000 of its 280,000-cubic-metre AAC. Yet he argued that the mill's inevitable restructuring or closure had been a long time coming, suggesting that the solution was to invest in re-employing workers in silviculture projects. TimberWest, a new Fletcher Challenge subsidiary spun off from FCCL and Crown Forest Industries solid wood product assets, declared that a $4.4-million mill-modernization plan depended on the fate of the Walbran. Pressure tactic or not, as the *Sun*'s Gordon Hamilton noted, TimberWest portrayed no such uncertainty to investors, having promised in its Dec 1, 1993 prospectus that log exports from private timberlands would mitigate the short-term impact of expected public timber loss.[244] The financial compensation to companies for tenure lost to parkland further ensured investment returns, not regional employment levels.

CORE's fallout was concentrated in resource communities adjacent to new protected areas, working families finding no solace in company tenure compensation packages. Ken McRae of the Canadian Paperworkers Union told the *Sun* that forest workers facing layoffs were the real "endangered species." IWA-Canada vice president and Vancouver Island CORE Table direct employment representative Warren Ulley attacked Owen for prioritizing sustainable environments over sustainable communities. Rather than a transition plan, he argued, BC needed a "disaster plan" with compensation for unemployed workers. If not, CORE's solution would be like "a solid-gold alarm clock that you know won't likely ring: It might look great, but it's not much use." People

[243] Owen quoted in in Judith Lavoie, "Island Chilled to CORE," *Times-Colonist,* Feb 10, 1994; Judith Lavoie, "Loggers Fearing Grave Job Losses Promise to Fight Back," *Times-Colonist,* Feb 10, 1994; Glenn Bohn and Keith Baldrey, "Plan to Stop Tree Wars Calls for 23 Parks: Environment Commission Proposal Gets Split Reaction," *Vancouver Sun,* Feb 10, 1994; Les Leyne, "CORE Puts all Carmanah, Walbran Under Protection," *Times-Colonist,* Feb 10, 1994.

[244] Judith Lavoie, "Youbou Workers Fighting to Save Town, Way of Life," *Times-Colonist,* Feb 11, 1994; Gordon Hamilton, "Life hellish limbo while Owen plan runs its course," *Vancouver Sun,* Feb 26, 1994.

were "absolutely angry," Youbou's Les Klughart relayed to the *Times-Colonist,* asserting that the Walbran was "our valley and our forest," the state having "no right to take it away from us." Jake Waldner, a Youbou millworker since 1975, told the *Sun* that despite 19-years of seniority, he could not retain a job. In five years of repeated layoffs, he had lost his home, his wife, and his family. "If they do shut this mill down, they might as well shoot me," he lamented, "What else is there for me. I have worked all my life in the mills." Similar sentiments inspired mayors, small business owners, union leaders, and company managers to unite under the banner of the Vancouver Island Community Coalition. Devoted to opposing preservationist overreach, the organization hosted regional rallies and meetings opposing CORE, with those in Port Alberni and Campbell River each attracting over 1,000 people. Worker discontent with CORE climaxed in a 15,000- to 20,000-person rally at the Legislature on March 21 which drowned out Mike Harcourt in a chorus of boos. IWA historians Andrew Neufeld and Andrew Parnaby depict the protest as a response to perceived government betrayal and the moment that the union lost all faith in land-use compromise.[245]

In a background of resentment engendered by blockades, ecotage, and previous harvest cutbacks, CORE incited not peaceful resolution of tension but violent clashes between loggers and environmentalists. "I figured I was going to get shot by a logger," says Haskell, who had his finger broken by a forest worker in Ucluelet. Haskell's van, routinely damaged on backroads, was once dented with a baseball bat outside of a Lake Cowichan restaurant in full view of onlookers. SIFA was long forgotten, along with the idea that the NDP could facilitate land-use consensus.[246]

Throughout, the disconnect between workers and environmentalists sprang in large part

[245] Klughart quoted in Lavoie, "Youbou Workers Fighting;" Warren Ulley, "CORE Report just Half the Story," *Times-Colonist,* Mar 16, 1994; Waldner quoted in Hamilton, "Life hellish limbo;" McRae quoted in Lavoie, "Island Chilled to CORE;" Robert Mason Lee, "15,000 Forest Workers Drown Out Premier," *Vancouver Sun,* Mar 22, 1994; Kim Pollock, "B.C. Government sends confused signal on job creation," *Lumber Worker* (Apr 1991); "20,000 protest in Victoria," *Lumber Worker* (Apr 1994); Andrew Neufeld and Andrew Parnaby, *IWA in Canada: The Life and Times of an Industrial Union* (Vancouver: New Star, 2000), 287.

[246] Haskell interview; "Haskell vehicle attacked," *Lake News,* Sep 22, 1993; Sid Tafler, "The missing video," *Monday Magazine,* Mar 24-30, 1994; Hamilton, "Life hellish limbo."

from the difference between anthropocentric and ecocentric ontologies. The WCWC's Alison Spriggs told *The Province* that an acceptable CORE report could not be produced on the principle of "balancing" economic and environmental values. "They have to realize that the ecology is the underpinning of everything," she argued, elaborating the ecocentric ontology that alienated workers dependent on the forest harvest and why preservation of the entire Carmanah watershed failed to engender environmentalist gratitude or put a stop to direct action in the Central Walbran. In April 1994, as Central Walbran logging continued, a radicalized version of this ontology informed a Terra Prima! protest camp established in solidarity with the Qwa-Ba-Diwa.[247]

With dissatisfaction the only consensus to emerge from the Vancouver Island CORE Table, the NDP cabinet had to cobble together a workable policy from Owen's report, one with added provisions for compensating workers. On June 22, Mike Harcourt announced CORE's final form, confirming that 13 percent of the Island's land base would be protected—the rest open to industry of various levels of "intensity"—and called on "extremists" on both sides to abide by the compromise. Promising a five-year, $2 billion Forest Renewal BC Plan, Harcourt claimed that 1,000 new jobs in value-added manufacturing and silviculture would offset jobs lost due to fibre reduction. The measure underwhelmed workers hoping for wholesale tenure reform and community stability guarantees, and new Liberal leader Gordon Campbell predicted the loss of 3,500 jobs over five years. Though Vicky Husband argued that environmentalists had compromised significantly from their initial 33 percent proposal, journalist Brian Kieran concluded that the well-being of Vancouver Island communities meant less to the NDP than the appeasement of the powerful environmental lobby. Many Islanders north of Victoria agreed.

[247] Spriggs quoted in Barbara McLintock, "Forestry Plan Sets Off Storm," *The Province,* Feb 10, 1994; Frank Walker, "Do we live in a soap opera world?" *Lake News,* Feb 23, 1994; Denis Martel, "Wake up people! It's our jobs and our future," *Lake News,* Feb 23, 1994; Syd Haskell, "More chop and talk," *Times-Colonist,* Mar 25, 1994; Judith Lavoie, "Anti-logging forces start protest season with Walbran picket," *Times-Colonist,* Apr 29, 1994.

