Preserving "Paradise:"

The Changing Face of Environmental Activism in British Columbia, 1980-1995

by

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Contents

The world we know is not this ultimately simple configuration where events are reduced to accentuate their essential traits, their final meaning, or their initial and final value. On the contrary, it is a profusion of entangled events.

Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, genealogy, History."[1]

Introduction

The environmental movement has just passed its fiftieth anniversary. Battling a powerful resource development industry, resolute in protecting prerogatives won during earlier stages of the province's economic history, the movement has struggled against great odds.[2] Two competing parties - the first, a collection of environmental groups and First Nations communities, and the second, government and industry intent on resource development and limiting environmental controls, fought and continue to fight to limit each other's political clout and power. In this paper, I will examine three important environmental battles that took place in British Columbia in three different regions during the 1980s and 1990s - South Moresby, Meares Island and the Stein River Valley.

Beginning with background information on the environmental movement I will demonstrate the impact that industry and the provincial government had on forestry policy in British Columbia prior to the 1980s. Next, I will examine the environmental movements associated with South Moresby, Meares Island and Stein River Valley, showing their similarities, strategies, successes and the effect of each on government policy. Finally, I will conclude with my own examination of what these movements accomplished. My goal is to show that they were part of what geographer W.R. Derrick

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[1] Bruce Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 1.
[2] Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96*, (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1998), preface.

Sewell described as a "new dominant world view," one in which environmental interests had to be considered in decision-making systems.[3] These conflicts, although separate geographically, used similar strategies in opposing political and industry interests. All three movements were supported by cooperative relationships between environmentalists, First Nations peoples and the public, all three used media, radio, television, posters, newspapers, books and demonstrations to raise public interest, and they were all successful in gaining provincial, national and international support. Each of these movements were able to "place an inordinate amount of stress on the system."[4]

Michael M'Gonigle, a key activist in the Stein Valley River issue, saw it this way in 1988:

> In all the logging/wilderness conflicts which spread across the B.C political landscape, [similar] elements... are bound to be present. Indeed, despite the seeming isolation of the individual Band or small local group of environmentalists, no conflict is an island. Each is part of a large and growing movement seeking to create a sustainable foundation for native and non-Native cultures in British Columbia. While drawing on the many diverse ways from which it grows, if this movement can go beyond the issue-specific strategies of the past and coalesce around a collective vision and strategy of the future, it could provide the context for politics, and economics, in the province for many years to come.[5]

I will show that these movements used similar methods in opposing government and industry interests and through collective opposition, changed the context of politics for the future. I will also conclude with a brief examination of non-indigenous views of First Nations as the original conservationists and break down the use of Euro-American

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[3] Derrick Sewell, Philip Dearden, and John Dumbrell, "Wilderness Decisionmaking and the Role of Environmental Interest Groups: A Comparison of the Franklin Dam, Tasmania and South Moresby, British Columbia cases," *Natural Resources Journal* 29, (1) (1989): 167.

[4] Sewell, "Wilderness Decisionmaking and the Role of Environmental Interest Groups," 169.

[5] Michael R. M'Gonigle, "Native Rights and Environmental Sustainability: Lessons from the British Columbia Wilderness," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 8(1), (1988): 126.

language around nature, ideas of environmentalism and their effect on environmental movements. The evidence gathered in this paper will show that Sewell and M.'Gonigle were correct in their conclusions in the late 1980s that a different world view was developing, culminating in innovative strategies and a new context for politics, economics and environmentalism in British Columbia.

<u>Background</u>

The 1980s controversy over logging in South Moresby, Clayoquot Sound and the Stein Valley cannot be understood without a brief history of environmentalism in British Columbia. One of the original environmental groups, Greenpeace, was a key component of the environmental movement. Originally called the Don't Make a Wave Committee, Greenpeace would adopt its current and popular title in 1971.[6] Its founder, Bob Hunter, argued that Vancouver was a perfect place for an environmental movement:

> [It had] …the biggest concentration of tree-huggers, radicalized students, garbage-dump stoppers, shit-disturbing unionists, freeway fighters, pot smokers and growers, aging Trotskyites, condo killers, farmland savers, fish preservationists, animal rights activists, back-to-the-landers, vegetarians, nudists, Buddhists, and anti-spraying, anti-pollution marchers and picketers in the country, per capita, in the world.[7]

Armed with ideas of holistic thought on environmentalism, Hunter sought to alter people's consciousness by manipulating the media to create an environmental revolution.[8] Over time, his methods would prove invaluable, helping capture the minds and hearts of people all across the world.

Political scientist Jeremy Wilson in *Talk and Log* argues that at the heart of the issue of the developing environmental movement there was a rising conflict of ideology within the population between resource extraction and environmental preservation, one that could be seen in Vancouver. On one side of the spectrum, groups like Greenpeace, Friends of Clayoquot Sound and the Islands Protection Society were fighting to promote and protect the environment. On the other side was the Provincial Government, the forest

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[6] Paul George, *Big Trees not Big Stumps: 25 years of campaigning to save wilderness with the Wilderness Committee,* (Vancouver: Western Canada Wilderness Committee, 2006), 469.
[7] Unknown, "Greenpeace Founding Member Dead at 63," *Greenpeace.org,* May 2, 2005.
[8] Ibid.

industry and a system of resource extraction, economic development and a desire for

economic growth.[9] This conflict was visible in class and community division. Wilson

points out that

> As Vancouver and Victoria residents grew less dependent on the resource
> base economy of the hinterland, residents of forest-dependent
> communities were left to rail against the 'cappuccino-sucking, concrete
> condo-dwelling, granola eating' city slicker environmentalists threatening
> their livelihoods.[10]

This division expanded during the 1980s and 1990s, creating a considerable conflict in its

wake including blockades, roadblocks, violence, property damage, assaults, insults and

arrests.[11]

The environmental movement developed into an assemblage of groups dedicated to

preservation and improving forestry practices with various methods for implementation

meant to increase its effectiveness. Key players were fish and wildlife clubs, the BC

Wildlife Federation, the Federation of BC Naturalists, hikers and camping enthusiasts,

and finally environmental advocacy groups focused on environmental issues. Advocacy

groups included the Islands Protection Committee (IPS), Friends of Clayoquot Sound

(FOCS), the Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC) and Greenpeace. Formed

August 7th, 1980 by Richard Krieger and Paul George, the WCWC, like Greenpeace,

became a prominent fixture across British Columbia. It was involved in the South

Moresby, Meares Island and Stein Valley movements.[12] Other groups such as the BC

Wildlife Federation (BCWF), Federation of BC Naturalists (FBCN), Outdoor Recreation

Council (ORC), and the Federation of Mountain Clubs of BC (FMCBC) were also active

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[9] Wilson, *Talk and Log*, xiv.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] George, *Big Trees not Big Stumps*, 1.

participants. Some of these groups were considerable in size. The BCWF, for example, encompassed over 150 fish and game clubs.[13] A growing oppositional subculture in Vancouver further aided in the birth and development of these environmental groups.[14] With environmental groups mobilizing and gaining media attention through activism, urban citizens also became involved.[15] By the mid-1980s forestry and wilderness issues were the main focus of the movement.