Moreover, the NDP retraining initiatives gave little hope to older workers. "I'm a truck driver now, 44 years old," stated Al Kyle from Alberni, "Am I supposed to be up the back end of some valley planting trees when I'm 50? What the hell am I going to be doing?"[248]

Similar questions were being asked at Cowichan Lake. While TimberWest decided to invest in Youbou mill upgrades after all, and Harcourt announced establishment of a Lake Cowichan Community Forest totalling a meagre 3,200 hectares of Crown land, few saw a rosy future for the area. Sustainable development planning as carried out by CORE had, like sustained yield, promised more than it could deliver, and remained rooted in corporate perspectives that saw communities like those at Cowichan Lake, and the environments sustaining them, as disposable.[249]

In May 2000, TimberWest temporarily closed the Youbou mill, preparing to sell its Cowichan lumber operations and TFL 46. Corporate consultants concluded that TimberWest was "justified in closing the mill," but that under certain circumstances an operation might continue at Youbou. Such circumstances did not arrive. The appurtenancy clause linking the mill to TFL 46 had been surreptitiously or mistakenly removed during the licence renewal in 1997, much to the confusion and outrage of Cowichan Valley residents. The mill closed permanently on January 26,

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[248] Vicky Husband, "For Environmentalists, CORE a Huge Compromise," *Times-Colonist,* Jun 3, 1994; Keith Baldrey, "Carmanah, Walbran 'To Be Preserved'," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 21, 1994; Brian Kieran, "NDP Gov't has an Axe to Grind," *The Province,* Jun 21, 1994; Keith Baldrey and Glenn Bohn, "Forests Plan: Jeers, Cheers, Fears: Premier to Visit Affected Communities," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 23, 1994; Judith Lavoie, "Green Light Given to Core of CORE Plan," *Times-Colonist,* Jun 23, 1994; Gordon Hamilton, "In the Kyle Home, the Premier was Talking about Al's Job," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 23, 1994; Judith Lavoie, "Premier's Promise of Jobs in Woods Finds Skepticism in Forestry," *Times-Colonist,* Jun 24, 1994; Les Leyne and Judith Lavoie, "Land-use Plan Elicits both Fury, Resignation," *Times-Colonist,* Jun 23, 1994; Miro Cernetig, "B.C. Park Plan Will Idle Loggers: Harcourt Says Province must Yield to Global Pressures on Harvesting," *Globe and Mail,* Jun 23, 1994; "Land-use Plan Signals Time for Gripes to End," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 24, 1994; Glenn Bohn, "NDP Says Three-Pronged Plan Will make Forest Industry Stronger," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 28, 1994; "B.C. forest renewal fund vows jobs, environmental protection: $2 billion to be spent on new plan over next 5 years," *Lumber Worker* (Jun 1994); "Vancouver Island land use plan: IWA vows to hold government to its word," *Lumber Worker* (Jun 1994); Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 264-84.

[249] "TimberWest modernization to cost 160 jobs at Youbou," *Vancouver Sun,* May 12, 1994; Norman Gidney, "Youbou Mill Gets $4.4-Million Facelift," *Times-Colonist,* May 13, 1994; Gordon Hamilton, "Going to Lose My Job, Logger Says: Harcourt Hears Plan's Downside," *Vancouver Sun,* Jun 25, 1994; "Premier Harcourt says he recognizes need for stable log supply for the Youbou mill," *Lake News,* Jun 29, 1994; "TimberWest Forest Ltd. Land-Use Policy Changes," *PR Newswire,* Jun 27, 1994.

2001, ending 200 jobs and seven decades of sawmilling. To the eternal chagrin of IWA 1-80, the provincial court refused to reinstate the appurtenancy clause and a proposed investigation into the closure went nowhere, allowing TimberWest to complete the sale of TFL 46 to the Surrey-based Teal-Jones Forest Ltd. in 2004.[250] Today, large, lake-front residences occupy the former mill site, most purchased by newcomers, and logs—when profitable to harvest—leave the area for milling.

In a 2002 *Cowichan Valley Citizen* article, CVRD Area E regional director Loren Duncan critiqued the laissez-faire policy approach that promoted log exports. Rejecting the argument that free market competition benefitted the surrounding community, Duncan described the "invisible hand" as "cold and dark upon our throats, choking the life out of our workplaces, picking our pockets, stealing our future, stabbing our backsides, corrupting not creating wealth" in the Cowichan Valley.[251] In short, the new millennium began a harsh new era in regional economics.

The Persistence of British Columbia's Capitalist Nature

The widespread resentment to CORE from workers and environmentalists should not obscure the real, if short-lived, NDP amendments to BC forest policy and significant park

[250] *Youbou Sawmill Analysis and Evaluation Executive Summary*, undertaken for the MoF, prepared by Peter Drake, Doug Ruffle, Jim McWilliams, and Barry Ellwood (Victoria: Peter Drake and Associates, May-Jun 2000), 7, UVic Microfilm, J103 C3M5 100-07126; Andrew Costa, "Millworkers Say TimberWest 'holding a Gun to our Heads'," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* May 10, 2000; Mike Lees, "Youbou Mill Companies Won't Face Employees," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Jun 7, 2000; Carla Wilson and Gerard Young, "Mill Closure Jolts Youbou Family: 'It Rips Your Heart Out,' Says Third-Generation Worker, Father of a New Baby," *Times-Colonist,* Oct 26, 2000; "TimberWest to Close Mill, 230 Jobs at Risk," *Globe and Mail,* Oct 27, 2000; Andrew Costa, "Province Stonewalling IWA Effort to Learn Truth about Youbou Mill," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Dec 27, 2000; Andrew Costa, "It's 'Business as Usual' as Youbou Mill Counts Down to Friday," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Jan 24, 2001; Brian Wilford, "Oops. Oh Well, it was Only Youbou," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Jan 28, 2001; Andrew Costa, "Mill + TFL a mere $33 million: IWA has $1 million," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Jan 28, 2001; Andrew Costa, "'Bombshell' may Save Mill: Documents show Tree Farm Licence Still Tied to Youbou, IWA Says," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Jan 28, 2001; "British Columbia: Ex-Mill Workers Protest," *National Post,* Jan 30, 2001; Bill Routley, "Youbou Mill Abandoned for Log Exports," *Times-Colonist,* Jan 31, 2001; Vaughn Palmer, "Youbou Workers Air their Sense of Betrayal," *Vancouver Sun,* Feb 1, 2001; Les Leyne, "Youbou Group Gets some Quality Time with Zirnhelt," *Times-Colonist,* Feb 1, 2001; Susan Danard, "Youbou Workers Take on Zirnhelt in Angry Hallway Shouting Match," *Times-Colonist,* Feb 1, 2001; Joe Hill, "Youbou has Socreds to Thank," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Feb 25, 2001; "British Columbia: Court to Decide if NDP Responsible for Sawmill Job Losses," *National Post,* Jun 22, 2001; Andrew Costa, "Province Sues TimberWest Over Youbou Mill Closure," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Nov 11, 2001.

[251] Loren Duncan, "TimberFleeced...Still Looking for Clause 7," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Jan 30, 2002; Andrew Costa, "Liberals' 'appeasement' timber policy criticized," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Feb 3, 2002; Andrew Costa, "Big Companies Win Big, Coalition Says," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Mar 30, 2003; Scott Brown, "TimberWest Selling TFL 46: 84,546-Hectare Licence being Put Up for Auction," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Sep 10, 2003.

additions. However, as Thielmann and Tollefson assert, policy legacies "blunted the impact of reform." CORE's 12 percent protected area goal was its one legally bound mandate, which inhibited genuine "interest-based negotiation" and led to acrimonious zero-sum debates. The short timeframe to consider huge areas contributed to vague, "papered-over" solutions like SMZs that allowed people to read into them what they wanted while legitimating logging in contentious areas like the Central Walbran, with community stability and job provisions added as afterthoughts.[252]

While adding a degree of "command and control" regulation, CORE did not upend BC's capitalist nature. Its focus on protecting both ecosystems and working forest reiterated BC's fundamental allegiance to market solutions to socioecological crises, contained environmentalist energy for its two-year duration, and offered resolution only on the wilderness aspect of the ecology argument. Greens won modest protected areas but failed to stimulate systemic changes to forest management. Indeed, as William Cronon argues, the preoccupation with wilderness parks relegated forest practice reform to the margins. Though envisioned as an ongoing process, CORE was shelved in favour of new planning initiatives shortly after cabinet approved the regional plans in mid-1995 and stakeholder processes have since ceased to inform land-use decisions. The Forest Practices Code, announced in mid-May 1994, was released in 1995 and enforced in 1997 after a transition period. It formalized clearcutting, riparian zone, and roadbuilding regulations, but did little to solve enforcement laxity, and operators railed against the rules, winning that battle when Gordon Campbell's Liberal government, elected in 2001, adopted a results-based policy of industry self-enforcement with the 2002 Forest and Range Practices Act.[253]

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[252] Tim Thielmann and Chris Tollefson, "Tears From an Onion: Layering, Exhaustion and Conversion in British Columbia Land Use Planning Policy," *Politics and Society* 28 (2009), 112, 116, 120; George Hoberg, "The British Columbia Forest Practices Code: Formalization and Its Effects," in ed. Michael Howlett, *Canadian Forest Policy: Adapting to Change* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2001), 349, 353, 356; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 268, 280-284; Emily Walter, "Decoding Codes of Practice: Approaches to Regulating the Ecological Impacts of Logging in British Columbia," *Journal of Environmental Law and Practice* 15, no. 2 (2005).