The history of environmentalism in British Columbia can be viewed as a balancing act in which public support swayed the scale back and forth between government and industry, and the environment. Wilson argues that "neither the basic characteristics of the British Columbia forest industry nor the fundamental imperatives governing its financial performance changed much over the 1960-1996 period."[16] The power of industry was securely cemented in the province in the twentieth century and ensured its needs were always considered seriously by government through policy creation. Jeremy Wilson acknowledges "the messiness of the policy process."[17] He argues that policy makers at the center of the conflict were continuously "pushed, pulled and constrained by complex and shifting forces."[18] The power of industry and its influence on politics is unquestionable. However, the movement's journey to garner public attention, support and political clout eventually led to change. Persistent in offering resistance to the political

[13] Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 47.
[14] Frank Zelco, "Making Greenpeace: The Development of Direct Action Environmentalism in BC," *BC Studies*, 142-143, (2004): 216.
[15] Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96*, 48.
[16] Ibid., 20.
[17] Ibid., 3.
[18] Ibid., 3.

benefits industry enjoyed, the movement transformed how government would develop policy in the future.[19]

In the cases of South Moresby, Meares Island and the Stein River Valley, the Social Credit and New Democratic Party government policy choices were limited by industry and investor pressures. Industry's goal was to drive the provincial government to maintain enough timber available to keep the forest industry operating at maximum capacity. The forest industry paid taxes, boosted employment and helped keep the economy prosperous and in return the government kept industry happy through advantageous policies to ensure prosperity. To extricate themselves from prior policies and deals would have harmed the areas reliant on the forest industry, negatively affecting employment, tax revenue and public support for future elections.[20] Instead of changing policy or working to change forestry practices, government often responded by providing further incentives to ensure industry maintained current production levels. Continuing the cycle of incentives in exchange for security, this method of industry appeasement can clearly be seen in the cases of South Moresby, Meares Island and Stein River Valley.[21] The forest industry's position in British Columbia's economy and its influence on employment further guaranteed its objectives were "forcibly articulated to both government and the public."[22] Evidence supports the forestry industry's importance to the province. By 1990 the forestry sector supplied 275,000 jobs in BC, 16 percent of the

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[19] Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 7.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 6.
[22] Ibid., 29.

province's labor force.[23] 75 percent of those employed in the forestry sector lived in rural communities.[24]

The forest industry had a clear advantage over environmentalists from the start because of its "money and expertise... to mount strong lobbying and public relations campaigns."[25] With political power and finances to lobby for its interests, the forest industry funded its own scientific reviews of environmental issues, and splayed the (always) positive results across the province through advertising and public awareness campaigns.[26] In 1990, major forestry companies hired renowned New York public relations giant Burson-Marsteller LTD to shift public opinion positively towards logging.[27] In 1991 the BC Forest Alliance, created through Burson-Marsteller, flooded radio, television, bus shelters and newspapers with positive advertising at a cost of over two million dollars.[28] This advertising firm was an apt choice. As freelance journalist and science writer Zoe Cormier points out in her article "Playing Dirty: Coming clean on climate-change... How the PR industry sold the 'made in Canada' solution to global warming:"

> Burson-Marsteller does not publish a list of its clients, but it has purportedly worked for some of the most infamous governments of the twentieth century, including the military junta in Argentina in the 1970s, Nicolae Ceausescu's dictatorship in Romania, the government of Indonesia (following the massacre in East Timor) and the Nigerian government (to discredit reports of genocide).[29]

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[23] Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 30.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 31.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., 37.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Zoe Cormier, "Playing Dirty: Coming clean on climate-change... How the PR industry sold the "made in Canada" solution to global warming," *This Magazine,* www.thismagazine.ca/issues/2006/09/playingdirty.

The environmental movement deployed more on the ground methods of garnering the public's attention such as roadblocks, photographs, protests, use of the courts and passive resistance. The 1980s and 1990s became an era of public battles pitting the forest industry and provincial government against First Nations and environmentalists, all fighting to discredit one another in the eyes of the public. The victors would be those who would win the public's support.

South Moresby and the Haida

In 1974 the Haida First Nations and environmentalists formed an alliance to end clear-cut logging on the Southern half of Moresby Island, Burnaby Island and Lyell Island in the Queen Charlotte Islands, a relationship which proved to be vital to building support nationally and internationally.[30] In her book *Paradise Won: The Struggle for South Moresby*, Elizabeth May, environmentalist and now leader of the Green Party of British Columbia, describes the outset of the South Moresby environmental movement as a chance encounter between an American expatriate in his cabin and a Haida First Nations member that set in motion a plan to preserve the area. [31] The American expatriate was Thom Henley who would become a human rights advocate; the Haida First Nations member was Guujaaw (formally known as Gary Edenshaw) who would later lead the Haida Gwaii First Nation from 2000-2013.[32] Together, Henley and Guujaaw presented their plan for preservation to their peers, leading to the founding of the Islands Protection Society (IPS) by Guujaaw, Thom Henley and John Broadhead.[33]

The IPS worked to preserve the wilderness and forests of the Queen Charlotte Islands (later renamed Haida Gawaii). Articulating a series of mutual goals and ambitions, Guujaaw argued for the spiritual and ancestral importance of preserving Haida Gwaii and Henley argued for conserving the island's natural beauty. One prominent difference in their goals was that rather than banning logging altogether, Guujaaw and the Haida

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[30] David A. Rossiter, "The Nature of a Blockade: Environmental Politics and the Haida Action on Lyell island, British Columbia," in *Blockades or Breakthroughs? Aboriginal Peoples Confront the Canadian State*, ed. Yale D. Belanger & Whitney Lackenbauer, (Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 75.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Elizabeth May, *Paradise Won: The Struggle for South Moresby*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990) 4.

[33] Sewell, "Wilderness Decisionmaking and the Role of Environmental Interest Groups," 156.

wanted control over logging on their traditional territory. However, David A. Rossiter,

Associate Professor of Environmental Studies at Western Washington University argues

in his work "The Nature of a Blockade: Environmental Politics and the Haida Action on

Lyell Island, British Columbia," that "both the environmental activists and the Haida

deemed their respective partner to be a useful ally." [34]

The South Moresby and Lyell Island movement was a twelve year process

culminating with the establishment of South Moresby National Park.[35] Rossiter states that

the process involved

> …lobbying all and sundry stripes of politicians, both federal and
> provincial; public protest at legislatures and conferences; media exposure,
> both coverage and promotion; and through-out it all, the garnering of
> substantial national and international support.[36]

"The centerpiece of the campaign," he writes, "was the publication by the Islands

Protection Society of the volume *Islands at the Edge*."[37] A powerful case for preservation,

Islands at the Edge demonstrated the IPS's position and the relationship between

environmentalists and the Haida. The book focuses on the natural beauty of the islands

with photographs of all aspects of the environment. As Rossiter argues, it was a key part

of bringing public attention to the area.

Organized opposition to logging began in mid-1974 with Haida leaders Colin and

Miles Richardson, Guujaaw and conservationists John Brodhead and Thom Henley of the

IPS.[38] After raising concerns over logging in South Moresby with BC Premier Dave

Barrett, the IPS was promised that TFL24 (Tree Farm License) which included Burnaby

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[34] Rossiter, "The Nature of a Blockade," 76.
[35] BC Spaces for Nature, "Gwaii Haanas South Moresby National Park Reserve & Marine Conservation Area Reserve," http://www.spacesfornature.org/contact.html (accessed Jan 10, 2015).
[36] Rossiter, "The Nature of a Blockade," 76.
[37] Ibid.
[38] BC Spaces for Nature, "Gwaii Haanas South Moresby National Park Reserve & Marine Conservation Area Reserve."

Island (just off the coast of Moresby Island) would not be logged.[39] A five year

moratorium was established and Rayonier withdrew its application to log the area.

However, Rayonier reapplied to log Lyell Island and in April of 1975 was given approval

to begin operations.[40] Barrett's promise of a logging moratorium on regions within

TFL24 was not kept as Lyell Island was part of this region.[41] Although Barrett approved

of logging, he concurrently mobilized the Environment and Land Use Committee (ELUC)

to review and research the wilderness proposal for the area.[42] The IPS simultaneously

organized environmental impact reviews on the Island while unrestricted logging

continued.[43]

When Rayonier's license came up for renewal in 1979 the Haida and IPS, seeing

an opportunity to challenge future operations, moved forward with an injunction to stop

logging.[44] It was dismissed by the court and Rayonier renewed its license. Soon after the

license renewal, the TFL and all logging rights to the area were sold to Western Forest

Products (WFP).[45] Although logging continued, the IPS had been able to use the renewal

to its benefit. Granted access to Rayonier reports, it conducted extensive research on

logging waste, cutting rates and steep slope logging.[46] This research allowed them to

counter many forestry management claims by industry.[47]

As interest in the South Moresby movement grew it stimulated other environmental

organizations in British Columbia and Western Canada such as the Valhalla Society,

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[39] May, *Paradise Won,* 24.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Louise Takeda, *Islands' Spirit Rising: Reclaiming the Forests of Haida Gwaii,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 52.
[42] May, *Paradise Won,* 24.
[43] Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 190.
[44] Ibid., 198
[45] Ibid., 190.
[46] Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 190.
[47] Takeda, *Islands' Spirit Rising: Reclaiming the Forests of Haida Gwaii,* 53.

Canada Parks and Wilderness Society, the WCWC and Friends of the Ecological

Reserves to act. International support also came from the World Wildlife Fund (WWF),

the Sierra Club, and the European group Earthlife, adding additional financial support

and public awareness.[48]

By 1980, Paul George, Thom Henley and John Broadhead were becoming, as

Wilson claims, "master[s] [of] the public relations arts."[49] Using documentary television

programs, photography, slide shows and public engagement, they raised public awareness

of South Moresby across Canada and internationally. Vicky Husband, Kevin McNamee

and Coleen McCroy also offered support along with other advocates such as David

Suzuki and artist Robert Bateman.[50] At this point the movement's support and public

awareness was gaining momentum but it was becoming more dramatic in the form of

blockades that forced the federal and provincial government to reconsider logging South

Moresby.

In 1985 Western Forest Products successfully lobbied for new permits to log South

Moresby.[51] The Social Credit Government approved the logging permits which

"infuriated" the Haida and environmental activists.[52] As Western Forest Products

prepared to log, the Haida organized to blockade and demonstrate their "depth... of

opposition to further logging."[53] They expressed their sentiments clearly in the *Journal of

the Haida Nation* in 1984:

> The Haida Nation is the rightful heir to Haada Gwaii. Our culture, our
> heritage, is the child of respect and intimacy with the land and sea. We

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[48] Sewell, "Wilderness Decisionmaking and the Role of Environmental Interest Groups," 175.
[49] Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 190.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Takeda, *Islands' Spirit Rising: Reclaiming the Forests of Haida Gwaii*, 58.
[52] Rossiter, "The Nature of a Blockade," 77.
[53] Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 194.

owe our existence to Haada Gwaii. The living generation accepts the
responsibility to ensure that our heritage is passed on to following
generations. Like the forest, the roots of our people are intertwined such
that the greatest troubles cannot overcome us. On these islands our
ancestors lived and died and here too will we make our home until called
away to join them in the great beyond.[54]

The blockade was what Rossiter describes as a "response to the apparent betrayal of the

preservationist coalition by the provincial government of William Bennett."[55] Western

Forest Products applied successfully for an injunction to prevent blockades of their

operations but the Haida refused to budge. Seventy-two members of the Haida Nation

were arrested over a two week period beginning November 16, 1985.[56] Televisions and

newspapers across the nation showed images of loggers standing across from Haida

elders in ceremonial dress.[57] Images displayed RCMP members leading elders off to be

arrested. One of the Haida RCMP members, tears on his face, had arrested his own

aunt.[58] These images and news of Lyell Island travelled internationally, reaching the

London Observer and *New York Times*.[59] During the blockades the IPS and other

environmental groups avoided directly participating as it had become a fight for First

Nations land claims and nationhood. Land claims had taken over as the central focus of

the movement with the support of the IPS and those involved.[60]

In 1986 Vancouver lawyer and future BC Supreme Court Head Justice Bryan

Williams proposed to the current Social Credit government, under Premier Bill Bennett,

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[54] Sewell, "Wilderness Decisionmaking and the Role of Environmental Interest Groups," 160.
[55] Rossiter, "The Nature of a Blockade," 77.
[56] May, *Paradise Won,* 23.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Sewell, "Wilderness Decisionmaking and the Role of Environmental Interest Groups," 159.
[60] Ibid., 161.

that South Moresby and the surrounding areas be preserved.[61] The Wilderness Advisory

Committee (WAC) was established to evaluate the validity of preserving the area as well

as other proposed protection areas including the Stein Valley.[62] In 1987, Federal Minister

for National Parks Tom McMillan, with help from Elizabeth May, applied pressure to the

new Social Credit Premier, Bill Vander Zalm, to speak with Brian Mulroney and the

Federal government about their $106 million dollar offer to help establish a National

Park.[63] After much discussion, in July of 1987, 145,000 hectares of the Queen Charlotte

Islands were handed over to the federal government for the creation of the South

Moresby National Park.[64]

   Throughout the South Moresby movement environmentalists, First Nations Peoples,

the government, industry and outsiders deployed many strategies. Roadblocks gave the

environmentalists and Haida an immense boost in public support through media attention.

The use of public disobedience against court orders and appeals to the public eventually

forced the province and industry to alter their relationships with First nations groups.