[253] James McCarthy and Scott Prudham, "Neoliberal Nature and the Nature of Neoliberalism," *Geoforum* 35 (2004),

Mick Smith argues that even when radical environmentalism has been taken seriously as a challenge to Marxist or liberal political theories, it has been parodied, parroted, eviscerated, and absorbed into more palatable frameworks with which it has little in common. Such was the case in Carmanah Walbran. The revolutionary demands of Earth First!ers and Qwa-Ba-Diwa sympathizers, for example, were distilled through the incremental, moderate agendas of charity ENGOs like the WCWC, Sierra Club, and the CFS into a recreational wilderness park framework with nominal and short-lived harvest practice reforms in TFLs 44 and 46 and SMZ 21. Despite CORE input, cabinet retained tight control over the land-use decisions which added 2.7 million hectares of parks by 1995. As Forest Minister David Zirnhelt explained after the NDP removed $300 million dollars from Forest Renewal BC in 1996, trampling legislation protecting the fund: "Government can do anything it wants."[254] As had always been the case in BC, governments came and went, but all respected the priorities set by the capital accumulation process.

As Freebird wrote in the *Earth First! Journal* in 1992 about the Walbran conflict:

> "One thing that we realized is that we are all individuals, all with our own peculiarities, all different, but all coming together for similar reasons. We need to understand that we need each other to fight the corporate beast. We need all the strange activists with the funky noserings; we need all the straight-looking types with the university degrees; we need the native peoples who know more about this land than any white person; we need those angry workers who know who's really screwing them around; we need everyone possible who has any idea about what's going on in this world. We need all of us and more to do battle with the multinationals and the government. We are all on the front lines in the battle to save our planet."[255]

People in BC have long understood the profit imperatives at root of rapid old-growth liquidation. In the early 1990s, the longstanding labour and ecological critiques of growth-oriented export commodity capitalism seemed to have found momentary common ground under the aegis of the NDP. Despite the destruction of the Carmanah research station, blockades from both workers and

276-7; Jeremy Wilson, "Experimentation on a Leash: Forest Land Use Planning in the 1990s," in *In Search of Sustainability*, 33-5, 47-8; Stephen Owen, "Land Use Planning in the Nineties: CORE Lessons," *Environments* 25, no. 2/3 (1998); Paul Senez, "From Protest to Participation: An Assessment of Environmental Participation in the Vancouver Island Regional Negotiation Process of the Commission on Resources and Environment" (Master's Thesis, UVic, 2002), 132-8.

[254] Mick Smith, *An Ethics of Place*, 3, 109; "Absolute Power, Absolutely Frank," *BC Report* 8, no. 6 (Oct 1996), 10-1.

[255] Freebird, "Walking for the Forests," *Earth First! Journal* 12, no. 3 (Feb 2, 1992), 8-9.

environmentalists, civil disobedience, and mysterious tree spikings, activists red and green had broadly overlapping goals: long-term sustainable land use with local decision-makers. The question of whether to log or not, however, was always and remained a fundamental sticking point, with everyone convinced that losing ground spelled the end of certain ways of life.

While nuancing typical depictions of environmental activism by focusing on civil disobedience and the role of the Qwa-Ba-Diwa decolonization movement, my research largely confirms Wilson's findings in *Talk and Log*. New conceptions of nature were forcefully and passionately articulated, and garnered unprecedented media attention, but the moderate character of CORE stakeholders and conservative "consensus" methodology restricted the degree to which the BC state and large operators like FCCL/TimberWest and MacBlo entertained dramatic changes to forest management. Predictably, Knighton's campaign to explicitly reject Canada—based on a mindset which equated forest ecocide with Qwa-Ba-Diwa genocide—was incomprehensible to processes like CORE, fundamentally rooted as they were in colonial, capitalist forests. Carmanah Walbran, then, became a symbol of bittersweet environmentalist success, and the deathblow to Cowichan Lake sawmilling, solidifying the framing of its War in the Woods as a fight about parks and jobs rather than one about the nature of nature in British Columbia.

Conclusion: Wilderness, Recreation, and Special Management in Carmanah Walbran

In winter 2018-19, one of Carmanah's Three Sisters fell in a windstorm. A viewing platform—built in 1996 by IWA 1-80 members with Forest Renewal BC funding—protects their roots from visitors' footsteps, but the impact of recreation is undeniable. With the closure of the Youbou mill, another triad—the sustainable development of economy, ecology, and society—has likewise lost one third of its constituent parts. In concluding, I draw attention to the ways that state concessions to "wilderness" conservationism finalized the deindustrialization of Cowichan Lake and did nothing to upend the long-term colonial project rooted in a capitalist conception of nature which holds forests, communities, and those who work in either as disposable assets.[256]

Despite ongoing Qwa-Ba-Diwa, Ditidaht, and Pacheedaht land claims, the Harcourt NDP responded to land-use conflict with zoning. The 1995 Vancouver Island Land Use Plan expanded Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park and created the 2615-hectare Central Walbran Special Management Zone (SMZ) 21. The park's biogeoclimatic classification—Windward Island Mountains Ecosection: Coastal Western Hemlock Submontane very wet maritime and Coastal Western Hemlock Montane very wet maritime variants—helped and hurt the case to preserve the Central Walbran. Despite being rare ecosystems regionally, provincially, and globally, Carmanah and Nitinat were arguably superior examples of the biomes, and would-be tree farms re-designated as parks. SMZ 21 offered faint hope for Youbou sawmilling, but its provisions for the protection of recreational, ecological, and cultural values (instead of, say, jobs) foreshadowed the mill's closure in 2001. Rather than foster consensus, the SMZ/park "balance" solidified the rural/urban and worker/environmentalist ontological divides manifest at blockades, distracting from corporate and state authorship of the sustained yield falldown crisis which precipitated the War in the Woods.

[256] BC Parks, IWA, Cowichan Lake Community Forest Co-operative, *RCVAN 115: Carmanah Upgrade of Trails* (1996), https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/library/FRBC1996/FRBC1996MR149.pdf, accessed July 2019.