Looking for more cooperative measures the BC government established Gwaii Haanas

National Park Reserve. Co-managed by members of the Haida Nation and members

representing the Government of Canada, the park would demonstrate the benefit

cooperative relationships could offer all parties. [65] Although land claims have not yet

been settled in Haida Gwaii, the provincial government has made several large

concessions to the Haida First Nations including renaming the Queen Charlotte Islands

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[61] BC Spaces for Nature, "Gwaii Haanas South Moresby National Park Reserve & Marine Conservation Area Reserve."
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Rossiter, "The Nature of a Blockade," 83.
[65] Parks Canada, "The Archipelago Management Board," http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/plan/Plan1A.aspx (accessed Nov 22, 2014).

"Haida Gwaii" on June 3, 2010. This conflict demonstrates the power of environmental

opposition in forcing government to adapt its policies under powerful and persistent

pressure.

Meares Island and the Nuu-chah-nulth

Meares Island lies adjacent to the popular tourist destination of Tofino British Columbia. It is the ancestral home of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, Ahousat and Clayoquot First Nations peoples, known collectively as the Nuu-chah-nulth.[66] Largely untouched old growth forests covered the island in 1979 when proposed logging set off a thirteen year battle between industry, the province, local residents and the Nuu-chah-nulth. While organizing its operations to log the island in 1979, MacMillan Bloedel forest products quickly came under scrutiny by the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ucluelet and Tofino residents. In response, the Nuu-chah-nulth submitted a land claim in 1980 encompassing Meares Island along with traditional territory along the west coast of Vancouver Island.[67] They asked the provincial government to ensure Meares Island would not be logged until the land claim was settled.

Both BC Forest Products and MacMillan Bloedel owned Tree Farm Licenses covering approximately 7900 hectares of land on Meares Island and MacMillan Bloedel was preparing to move forward with logging.[68] Ucluelet and Tofino residents' concerns focused on potential logging scars visible from Tofino as well as possible damage to Tofino's watershed supply which serviced over 1000 residents.[69] Concerned that the growing tourist trade would be damaged by clear-cut logging in the area, residents formed the Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS) in 1980 in order to raise public awareness on the issue and to pressure the Ministry of Forests (MOF) to reevaluate

[66] Stefania Seccia, "Meares Island Court Injunction 25 years later," *Westerly News*, March 25, 2010.
[67] Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 195.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ian Mulgrew, "Waiting for Conflict on Meares Island," *Globe and Mail*, February 2, 1985.

logging in the area.[70] To appease anti-loggers, the MOF established the Meares Island

Planning Team which brought together industry, government and Nuu-chah-nulth

representatives as well as members of Friends of Clayoquot Sound, the Pacific Rim

National Park and residents of Tofino.[71]

After almost three years of meetings and consultation, the planning team put

forward three options for logging on Meares. One option looked at total preservation of

the Island and no logging. The other two options looked at partial preservation but with

different yearly rates of timber yield and priority areas for operations. However,

MacMillan Bloedel abandoned the planning team process and put forward its own

proposal, a fourth option which looked at harvesting the entire island. However, the

ELUC offered a fifth option that proposed that the entire island be harvested with a focus

on different locations.[72] Similar to the South Moresby case, the provincial government

supported logging on Meares Island. In regards to this decision, Jeremy Wilson claims

> The government's pro-logging decision set the stage for a new chapter,
> featuring a prominent role for the Nuu-chah-nulth and the most dramatic
> anti-logging action yet seen in the province.[73]

This government support of industry mobilized full involvement from local First Nations

peoples.

During the Easter weekend of 1984, First Nations and environmentalists held a

Meares. A trail was built leading to 'the Hanging Garden Tree,' a popular attraction for

residents and tourists.[74] Tla-o-qui-aht Chief Councilor Moses Martin read the band's

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[70] Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 195.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., 196.
[73] Ibid., 197.
[74] Seccia, "Meares Island Court Injunction 25 years later."

Meares Island Tribal Park declaration at the festival.[75] A sign for the park, hand carved

by artist Godfrey Stevens was erected at C'is-a-qis Bay where logging operations were

planned to begin.[76] The festival demonstrated the strong alliance between the groups.

Attesting to this relationship, Paul George points out in *Meares: Protecting a Natural*

Paradise that

> Natives are now aligned with those who are committed to preserving the
> natural beauty and bounty of Clayoquot Sound [from] the settlers, the new
> comers, [to] the visitors who share the magic of this special place.[77]

On April 21, 1984 the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation declared Meares Island a tribal

park, a step mirrored by the Haida in South Moresby and an effort to cement their claim

to the area.[78] During this time MacMillan Bloedel applied for permits to log on Meares

Island and prepared to go to court. A large rally was held at the BC legislature in October

of 1984 in which preservationists claimed they would obstruct logging operations in any

way possible. For example, environmentalist Paul Watson claimed to have spiked over

20,000 trees in Clayoquot sound.[79] The spiking of trees, though effective in slowing

logging operations, was illegal, dangerous for loggers and disapproved of by the Friends

of Clayoquot Sound and the Nuu-chah-nulth. [80] Media exposure, newspapers and

demonstrations lent support to the FOCS's popularity.[81]

In early November the Ministry of Forests approved MacMillan Bloedel's cutting

permit. On November 21st, loggers attempted to land on Meares Island by boat, only to be

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[75] Emery Hartley, "Tribal Parks: 30 Years and counting," *Friends of Clayoquot Sound*, (Summer) 2014.
[76] Paul George, *Meares Island: Protecting a Natural Paradise*, (Tofino, BC: Friends of Clayoquot Sound, 1985), 55.
[77] Ibid., 10.
[78] Seccia, "Meares Island Court Injunction 25 years later."
[79] Richard Watts, "Environmentalist: Spike threats by Watson Discredit Cause," *Times-Colonist*, April 16, 1993.
[80] Watts, "Environmentalist: Spike threats by Watson Discredit Cause."
[81] Paul George, *Meares Island*, 56.

refused by a flotilla of protesters.[82] Seeking a court injunction, the Nuu-chah-nulth

succeeded in getting the British Columbia court of appeal to prohibit logging in the area

until land claims were completed.[83] Further protests continued in February 1985 when

150 white and First Nations men, women and children shuttled over to Meares Island to

help protest.[84] During this protest Chief Moses Martin articulated the importance of

Meares Island:

> Meares Island is the economic base for our people. Our people have been
> born unemployed and we are probably going to die unemployed; that is
> why Meares remains so important to us.[85]

March 27th, 1985, in the case of MacMillan Bloedel LTD. vs. Mullin, the court made its

decision:

> The balance of convenience in this case is not in favour of immediate
> logging. Justice and convenience are the twin standards to be applied in
> deciding if an injunction is to be granted. It is convenient if logging is
> postponed for a year or even a few years on Meares Island. Justice to the
> Indian bands in these unusual circumstances means giving a decision on
> the merits of their claim before destroying the forest involved in that
> claim.[86]

With logging halted on Meares Island, the Nuu-chah-nulth and environmentalists

emerged as the victors. However, tensions erupted again in the summer of 1993 when

MacMillan Bloedel was given permission by the court to begin logging. Protesters under

injunctions were not permitted to block operations. MacMillan Bloedel prepared briefing

notes in 1993 arguing that First Nations interests did not oppose logging or commercial

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[82] Seccia, "Meares Island Court Injunction 25 years later."
[83] Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 198.
[84] Mulgrew, "Waiting for Conflict on Meares Island."
[85] Ibid.
[86] *MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. V. Mullin*, British Columbia Court of Appeal, (Vancouver: BC, March 27, 1985), 127.

development in Clayoquot sound.[87] Furthermore, MacMillan argued that they did not

seek full preservation under park status as they would limit the Nuu-chah-nulth's interests.

They claimed that rather than an end to logging, the Nuu-chah-nulth sought,

> ...a stronger voice in forest planning and management and a larger part of
> the economic benefits created from sustainable logging in Clayoquot
> Sound.[88]

Guujaaw and the Haida in South Moresby who were interested in land claims and

nationhood, had sought the same goal of a stronger voice and economic benefits, not the

permanent end of industry on their land. Friends of Clayoquot Sound, local residents and

environmentalists erected a blockade against MacMillan Bloedel's operations in what

was called the "largest display of organized civil disobedience in BC history."[89] By the

end of August, 1993, over 856 protesters had been arrested and charged with contempt of

court.[90] As in the case of South Moresby, the media, television and newspapers placed

the protest on the national and international stages which in turn increased public

awareness and pressure on the provincial government. An opinion poll conducted at the

end of August by Marktrend Research of Vancouver, BC, showed that 80% of Canadians

knew about Clayoquot sound and the protests.[91] Public pressure had reached its highest

point which prompted the province to review its situation.

As a result of the 1993 protests in Clayoquot Sound, industry and the

environmental movement changed course. MacMillan Bloedel reevaluated its methods

for forest management and corporate culture and in 1993 released a report demonstrating

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[87] MB Public Affairs, "MacMillan Bloedel & Clayoquot Sound: Briefing Notes," (Vancouver, BC: *The Firm*, 1993), 7.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Richard Watts, "Clayoquot Sound [Final Edition]," *Vancouver Sun*, Aug 9, 2003.
[91] MB Public Affairs, "MacMillan Bloedel & Clayoquot Sound: Briefing Notes," 11.

its reformed ideology towards forest management and relations with First Nations groups.[92] The report clearly stated the firm's legal compliance during the protests and its willingness to accept any terms the government put in place in regards to operations in Clayoquot Sound.[93] On the other side of the battle, Greenpeace and Friends of Clayoquot Sound petitioned companies such as Staples and Home Depot to stop stocking wood products made from old growth forests.[94] Environmentalist Tzeporah Berman claimed they

> …launched an international movement to protect ancient forests and for the first time ever… connected the logging of ancient forests to the lumber and paper on shelves."[95]

In October of 1993 the Province of British Columbia under Premier Mike Harcourt and the Central Region Chiefs of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) entered into formal negotiations on special interim measures for Clayoquot Sound. On December 10, 1993, the Province and five chiefs of the NTC signed The Hawiih of Clayoquot Sound Interim Measures Agreement, a two year interim agreement providing greater First Nations participation in forest management in Clayoquot Sound. This agreement included the promotion of industry and First Nations relations and incentives for job creation.[96] "Intended to conserve resources for future generations of the Central Region Nuu-chah-nulth Tribes," the agreement also identified areas for joint management and development.[97] Furthermore, it established a baseline for co-management in Clayoquot Sound and ensured no logging could take place until land claims were settled. On

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[92] Watts, "Clayoquot Sound."
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] MB Public Affairs, "MacMillan Bloedel & Clayoquot Sound: Briefing Notes."
[97] Interim Measures Agreements, *Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second and The Hawiih of Clayoquot Sound*, December 10, 1993.

November 13, 2008, the Tla-o-qui-aht signed an incremental treaty agreement with the province of British Columbia. However, the future of Meares Island is still unclear as treaty negotiations between the province of British Columbia, the federal government and local First Nations continue.[98] What is clear, as was the case in South Moresby, is that the provincial government had been put under intense pressure locally, nationally and internationally. Changing their policies, the government and MacMillan Bloedel decided to cooperate with the Nuu-chah-nulth and a new context of co-management and cooperation was established.

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[98] Seccia, "Meares Island Court Injunction 25 years later."

The Stein Valley and the Nlaka`pamux

The Stein Valley is one of the largest watersheds in British Columbia.[99] Approximately 1060 square kilometers in size, it is three hours driving from Vancouver, BC. Its mouth empties into the Fraser River near its junction with the Thompson River. At its heart is the Stein River that flows from headwaters at Whistler to Lytton. Stein activist, Michael M'Gonigle described the valley in 1988 as "a living ecological whole, the last large unroaded/unlogged watershed in Southwestern British Columbia."[100]

Stretching back over 7000 years, the First Nations history of the Stein Valley is rich. It was an important source of spirituality for the population of Nlaka`pamux peoples with an abundance of resources including fish, game, and vegetation. There were several semi-permanent village sites near the river's mouth. The fur trade, the gold mining boom, roadwork, railroads and forestry development over the last 150 years have all kept the area under outside pressure.[101]

Between the 1950s and the 1980s the focus in the area was on forestry and timber exploitation. As timber resources along British Columbia's coast were depleted, interests moved into the interior. M'Gonigle states in *Stein: The Way of the River* that by 1970 "every valley around the Stein [was] roaded and logged."[102] He further claims it quickly emerged as the "last large undeveloped watershed" and "an island in a sea of stumps,"

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[99] M'Gonigle, "Native Rights and Environmental Sustainability," 109.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Michael R. M'Gonigle and Wendy C. Wickwire, *Stein: The Way of the River*, (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1988), 63/64.
[102] Ibid.

highlighting its importance to the BC environmental cause.[103] However, more imperative

was its importance to the Nlaka`pamux peoples. As M'Gonigle expressed it in 1988:

> [The Stein] …represents the last chance for one Native culture to keep
> contact with the physical source of its cultural traditions and spiritual
> knowledge. At a time when the wisdom and spirituality of native ways is
> becoming appreciated by a growing segment of the population, the
> preservation of the Stein presents an important opportunity to protect and
> learn from a unique confluence of nature and natural values.[104]

What this chapter will show is how M'Gonigle's statement about the inherent

spirituality of the Stein Valley would continue to build support for its preservation.