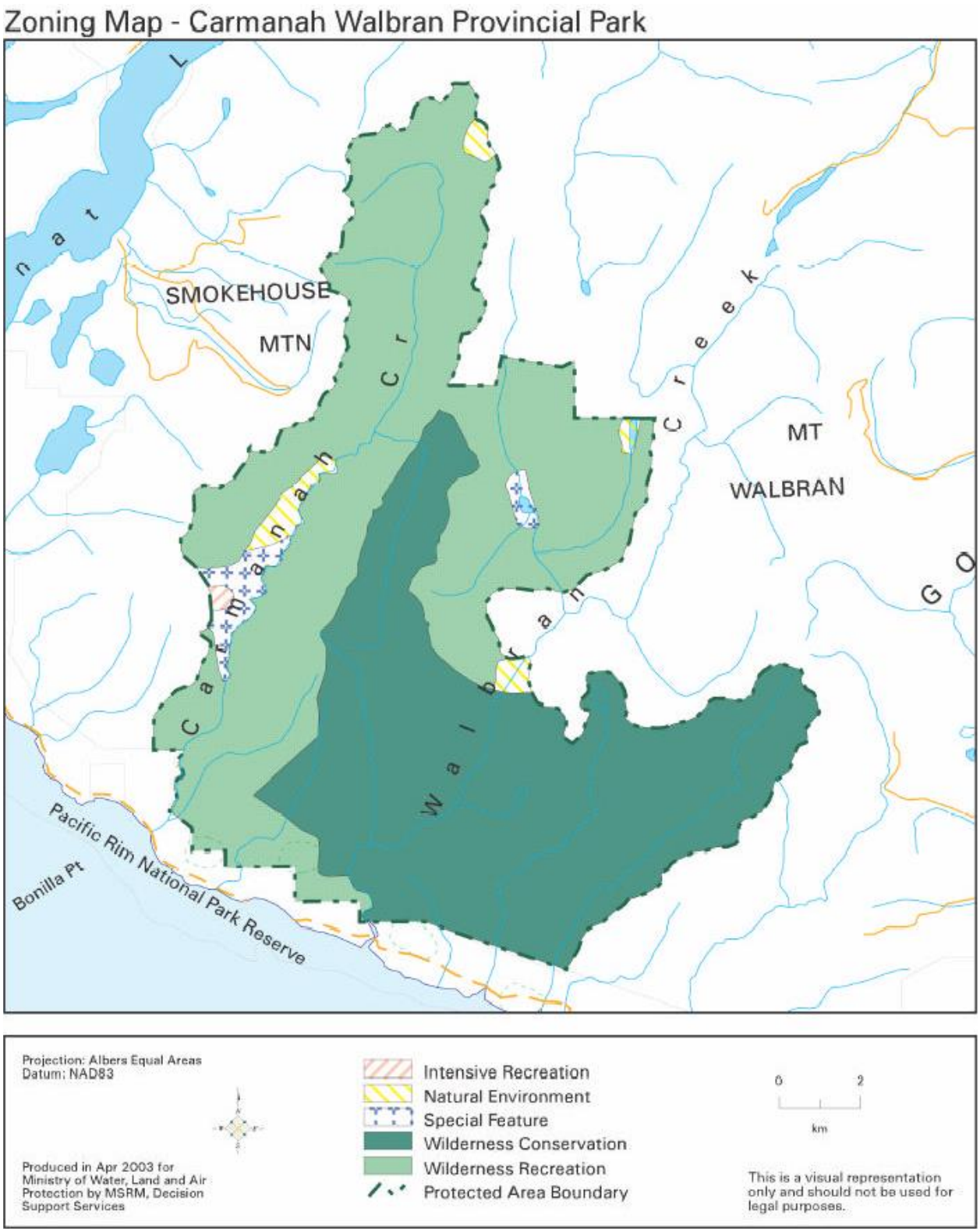

Fig. 19: Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park Zoning Map, BC Ministry of Water, Land and Air Protection, *Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park: Purpose Statement and Zoning Plan* (Sep 2003); the Natural Environment Zone covers access points and a section of the west bank of Carmanah: areas which see the highest amount of tourist traffic.

The 2003 zoning plan (Fig. 19) identifies the park's "primary" role as protecting "old-growth biodiversity values" and "unique features" of global significance such as "old growth rainforest, clear meandering streams, canyons, waterfalls, small freshwater lakes, high water quality, unique species assemblages, rare wildlife species, and floodplain groves of giant Sitka spruce." With their Sitka spruce groves, marbled murrelet nests, and Anderson Lake trout, the East Walbran (south of Botley Lake) and the West Walbran (to the border with SMZ 21 above Fletcher Falls) gained parkland designation—excluding the area around the "bridge to nowhere."[257]

The Carmanah Walbran Park Master Plan identified low-impact recreation as the park's secondary goal. The plan credited the "thousands of visitors" who "hiked and camped, voluntarily cleared trail, established research posts and lobbied" for shaping park development. Likewise, the 2003 zoning plan stated that the "wilderness park" allowed tourists from around the world to experience "the peaceful solitude and spiritual nature." By 1996, BC Parks "strongly discouraged" hiking in the Walbran and closed the Carmanah Giant trail to limit ecological degradation from recreational overuse. By 1997, BC Parks removed the Giant from the map. The park's third goal is to protect cultural resources, involving vague considerations for the Nuu-chah-nulth and a firm designation for Randy Stoltmann Commemorative Grove, an impressive stand of 80-metre tall Sitka spruce near Heaven Grove, in honour of the efforts of the "renowned conservationist."[258] In short, within the framework of capitalist nature, Carmanah Walbran became explicitly designated "wilderness," a hard-earned validation of the initial Sierra Club and WCWC campaigns. Relieving environmentalist pressure with parks, however, exacerbated the falldown crisis at Cowichan Lake.

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[257] BC Parks, MoELP, *Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park Master Plan and Background Report* (Vancouver: Doug Leavers Consulting, Oct 1996), BC Leg. Library P299S674 D: C27; BC Ministry of Water, Land and Air Protection, *Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park: Purpose Statement and Zoning Plan* (Sep 2003), 2-3.

[258] Fourthly, the park allows for research and outdoor recreation in the areas of "biodiversity, ecosystem science, and wildlife and fisheries habitat," to foster "environmental appreciation of temperate rainforest ecology," *Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park: Purpose Statement and Zoning Plan,* 2, 4; *Carmanah Walbran Park Master Plan,* 7-8, 12; BC Parks, *Carmanah Walbran Provincial Park* (1996 [1997]), BC Leg. Library P299 D: C278 1996 [1997].

The wilderness/SMZ balance crafted by the NDP at the behest of state-sanctioned charity ENGOs demonstrates that CORE's sustainable development solution restricted the extent of forest extraction but failed to penetrate the ontological grounding of the state's capitalist nature or foster local, responsible resource stewardship—an example of what Cronon calls the "trouble with wilderness." Some may see the closure of the mill as a green victory against capitalism, but this thesis shows that workers, not investors, bore the brunt of the consequences: both MacBlo and TimberWest were compensated tens of millions of dollars for lost tenures. The mill closure did not stop south island logging or uproot a capitalist forest ontology; it merely unsettled Cowichan Lake communities and gave a new wilderness playground for Victoria's "children of all ages."[259]

Chapter Summaries: Making Trails in Carmanah Walbran

This thesis has charted the development of capitalist nature in and through Carmanah Walbran from the early twentieth century to 1995, supporting Jeremy Wilson's argument that the underlying logic of resource development in British Columbia has only been moderately amended by environmentalist campaigns. In short, BC has a long historic of erudite, passionate hostility to unrestricted lumbering from Indigenous people, hunters, sportsmen, unionists, local communities, environmentalists, and individuals who defy categorization—and an equally long history of these demands being subordinated to the extractive, developmental prerogatives of state and industry.

Chapter one traced the boom-and-bust logging-based settlement of south "Vancouver Island" on unceded Nuu-chah-nulth and Coast Salish territory from the 1840s. The Fulton Commission and 1912 *Forest Act* rationalized BC's forest industry to ensure capital investment and provincial revenue but did nothing to regulate the devastation wrought by increasingly

[259] BC MoF, *Parks Settlement Agreement, MacMillan Bloedel Settlement Agreement Overview* (Apr 1999), https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/library/documents/mbparks/overview.htm, accessed Jul 2019; "TimberWest Paid $14M," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Oct 3, 2004; Lindsay Kines, "Walbran Parkland Payoff Angers Laid-Off Workers," *Times-Colonist,* Sep 28, 2004; Frank Walker, "Problem in Walbran caused by poor education offered in Lotus Land," *Lake News,* Aug 21, 1991

sophisticated logging technology. IWA 1-80 and Cowichan Lake settler Canadians opposed unrestricted capital accumulation with "wise use" conservation, striving to protect workers' lives and livelihoods, even as the state, timber capital, and the forestry profession applied this label to the extractive practices which caused falldown. Cowichan Lake's settlement via company towns like Caycuse, Youbou, Mesachie Lake, and Honeymoon Bay provided centralized bases for union organizing, but amplified the consequences of the provincial staples trap and corporate capture of forest tenure, a process which has changed little since Marchak critiqued it nearly 40 years ago.

Early challenges to capitalist nature were met with the sustained yield TFL compromise, which secured the IWA high wages and benefits, but weak guarantees for long-term ecological or community sustainability. Supporting Prudham and Wilson, this thesis found that the IWA fell into a durable forest "exploitation axis" with large operators and the state. Though they raised alarm about long-term community stability, the two Sloan Commissions did not shift policy prerogatives from their basis in capitalist nature. Rather, pulp mills and vertical integration became prerequisites for TFL grants, much to the frustration of independent operators represented by the TLA, who correctly prophesied tenure oligopoly. Even as falldown loomed, the Pearse Commission validated the TFL system which continued to offer assurances of community stability despite the increasingly evident consequences of insatiable, short-sighted corporate and state land use. The *normalbaum* conception of old growth as wasteful decadence, boosted by the laissez-faire Socreds, led to industrialized forests geared toward MacBlo and BCFP pulp mills, their timber demands resulting in fibre-supply and community crisis *prior* to the War in the Woods.

Chapter two analyzed how BC "environmentalism" emerged in the 1960s as a new form of provincial conservationism, which at its extreme end challenged the principle of limitless growth underlying capitalism. While it shared antipathy for timber-dominated "multiple use" planning with traditional "wise use" conservationism rooted in rural concerns, environmentalism's

basis in ecological science and New Left enthusiasm led its proponents to reject narratives of perpetual, extraction-based economic growth. The varied motivations—and acronyms—for rural and urban SPEC chapters speak to the diversity of conservationist opinion. In a more lasting fashion, the campaign to stop logging in the Nitinat Triangle marked a broad, if evident shift in conservationism from the hunting-and-fishing ontology of the BCWF to a wilderness-recreation ontology typified by the Sierra Club and the WCWC.

The 1980s fight for Meares Island brought the Nuu-chah-nulth solidly into the land-use debate on Vancouver Island's west coast. In Carmanah, however, ENGO constructions of nature afforded little recognition to the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) land claim, reflecting the colonial character of patriotic environmentalist campaigns which invoked the natural heritage of the Canadian nation-state. In framing the Carmanah Giant as Canada's tallest tree, a "unique" feature which met MoF preservation criteria, ENGO efforts interrupted forest industrialization, not Canadian colonial authority; even courting patriots with the Canada Day Carmanah Caravan. The most consistent environmentalist voices remained the Sierra Club and WCWC, whose moderate, state-sponsored line spoke to policymakers and the courts, winning legal precedent for recreational access to TFLs by defeating MacBlo's attempted injunction against Carmanah trailbuilding.

Significant growth in public support for recreational preservation brewed rural resentment for environmentalists. Workers rightly perceived ENGO campaigns as *another* threat to their livelihoods and ways of life already endangered by falldown. However, with the Walbran not yet publicized, in 1988 Cowichan residents focused on wasteful logging practices and Fletcher Challenge's acquisition of BCFP and TFL 46. This chapter elaborated the broad conservationist schism between "wise use" rural loggers and "ecocentric" urban preservationists, a schism which was a key hindrance to crafting a red/green critique of capitalists' unsustainable exploitation of

labour and the land. Wilderness became work's antithesis. Few environmentalists based their efforts in critiquing the failure of sustained yield; rather, for many Carmanah and Walbran afforded scaffolding upon which to hang new social movement energy, be it moderate or revolutionary.

Chapter three focused on the Vander Zalm Socreds' attempt to address a profusion of land-use conflicts in the War in the Woods with nominal pubic input processes rooted in the rhetoric of sustainable development, an emerging global framework for social, economic, and ecological sustainability. The fight for Carmanah hinged on redefining "old growth" from its official status as a "decadent" hindrance to *normalbaum* forestry. The emergence of the Carmanah Forestry Society, with their acceptance of selective logging in the East Walbran, brought a stated willingness to compromise to the environmental movement. Yet the prevailing ontological view of forests-as-timber remained paramount, even as provincial discourse shifted to incorporate aspects of a variety of green critiques, namely representative ecosystem features and the 12 percent protected area goal. Not fundamentally disrupting the growth logic guiding resource extraction, sustainable development ideology conceptually assimilated green values by emphasizing a balance between nature and work through zoning, as with the 1990 creation of Carmanah Pacific Provincial Park in the lower valley. Supporting Cronon's thesis, environmentalists threw their energy into the creation of wilderness preserves, detracting from discussions about ecological harvesting practices which could sustain rural resource communities. The state, in turn, narrowly responded to the wilderness aspect of environmentalism with circumscribed parks, forestalling debate over the legitimacy of colonial authority or industry's right to set employment levels.

Thus, the newly intense public engagement on old-growth forest issues led to logging-biased consultation processes like the Carmanah and Walbran advisory committees. FCCL used the latter to amend TFL 46 harvest plans in consideration of local concerns, but ENGO

representatives deemed these to be "talk and log" processes, recusing themselves to focus on trails, research, and education. In retribution for this threat to the forest as workplace and Meares, Haida Gwaii, and Tsitika direct action, loggers blocked roads into Carmanah Walbran for two weekends in fall 1990, the second instance coinciding with the razing of the WCWC Upper Carmanah research station. This chapter showed the palpable frustration building between forest workers and environmentalists, despite their shared (if different) discontent with piecemeal Socred public input processes and policy reforms. The Old Growth Strategy deferral recommendation delayed logging up to spring 1991, but the preservation lobby failed to *stop* logging in the Walbran, as it had in Lower Carmanah. This led the more radical of the movement to physically stand in the way of forest industrialization, giving Walbran activism an ecocentric, and soon illegal, flair. The Walbran became a symbol of unspoiled nature, and for some, worth saving *from* people for its own sake.

The final chapter drew out the divisions within the Walbran environmental movement by focusing on the tactics of activists loosely represented by the Friends of Carmanah Walbran and Earth First! Perceiving sustainable development "balance" as insufficient, these dissenters broke the law in defense of the Earth. With the examples of ecocentric activists like Bobby Arbess and Christine Lowther, this chapter nuances typical depictions of the fight for Carmanah Walbran—such as *Big Trees Not Big Stumps*—which inflate the (admittedly important) role of charity ENGOs but overlook the efforts of unaffiliated individual activists. A hot summer of blockades culminated with the 1991 South Island Forest Accord between ENGOs and the IWA, but ecotage from 1992 onwards shattered this inchoate red/green alliance. The Harcourt NDP government hoped to establish a mechanism for rapprochement with its CORE process, but the Vancouver Island Table failed to find consensus, and hope for land-use compromise faded through the rest of the decade. More vitally, however, the CORE process itself did not question the underlying

capitalist exploitation of nature and workers. Its consensus-based model made the stakeholder process an inherently conservative instrument, one which afforded large operators the power to obstruct moves towards land-use compromise that might have served local, long-term interests first.

In the end, the onus on reorienting our relationship to (or with) nature in a fundamental way has consistently been placed upon the shoulders of those with the least capacity to do so; namely, workers dependent on timber-dollar wages, and environmentalists with postmaterialist, ecocentric goals deemed illogical, emotional, and naïve by their detractors. Neither red nor green worldviews upended BC's capitalist nature. The 16,365 hectares of Carmanah Walbran wilderness added to the provincial park system limited the extent of forest exploitation, but not its character. BC forests remained in the discursive realm of capitalism, even as new forms of land use emerged. For example, while far less impactful than progressive clearcutting, ecotourism and selective logging by helicopter still reproduce commodified visions of nature. This study of the War in the Woods, then, shows how notions of getting "back to nature" or utilitarian visions of "wise use" have come to coexist with a hegemonic capitalist logic of voracious, perpetual economic growth.