Resistance to logging operations started to develop in 1972 when the Ministry of

Forests began looking at the feasibility of timber exploitation around the Stein Valley.[105]

When the BC Social Credit Government announced Stein logging in 1976,

environmentalists took concerted action.[106] The "Save the Stein Coalition" was formed in

1977 and quickly signed up 45,000 members.[107] This coalition combined seventeen

recreation and non-governmental environmental groups.[108] With little infrastructure such

as roads or trails, few people outside of the First Nations communities or wildlife

enthusiasts knew of the Stein Valley. To raise public awareness and attract more hikers

into the area, David Thompson and Roger Freeman published a hiking guide in 1979,

Exploring the Stein River Valley.[109] The book became "a significant catalyst for drawing

the logging issue into the general public domain."[110] Gordon White's *Stein Valley*

Wilderness Guidebook written in 1991 would also became a tool for raising public

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[103] M'Gonigle, "Native Rights and Environmental Sustainability," 109.
[104] Ibid., 110.
[105] Wendy Wickwire, "Ethnography and Archaeology as Ideology: The Case of the Stein River Valley," *BC Studies,* 91/92, (1991): 52.
[106] M'Gonigle, "Native Rights and Environmental Sustainability," 110.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Wickwire, "Ethnography and Archaeology as Ideology," 58.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

awareness in the area. White argued his sole intent for the book's creation was to bring people to the Stein.[111] In 1978, on behalf of the province and due to pressure from the "Save the Stein Coalition," the "Stein River Public Liaison Committee" was formed to gather information on the area including wildlife populations, vegetation, timber varieties and accessibility in order to look at future logging potential.[112] Although environmentalists were permitted to join the committee, the Nlaka`pamux First Nations, whose lives were tied to the area were not.

In 1982 the Public Liaison Committee was dissolved and the Province announced logging would proceed in the valley along a route specifically opposed by environmentalists.[113] First Nations, environmentalists and concerned citizens began a more determined effort to organize an opposition movement. Unlike the Public Liaison Committee, these groups were solely interested in preservation which meant no roads, no logging, and no mining in the valley.[114] In 1985 formal construction was to begin on logging roads into the Stein and this is where the movement fully developed. As with the case of South Moresby and Meares Island, the local First Nations Bands in the Stein made their full opposition known. The "Stein Action Committee" was established by Lytton and Lillooet residents and the "Stein Wilderness Alliance" was set up in Vancouver.[115] In 1986 the Wilderness Advisory Committee made a recommendation to the provincial government:

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[111] Gordon White, *Stein Valley Wilderness Guidebook*, (Vancouver: Stein Wilderness Alliance, 1991), 11.
[112] M'Gonigle and Wickwire, *Stein: The Way of the River*, 129.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid., 132.
[115] Wickwire, "Ethnography and Archaeology as Ideology," 60.

> A road should not be constructed through the Stein River Canyon without a formal agreement between Lytton Indian Band and the Provincial government.[116]

This recommendation, combined with the public media attention the South Moresby and Meares Island movements were creating, and the "rising awareness of wilderness preservation issues and Indigenous People's concerns," swayed the province to reconsider its plans for the Stein Valley.[117]

Between 1985 and 1995, the Provincial government and the Lytton and Mount Currie First Nations managed to prevent logging, but neither side could come to a final agreement on the issue. Both sides were unwavering in their respective positions.[118] Pro-loggers saw the area as a means for employment and economic security and First Nations peoples saw it as a fight for cultural preservation. In 1988 Lytton and Mount Currie chiefs Ruby Dunstan, Leonard Andrew and environmentalist John McCandless visited New Zealand to address logging company Fletcher Challenge and its stakeholders on the issue of the Stein Valley.[119] Although little progress was made, the group attracted considerable international attention.[120] Ruby Dunstan, the first female chief of the Lytton First Nation Band and a leader in the Stein Valley Movement for over ten years argued that

> The Indian people have shared and shared and shared until we have nothing left to share. There will be no compromise in the Stein Valley.[121]

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[116] White, *Stein Valley Wilderness Guidebook*, 181.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Terry Glavin, "Money isn't everything, Lytton chief tells forum; Chief sees other uses for Stein," *Vancouver Sun*, November 24, 1988.
[119] White, *Stein Valley Wilderness Guidebook*, 181.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.

Demonstrating the firm position of the Lytton and Mount Currie bands, in 1989 Dunstan said "the province said [the Stein] was theirs and I said no, it is ours." The public would be the deciding factor in the case.

A successful strategy in raising public awareness was the Labour Day Stein Valley "Voices for the Wilderness" festival in support of the Stein issue in 1985. Over 400 people hiked up to the timberline.[122] They camped together for several days of singing, story-telling, feasting, speech-making, ceremonies and political strategy discussions meant to draw attention to the Stein Valley.[123] Because of its success, McCandless organized annual festivals that, by 1989, drew over 20,000 attendees.[124] To build on this activity, Michael M'Gonigle and Wendy Wickwire published a coffee table book, *Stein: The Way of the River* in 1988. This book acted much like the Island Protection Society's *Islands at the Edge* for South Moresby and Paul George's *Meares: Protecting a Natural Paradise* by showing the beauty and history of the area. In 1991 Gordon White released a 2nd edition of the *Stein Valley Wilderness Guidebook* meant to attract hiking and wilderness enthusiasts to the Stein.[125]

Another tactic for preservation used in the Stein Valley was the Lytton and Mount Currie Band's declaration of a formal park meant to act as an economic alternative to the proposed logging plan. In June 1989, they proposed their idea for a Stein Tribal Heritage Park with a museum, restaurant, cultural center, lodges, campsites and tours of the Stein River.[126] Using $100,000 in federal economic development funds, the plan was meant to

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[122] Voices for the Wilderness (1986), "A slide tape presentation commemorating the first Stein Valley Alpine Cultural Festival (1985)," Produced by Norbert Ruebsaat and Hildegard Westerkamp. [online] http://www.sfu.ca/~westerka/installations/wildernessvoices.html
[123] Ibid.
[124] Unknown, "Stein festival overwhelmed by turnout: [Final Edition]," *Ottawa Citizen*, August 9, 1989.
[125] White, *Stein Valley Wilderness Guidebook*, 11.
[126] Terry Glavin, "Indians unveil plan to save the Stein," *Vancouver Sun*, June 24, 1989.

increase lower mainland tourism to the area.[127] Much like the South Moresby and Meares Island First Nations park designations, the purpose was to declare and establish heritage parkland in an area sought by the logging industry in order to help ensure preservation and establish their claim to the land. However, unlike in the cases of South Moresby and Meares Island, the Stein had a rich and well-studied collection of archaeological sites at direct risk of damage from logging that would be essential to their claims.

Central to the anti-logging case were a series of pictograph panels along proposed logging roads. The "Stein River Heritage: Summary and Evaluation," by Dana Lepofsky and Wendy Wickwire assesses proposed road sites for possible impacts on Stein River Valley pictographs.[128] They conclude that four pictograph sites were in danger of damage. More importantly as her article on the subject suggests, Wickwire,

> Challenged the assumption that a pictograph was a physical artifact only, suggesting instead that the definition be expanded to include the images within their environmental context.[129]

This suggested a need to view pictographs as relational to the entire valley and records of spiritual offerings, acting as possible trail markers, warnings, war or hunting routes and markers of spiritual power.[130]

As "living records of spiritual offerings, ceremonies, dreams and visions," Wickwire and M'Gonigle claim they would be seen as sources of power.[131] In a watershed filled with areas designated as places of power, they act as potent pieces of evidence in proving the validity of spirituality in the Stein and its importance as a

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[127] Glavin, "Indians unveil plan to save the Stein."
[128] Wickwire, "Ethnography and Archaeology as Ideology," 63.
[129] Ibid.
[130] M'Gonigle and Wickwire, *Stein: The Way of the River*, 47.
[131] Ibid.

spiritual center.[132] Wickwire and Lepofsky drew on ethnographer James Teit who wrote that Mount Roach (K`ek`azik in local tongue), located at the far eastern edge of the Stein River Valley, was a well-known source of power.[133] They also drew on contemporary elders such as Louies Phillips who described the Stein as "the best mountain for getting your power," and a popular site for youth searching for their guardian spirits.[134] In 1993 Richard Daly and Chris Arnett published a book, *They Write Their Dreams on the Rock Forever*, which discussed these points. In their book they highlighted the perspectives of Annie York on the spiritual side of the valley. They also drew on elder Rosie Adams Fandrich who explained the spiritual value of the valley:

> [The] Stein is like Moses' mountain [and] those rock figures are sacred like the Commandments. If I have bad luck, or too much on my mind, I go into quiet places like that, and I sit. You can drum, and sing and dance if you like. Mostly I sit and I pray. After a while in there you feel better.[135]

All of this emphasized the connection of First Nations and outsiders to the Stein River Valley.

The Rediscovery Program reinforced the spiritual importance of the Stein Valley. Founded in 1978 in Haida Gwaii by activist Thom Henley, the program was a way to help youth "discover the wonders of the natural world."[136] The Stein Rediscovery program formed in the late 1980s and drew in local elders and youths. David Adam Lertzman, who worked in the Stein Rediscovery Camp notes in his 2002 article "Rediscovering Rights of Passage" that rites of passage and the transition from childhood to adulthood offer great insights into a culture. Lertzman argues these Rediscovery

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[132] M'Gonigle and Wickwire, *Stein: The Way of the River*, 48.
[133] Ibid., 50.
[134] Ibid.
[135] New Age Travel, "Vision Quest Rock Paintings of the Stein," http://newagetravel.com/stein-valley-bc.shtml (accessed October 7, 2014).
[136] Ibid.

programs included "cultural foundations and spiritual teachings" and that non-native people were attracted to these experiences.[137]

Lertzman claims the Rediscovery Program "[was] a magical, fun and healing experience."[138] Further, he writes it took place "in the ultimate, most ancient classroom: Mother Earth." [139] Clearly the Stein Rediscovery Programs placed an important emphasis on spirituality as well as physical activity. On reflecting on the value of the program, Lertzman states that it helped bridge psychological and spiritual changes. Without these systems in place and a sense of spiritual well-being "people can become disorientated and lose their way in their life journey."[140] One of the main goals of the Stein Rediscovery program was to challenge participants to find their "spiritual spot" (a place to sit alone in silence and reflection daily).[141] It was a contemporary version of the traditional vision quest, a well-known and popularised rite of passage for many First Nations.

Non-indigenous activist involvement in the Stein Valley was a vital part of the Stein movement's success. This involvement came from efforts to bring outsiders to the Stein. Once hikers had hiked the Stein Valley or taken part in Rediscovery Camps or the Voices for the Wilderness festivals, the experience often pushed them to support the campaign in order to save it. Lertzman explains this as follows:

> Direct experience of the land can help you gain great personal insight so, when participants hike several days into a mountain valley; they are going deeper within themselves. The land is a living symbol of the spiritual

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[137] M'Gonigle, "Native Rights and Environmental Sustainability," 2.
[138] David A. Lertzman, "Rediscovering Rights of Passage: Education, Transformation, and the Transition to Sustainability," *Conservation Ecology* 5(2), Art 30 (2002). URL:http://www.consecol.org/vol5/iss2/art30/
[139] Ibid.
[140] Shephard Chidarikire, "Spirituality: The Neglected Dimension of Holistic Mental Health Care." *Advances in Mental Health* 10(3), June 1 (2012): 300.
[141] Lertzman, "Rediscovering Rights of Passage," 2.

purity and tenacious life force that empowers the heart and spirit of young people.[142]

Joe Foy of the Wilderness Committee National Campaign had such an experience on his first hike into the Stein River Valley in 1980. He felt a sense of wonder and spirituality during his trek which he says set him on the path of environmental activism.[143] Gordon White suggested that once one visits the Stein, one learns not just about nature, but about oneself. He claimed it was a place of "rejuvenation," to "cleanse one's body, mind and soul."[144] Freeman and Thompson dedicated their book, *Exploring the Stein River Valley*, to Father Damasus Payne, a monk and mountaineer from the Westminster Abbey in Mission, BC. A lover of the Stein Valley, he described his spiritual connection to the area in 1977:

> I hope and pray that this area will be reserved... for people who will treat it gently and share it with others. A hundred years from now I can imagine a doctor prescribing a trip through the Stein for one who needs to regain a basic rhythm of life and a faith in human nature too. The Stein Valley would be a living testimony to the truth that one generation of this province considered the needs of the next. They would find to their joy, one resource of our Province that cannot be renewed or restored – the beauty of this land as it came from the hand of god.[145]

This statement, from an outsider of the Valley demonstrates that its power was not just localized.

On November 23, 1995, New Democratic Party Premier Mike Harcourt ended the twenty-five year battle over the Stein Valley by creating the Nlaka`pamux Heritage Park.

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[142] Lertzman, "Rediscovering Rights of Passage," 2.

[143] M'Gonigle and Wickwire, Stein: The Way of the River, 18.

[144] Gordon White, *Stein Valley Wilderness Guidebook*, (Vancouver: Stein Wilderness Alliance, 1991), 12.

[145] Roger Freeman and David Thompson, *Exploring the Stein River Valley*, (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1979), 5.

Co-managed by the Nlaka'pamux and the Province, the plan ensured the preservation of

the "historical, cultural and spiritual significance of the valley."[146] The Stein Valley

stands apart from the South Moresby and Meares Island movements in that it was able to

avoid the use of blockades. In 1989 Dunstan said

> The thing we have tried to do with this Stein issue is show that we do not
> want confrontation; we do not want roadblocks - only as a last resort. I
> said I would try to do everything that I could to receive recognition for
> something that we believe is ours.[147]

The "Save the Stein" campaign had been successful in gaining public support and

applying pressure to the Province to address its demands for preservation. As Ruby

Dunstan pointed out in 1995,

> For us to gain support, we had to educate people about who we were. It
> really opened their eyes. The more they understood, the more they came
> on board.[148]

Chief Byron Spinks of the Lytton First Nations Band in 1995 argued for the importance

of the preservation of the Stein:

> It's a sacred valley. Each person who visits the valley experiences a
> different spirituality. The environmental values, the spirituality and the
> ecological diversity – that's what makes it unique.[149]

The Stein Valley movement used similar tactics as South Moresby and Meares

Island including the publication of books on the area, media and public awareness

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[146] Unknown, "BC protects Stein River Valley." *Nature Alert*, (Winter), 1996.
[147] Arlene Hirschhfelder, *Native Heritage: Personal Accounts by American Indians, 1790 to the Present*, (New York: Macmillan, 1995), 52.
[148] Larry Pynn, "Stein Valley to be declared a park," *Vancouver Sun*, November 22, 1995.
[149] Ian Austin, "Stein Valley Park Hailed, Bewailed," *Province*, November 23, 1995.

campaigns, and the use of courts. The existence of sensitive archeological sites, the implementation of wilderness programs and the organizing of the Voices for the Wilderness festivals were all key to bringing in outsiders and raising public support without the use of roadblocks. The movement was at the cusp of Sewell's "new dominant world view" theory and inordinate pressure from the South Moresby and Meares Island movements eased the process of government acquiescence to Nlaka`pamux First Nations desires.