This is far from the first work to implicate state complicity in the capitalist project to exploit labour and the environment. However, systematically tracing the slow, agonizing process in the context of Carmanah Walbran, Cowichan Lake, and Victoria shows how dichotomized depictions of the Carmanah Walbran War in the Woods as a fight between parks and jobs do not fully capture the complex, evolving ontological demands of workers and environmentalists, let alone Indigenous people. The 1991 South Island Forest Accord is a clear example of the desire and potential for anti-corporate alliances, while NTC support for logging—in contrast to Meares Island—illustrates the problems with depicting Nuu-chah-nulth as "Ecological Indians." Conflict resulted in part from blockade spectacles and the inability of temporary allies to overcome divergent conservationist

goals to undermine state sponsorship of capitalist resource extraction: when civil dissenters stood in the way of shareholder dividends, they ended up between loggers and their paycheques.

The state responded to land-use conflict with zoning and harvest practice regulations, but did not consider revoking TFL 46, as demanded by ENGOs, the IWA, and the NTC. Validating Cronon's argument, while ecological sensibilities—manifested in old-growth ecosystems—came to have some influence on forest management, the narrow wilderness preservation focus of early ENGO campaigns circumscribed the impact of green ontologies. The state added new parks and nominal regulations to SMZ logging, but the rollback of Forest Practices Code regulations and Forest Renewal BC funding thereafter shows that capitalism and investment attractiveness, not employment levels or regional ecosystems, remained the asphalt of the colonial state highway.

The fight to protect the dwindling areas of unlogged forests in BC continues, rooted in ways of being as much as attachment to place. More than anything, this thesis contributes to the literature by suggesting a new means of framing well-trod paths in the discourse of BC forests. By attending to the ways that our individual conceptualizations of the world—our own trails through the discourse—shape debates, I hope to make readers more skeptical of the "commonsensical" way that temperate rainforest liquidation has unfolded, and the matter-of-fact ways in which people assert how, or whether, to use nature. Workers and environmentalists have long struggled to appreciate each other's commitment to protecting their respective "natures." Their competing conservationist visions have hamstrung a deeper, joint critique of state complicity in crafting and defending a forest management system which sustains profits over communities and ecosystems. With decolonization representing an opportunity to rethink land use on a fundamental basis, perhaps it is time to revisit the old trails which led to the Tin-Wis and South Island Forest accords.

Limitations and Further Research

This thesis leaves numerous lines of inquiry unfulfilled. There are, therefore, significant opportunities for further research on the Carmanah Walbran War in the Woods and the 25 years

since CORE. Notable omissions include the Alberni perspective, the nature of Cowichan Valley "wise use" conservationism, ecofeminism, and the internationalization of environmentalism which gave rise to the European and American boycott campaigns. An analysis committed to decolonization and Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives remains the most glaring omission from the Carmanah Walbran historiography. Further research into Ditidaht, Qwa-Ba-Diwa, Pacheedaht, and NTC actions during the War in the Woods would do much to uncover the significance of park designations, legality of forest tenures governing unceded land, and Indigenous participation in the forest industry, particularly with the Ditidaht and Pacheedaht First Nations nearing formal treaty agreements with BC that raise the novel possibility of ceding Crown land in areas enshrined in Pacific Rim National Park to Indigenous ownership.[260]

Closer analysis of the *Alberni Valley Times, Truck Logger, BC Outdoors*, and the Kaatza museum SPEC fonds would provide a solid foundation for a handling of rural conservationism in the 1980s and 1990s. The Lavonne Huneck fonds at UVic also offer the potential for a closer examination of the debates of the Carmanah Community Committee of the Cowichan Valley and the Carmanah Forest Management Advisory Committee—particularly the ways in which non-ENGO stakeholders were able to find consensus on harvest planning within "wise use" constraints.

Unpacking the gendered critiques of forest liquidation which linked patriarchal colonialism to environmental destruction, as Niamh Moore has done for Clayoquot with *The Changing Nature of Eco/Feminism: Telling Stories from Clayoquot Sound* would not only bring the Walbran into modern debates about the role of women in the workplace and as land-use decision-shapers, but also unpack the place of feminist principles in guiding the organization of environmental protest.[261] A study of the Environmental Youth Alliance would provide an intergenerational analysis of one

[260] Eric Plummer, "Ditidaht and Pacheedaht reach treaty 'milestone,'" *Ha-Shilth-Sa,* Jun 28, 2019.
[261] Niamh Moore, *The Changing Nature of Eco/Feminism: Telling Stories from Clayoquot Sound* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016).

of the most consistent wings of the environmental movement, one especially concerned with the long-term consequences of resource planning. Youth activists and women have regularly had their typically more radical voices marginalized and downplayed in mainstream ENGO platforms in a manner somewhat mirroring the state's ability to manage and defuse green critiques.

Beyond the specific limitations of my work, three interrelated subjects seem to be logical extensions of the subthemes of the Carmanah Walbran War in the Woods: Indigenous forestry, the neoliberalisation of BC forest management, and community forest tenures. A study of southern Nuu-chah-nulth forestry would be a welcome additional to BC forest historiography. Minor players in the War in the Woods, the Pacheedaht are now recognized by ENGOs as the traditional stewards of Kaxi:ks (the Walbran). The 8,000-hectare Qala:yit Community Forest, run by the Pacheedaht First Nation with the 1995-established Lake Cowichan Community Forest Co-operative and BC Timber Sales, show the Nation's openness to forest-based development, as do their new sawmill and agreement with Teal-Jones providing large cedars annually.[262]

Further research into the role that neoliberalism played in slowing environmentalist momentum in the 1990s could unravel how aspects of ecological critiques became integrated into a logic devoted to spreading market mechanisms to all aspects of life—social, ecological, political, or otherwise. A history of the Jobs and Timber Accord and Community Forest Tenures could

[262] Roger Hayter and Trevor Barnes, "Neoliberalization and Its Geographic Limits: Comparative Reflections from Forest Peripheries in the Global North," *Economic Geography* 88, no. 2 (2012), 199; Lisa Ambus and George Hoberg, "The Evolution of Devolution: A Critical Analysis of the Community Forest Agreement in British Columbia," *Society & Natural Resources* 24, no. 9 (2011); Ella Furness, Howard Harshaw, and Harry Nelson, "Community Forestry in British Columbia: Policy Progression and Public Participation," *Forest Policy and Economics* 58 (2015); Teal-Jones Group, Sustainable Forest Management Plan, Appendix 1: Annual Report and Indicators (Jun 2018), 15, 90-7, https://tealjones.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Final-Teal-SFM-Plan-Appendix-1-June-2018.pdf, accessed June 2019; Natural Resources Canada, "Successful Indigenous-Industry Partnerships in the Forest Sector: The People of the Seafoam," https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/forests/topics/state-canadas-forests-report/successful-indigenous-industry-partnerships-forest-sector-people-seafoam/21197, accessed Jun 2019; "Pacheedaht First Nation and TimberWest Sign Memorandum of Understanding," Nov 28, 2017, https://www.timberwest.com/pacheedaht-first-nation-and-timberwest-sign-memorandum-of-understanding/, accessed Jun 2019; "Pacheedaht First Nation timber deal first of its kind," *Cowichan Valley Citizen,* Sep 13, 2018.

explore how neoliberal deregulation both breaks traditional community stability guarantees (like mill appurtenances) *and* opens space for decentralized forestry operations run by local communities. As a corollary, a study of the results-based planning system under "professional reliance" oversight emerging from the BC Liberals' 2002 Forest and Range Practices Act could examine how skepticism about forestry's ecological sustainability has evolved as SMZs have become fragmented ecosystems, limiting their recreational appeal and ecological integrity.[263]

Given the increased relevance of log exports to the BC forest economy, a comparison of the IWA, the Truck Loggers' Association, and the Pulp, Paper, and Woodworkers of Canada and the Canadian Paperworkers Union could tease out the divided prerogatives between fallers, truck loggers, and millworkers and the struggle to develop widespread value-added production. Opposition to log exports, for example, remains common ground for ENGOs and the PPWC.[264]

Ultimately, the goal of any further research requires careful attention to the ways in which rhetoric is deployed to respond to complaints about resource extraction, diverting attention from critiques of the corporate considerations underpinning the colonial state's land-use decisions which affect Indigenous peoples, local settler communities, the province of BC, and the entire world.

Reflecting on the Carmanah Walbran War in the Woods

Just as the nutrients of the fallen Carmanah Sister will decompose and recompose, like the countless organisms that comprise the forest have for millennia before it, the human geography of

[263] Hayter and Barnes, "Neoliberalization and Its Geographic Limits," 208; James McCarthy, "Neoliberalism and the Politics of Alternatives: Community Forestry in British Columbia and the United States," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96, no. 1 (2006), 92; Laurie Jackson, "Consensus Processes in Land Use Planning in British Columbia: the Nature of Success" (PhD diss., UVic, 1997); Cheri Burda and Fred Gale, "Trading in the Future: British Columbia's Forest Products Compromise," *Society and Natural Resources* 11 (1998); Cheri Burda, Fred Gale, and Michael M'Gonigle, "Eco-Forestry Versus the State(us) Quo or Why Innovative Forestry is Neither Contemplated nor Permitted Within the State Structure of British Columbia," *BC Studies* 119 (1998); Emily Walter, "Decoding Codes of Practice: Approaches to Regulating the Ecological Impacts of Logging in British Columbia," *Journal of Environmental Law and Practice* 15, no. 2 (2005), 159-162.

[264] Scott Prudham, "Tall Among the Trees: Organizing Against Globalist Forestry in Rural British Columbia," *Journal of Rural Studies* 24 (2008); Alexander Simon, "A Comparative Historical Explanation of the Environmental Policies of Two Woodworkers' Unions in Canada." *Organization & Environment* 16, no. 3 (2003).

south Vancouver Island will adjust to the shifting environmental and economic circumstances of the twenty-first century. However, the fallen tree did not have a mortgage to pay or hopes and dreams that its offspring would perpetuate a way of life. The closure of Youbou, on the other hand, destabilized and altered the Cowichan Lake economy and society in permanent, serious ways.

Trees will always be harvested in BC; they are too valuable commercially and too ingrained into the human geography of the province to be left undisturbed. However, the intensity and extent of harvesting remains a matter of significant debate, particularly as the deindustrialization of resource towns continues. For 150 years, short-term development has trumped long-term planning, contravening Indigenous worldviews woven into the land, genuine wise-use forestry, and ecological science dedicated to habitat integrity and liveable climates. From sustained yield to sustainable development, the state/industry nexus has responded to calls for community stability with vague but reassuring rhetoric, construing an image of technological sophistication which obscures an extractive ontology predicated on Indigenous territorial erasure and the transformation of natural forests into plantations with licences, maps, and saws.

The closure of the Youbou mill in 2001 and the Alberni Somass mill in 2017, and the 2019 announcement from TFL 46 licence-holder Teal-Jones Forest Ltd. that it would temporarily cease coastal logging operations because of profitability concerns indicate that a corporate forest ontology continues to rule the landscape of BC.[265] Significant discursive and policy shifts over the past 75 years have accommodated public input, harvest regulations, and ecological sensibilities, yet such shifts have been anything but linear. Lax enforcement by underfunded and understaffed environmental protection agencies and the BCFS and the 2000s push for deregulation undid much of this progress in the name of market-driven notions of competitive efficiency.

[265] "Western Forest Products to shut down Somass Sawmill indefinitely," *Alberni Valley Times,* Jul. 27, 2017; "Teal Jones to halve logging, lay off workers in Vancouver Island operations," *Vancouver Sun,* May 31, 2019; "Teal Jones to shut down coastal logging citing weak markets, high costs," *Vancouver Sun,* Sep 10, 2019.

With the IWA ambivalent to log exports and TLA in full support, the forces of globalist forestry at Cowichan Lake continue to force adjustments in a context of deindustrialization and rural economic decline. Caycuse is now a ghost town, Youbou has been rezoned for residences, and Lake Cowichan and Port Renfrew are slowly transitioning towards seasonal tourist economies. The former received $120,000 for tourist development in 2017 and the latter brands itself as Canada's Tall Tree Capital, bidding to capitalize on the region's ecotourism potential. With painful transitions underway, the "Good Life" of stable, unionized jobs and prosperous resource communities seems ancient history.[266]

For environmentalists, Carmanah Walbran evokes pride tinged with regret: Carmanah symbolizing a win for old-growth park trailblazers; the Walbran conflated as such or perceived to be the subject of never-ending ENGO campaigns, retaining a shroud of tragic, charmed mystery. The WCWC and Sierra Club have persevered under their legal mandates, operating in corporatized forms contingent upon sound financial planning, allowing these groups to expand beyond their forest-advocacy beginnings to become broad-based ENGOs tackling neonicotinoid pesticides and bitumen hydrocarbons. Yet resurgent FOCW organizing in the 2010s and an ongoing push to protect the entirety of the Walbran, despite resentment from Cowichan Lake residents over the 12 percent CORE compromise, indicates that opinions on whether or how to log remain divided, even among people who share antipathy for forest management geared toward global market prerogatives rather than community needs.

Though tasked to do so on countless occasions, the state never challenged forest corporatism, instead acting as its sponsor, defender, and regulator in a friendly, lucrative alliance.

[266] From the Mesachie Lake research station to logger sports and community theatre, forestry was deeply embedded in Cowichan Lake settler communities, "Logger's Lament plays to two packed houses," *Lake News,* Mar 4, 1987; Lexi Bainas, "Lake Cowichan to Get $120K for Tourism," *Lake Cowichan Gazette,* Oct 25, 2017; Judith Lavoie, "'New World' Built on Ancient Trees; Port Renfrew Replaces Logging with Tourism," *Times-Colonist,* Jul 15, 2011.

It remains to be seen how ongoing treaty negotiations will rectify colonial atrocities, but the Nuu-chah-nulth have become increasingly important in reconciling land-use conflict, and the apparent willingness of recent provincial governments to cede parks or plantations hopefully marks a welcome shift from BC's history of trampling Indigenous title, treaty or not.

The War in the Woods has faded from the public eye and become obscured by debates over whales, climate change, and pipelines—the contestation over resource use has not, due in large part to the myriad perspectives on the composition, appropriate use, and rightful owners of forests. The authority vested in shareholder-controlled multinationals did not emerge out of the blue. Rather, it came as the result of more than a century of negotiated corporatization between companies and provincial governments seeking to further the colonial settlement, development, and industrialization of BC. Only by placing forests within their global contexts, BC communities within their colonial contexts, and corporations in their quarterly report contexts can we begin to understand the reasons that finding common ground on anything other than the terminology of sustainability has been so uncommon throughout the province's history.

A Bridge to Somewhere: Logging the SMZ and Activist Convergence

A confident timber industry expected that SMZs would "not radically alter their business environment." This proved correct: flimsy enforcement mechanisms and uncertain implementation timelines have led to the fragmentation of SMZ 21 Walbran over time (Fig. 20). The MoF has come a long way since the 1970s, when timber production was its only mandate, but the agency remains deeply wedded to, indeed predicated upon, profitable forest extraction, even in discursive contexts now geared toward global climate crisis and forests' carbon sequestration potential.[267]

[267] *Report of the LIA Review Committee* (Jan 1995), 9, quoted in John Nelson, "Current State of Special Management," in ed. Jim Cooperman, *Keeping the Special in Special Management Zones: A Citizen's Guide* (Gibsons: BC Spaces for Nature, 1998), 35-40; see also Syd Haskell, "The Walbran Periphery" from the same source.

In the 2000s, south Vancouver Island forest activism has waned, but concern for the integrity of SMZ 21 and the "discovery" of new old-growth groves around Port Renfrew by groups like the Ancient Forest Alliance have generated sporadic bursts of activity. Decolonization and Indigenous allyship have become central environmentalist goals, particularly following court decisions which have questioned the legitimacy of Canadian sovereignty. However, while Peter Knighton continued to assert Qwa-Ba-Diwa independence until his death in 2018, environmental activism opposing Walbran SMZ logging has been intermittent, succeeding only in foiling clearcuts beyond the famous "bridge to nowhere." In 2014, plans re-emerged for cutblocks north of the Walbran Creek, inspiring blockades and a renewed campaign push from the FOCW, WCWC, and Sierra Club. Trail building has again become a year-round affair and an annual July convergence celebrates activism past, present, and future with activist veterans intermingling with new generations of environmentalists, myself included.[268]

Despite the extensive research in libraries and archives that has gone into this work, the clearest memory I will retain from this experience is my first encounter with old growth: a full-moon night the day after a torrential rainfall had washed out Rosander Mainline one kilometre from Carmanah, the wonder of which words cannot do justice. My work occupies activist turf between Lowther's *A Cabin in Clayoquot* and George's *Big Trees Not Big Stumps*, building upon the scholarship of Braun, Wilson, Cronon, White, and Rajala, and the activism of Farquharson, Careless, George, Stoltmann, Foy, Husband, Haskell, Arbess, and countless more. Even this multi-

[268] Anonymous, "Walbran Valley Reunion Blog 2011," http://walbranvalleyreunion.blogspot.com/, accessed Jun 2019; Global News, "Old-growth forest at risk of logging on Vancouver Island," Nov 20, 2014, https://globalnews.ca/video/1684443/old-growth-forest-at-risk-of-logging-on-vancouver-island/, accessed Jun 2019; WCWC, Torrance Coste, "Wetter weather could spell danger for Walbran," *Times-Colonist*, Sep 2, 2015; FOCW, "Friends of Carmanah/Walbran Establish Central Walbran Valley Witness Camp," Oct 12, 2015, and FOCW, "Autonomous Action in the Walbran Valley Sends Teal Jones Road Crew Home Early," Nov 24, 2015, https://friendsofcarmanahwalbran.com, accessed Jun 2019; Darren Alexander, Friend of the Carmanah/Walbran, "LETTER: Update on clear-cut logging of old growth at Carmanah/Walbran," *Sooke Mirror*, Dec 28, 2015.

perspectival account of Carmanah Walbran has cut but few trails through the rich and contested discourse of BC forests. I have tried to create a framework with which to understand the individual motivations of historical actors who endeavoured to interrupt the hegemonic ontology of industrial forest capitalism. Attending to the ways in which this ecocentric ontology reproduces nature without room for work will be particularly important in the context of looming climate catastrophe. Understanding how the rhetoric of "sustainability" deployed by state governments in response to environmental demands can obfuscate the avariciousness of interests wedded to capitalist nature offers an important defense against narratives which purport to afford equal status to cynical profitable market exchange, thriving communities, and the ecological foundation of life on Earth by showing how this discursive violence insidiously privileges the former over the two latter.

In BC, to wax Orwellian, all trails are equal, but some trails are more equal than others. Each brings physical and abstract visions of nature into being—paths through the world. Trails are not merely conduits; they are symbols *and* praxis. Wilderness trails built by charity ENGOs fostered scientific and recreational conceptualizations of the area. Blockades from Friends of Carmanah Walbran temporarily disrupted, and continue to intermittently disrupt, the prerogatives of industrial resource extraction. Logging roads and highways, however, remain truer examples of BC's capitalist nature, one that has relegated draft animals, steam donkeys, logging railroads, and potentially south Vancouver Island sawmilling, to the sawdust pile of history. If state-sponsored industrial forest capitalism remains more equal than our other means of experiencing the world in defining our "nature," we will continue to struggle to find the time or the space to slow down and think about where and why we are going, and what we might lose along the way.

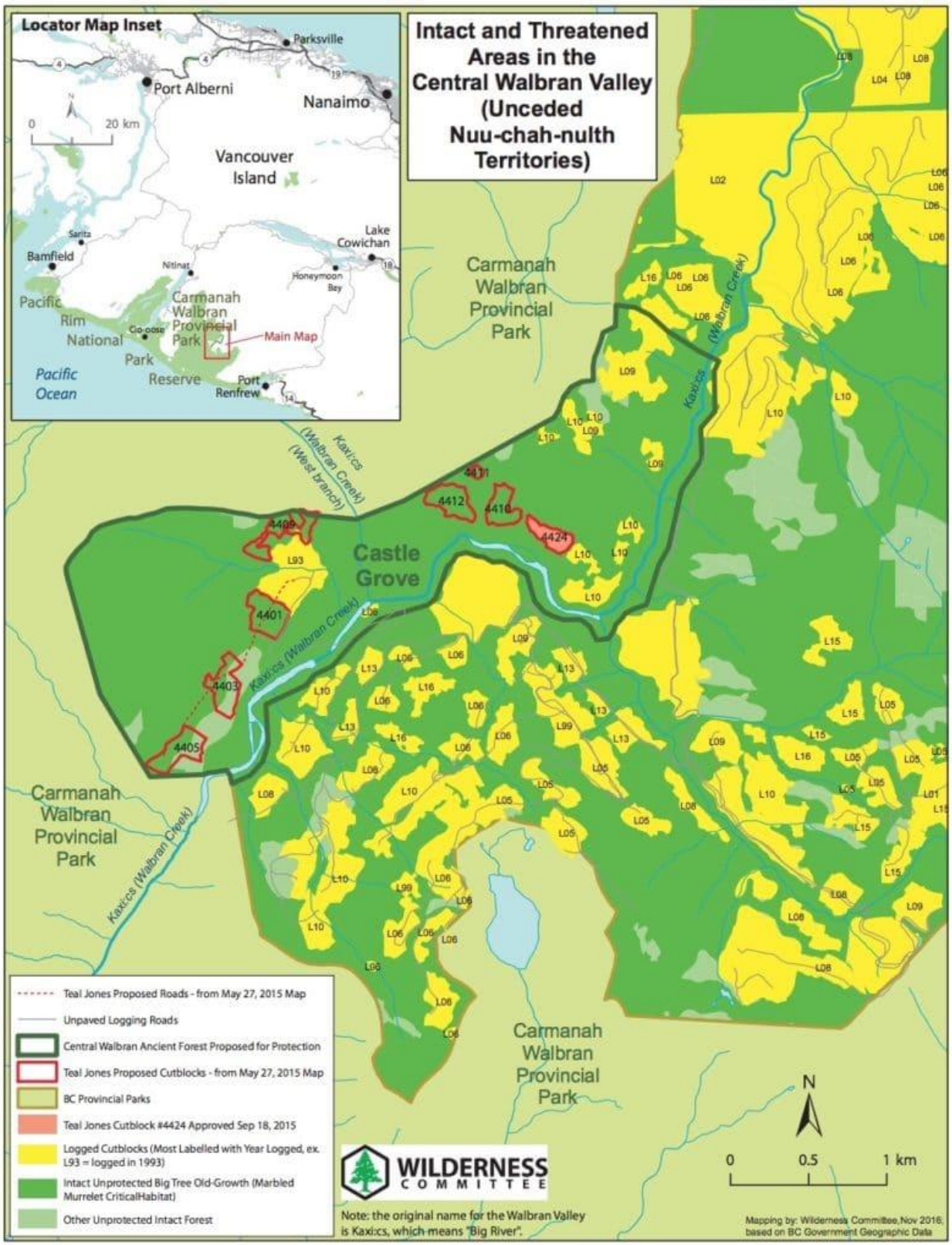

Fig. 20: Western Canada Wilderness Committee, The Central Walbran "Bite," SMZ 21 in TFL 46 (Nov 2016), https://wildernesscommittee.org/walbran, accessed Jul 2019.

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