Contextualizing Environmental Language

One important component of these three environmental movements is the

strategic deployment of terms such as "nature," "pristine," "natural," and "paradise."

Theorists Bruce Braun and Paul Nadasdy have analysed such terms in the context of the

"ecologically noble Indian." In *The Intemperate Rainforest*, geographer Bruce Braun

presents nature as a malleable entity, continuously manipulated by humans. Braun claims

environmentalists have constructed nature as a domain opposed to, and separate from

society. This is exemplified through British Columbia's forest industry and "burgeoning

adventure travel market."[150] Braun further argues nature is viewed as,

> ...the site of 'resources,' a stage for 'recreation,' a source for 'spiritual
> renewal,' and a scene for 'aesthetic reflection.'[151]

He shows how culture and nature are intertwined, forming an externality produced

through practices of everyday life.[152] It is, he writes:

> ...a hybrid realm, crisscrossed by flows of energy and matter and the
> movements of animals, plants, people, machines, and ideas.[153]

Furthermore, he suggests that the use of language such as the term nature or paradise

encompasses

> ...a complex terrain of culture, politics, and power... in which the future
> of many actors, both human and non-human, hangs in the balance.[154]

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[150] Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest,* ix.
[151] Ibid., x.
[152] Ibid., x.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.

Actors such as First Nations suffer because through making nature primal, they must be removed from nature all together or collapse into it.[155]

Using the 1993 Clayoquot Sound protests, Braun discusses the binary logic of the battle between "pristine nature" and "destructive humanity." He shows how the placement of pristine nature against destructive humanity marginalizes many of those actors involved who do not fit within the context of those terms.[156] Nature is viewed and objectified as something several competing interests (environmentalists, government and industry) fight over. Braun asks how nature is

> ...made visible, how it enters history as an object of economic and political calculation and a site of emotional and libidinal investment.[157]

He claims that using terms such as nature, oversimplifies the complex politics of these struggles.

Braun concludes that rather than nature or paradise being self-evident, we recognize its legibility through economic and political influence. In this view, nature is a social construct that draws on terms like nature, pristine and paradise. Social nature challenges our romanticisation of language which posits nature outside of history as something timeless and in doing so ignores First Nations history.[158]

Anthropologist Paul Nadasdy offers a similar argument in his article "Transcending the debate over the Ecologically Noble Indian: Indigenous Peoples and Environmentalism," Here he analyses the phrase "ecologically noble Indian" and its

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[155] Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest,* xix.
[156] Ibid., 2.
[157] Ibid., 3.
[158] Ibid.

associated terms "conservation" and "environmentalism" to show how settler North Americans have colonized indigenous people's beliefs and values in North American culture.[159] Environmentalists have attached themselves to First Nations groups due to a perceived mutual desire for preservation of the environment based on their assumptions of First Nations peoples as environmental saviours.[160] Nadasdy deconstructs this position in the context of environmentalism showing how it has impacted First Nations groups. He asks how unexamined assumptions about the nature of environmentalist thought and practice shape understandings of indigenous people and their relationship to the environment and environmentalists.[161] Furthermore, he argues that in order to understand the relationship between environmentalists and indigenous peoples, we must stop using our Euro-American ideas of ecological nobility to judge indigenous actions and should instead focus on the social relations and cultural assumptions underlying their actions.[162] Even the act of determining whether or not First Nations peoples qualify as environmentalists is difficult because it depends on how they identify within our Euro-American set of assumptions.

Both Braun and Nadasdy stress that First Nations peoples are neither environmentalists nor non-environmentalists, but rather something in-between. Nadasdy argues that to cast them as either is to

> ...impose a whole set of inappropriate cultural assumptions on... [a] people and their relationship to the land and animals.[163]

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[159] Paul Nadasdy, "Transcending the debate over the Ecologically Noble Indian: Indigenous Peoples and Environmentalism," *Ethnohistory*, 52(2), (2005): 291.
[160] Ibid., 292.
[161] Ibid., 295.
[162] Ibid., 303.
[163] Ibid., 310.

However, a certain amount of credibility is given to indigenous peoples when the "ecologically noble Indian" image is used. This can add great strength when used politically as political goals and environmental concerns often converge. Land rights and title, self-government and resource development are entwined with spiritual ideas of proper and improper use of the environment.[164] Both Braun and Nadasdy argue that current environmental movements often erase First Nations history, their beliefs, values and practices and their place in environmental movements. According to Braun, the problem is the binary created by terms such as nature, pristine, and paradise. According to Nadasdy, such terms stereotype First Nations people by presenting them as the original preservationists and ignoring the intricacies of First Nations beliefs and practices.

In considering the South Moresby, Meares Island and Stein River Valley environmental movements, one must ponder the implication of this language. In each of these environmental movements First Nations groups took advantage of this language and their stereotyped image as "one with the environment" in order to build support worldwide for their conflicts. However, Braun and Nadasdy argue they were simultaneously negatively impacted by the expectations of the public and environmentalists to uphold that image. When they didn't, First Nations and environmentalist relationships suffered. Whether those relationships would hold was not of great concern; what were vital to these movements were alliances of mutual desire that succeeded in changing provincial, federal and industry forest policies and practices.

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[164] Nadasdy, "Transcending the debate over the Ecologically Noble Indian," 314.

Conclusion

First Nations peoples and environmentalists have shared what is sometimes referred to as an "uneasy alliance." However, political scientist Jeremy Wilson shows this relationship has largely been cooperative and successful. [165] In the cases of South Moresby, Meares Island and the Stein Valley, the cooperation of environmentalists and First Nations groups was paramount to garnering public attention for the problems at hand. They also applied pressure to the political and industrial systems aimed against them. The working relationships between the Island Protection Society and Haida at South Moresby, the Friends of Clayoquot Sound and the Nuu-chah-nulth at Meares Island, and the Lytton and Mount Currie bands and outsiders at the Stein Valley, succeeded in garnering support locally, nationally and internationally.

In each case, environmental groups attached themselves to individual First Nations groups. This was a relationship of mutual need but also one based on perceived similar environmental ideals. Although the Haida, Nuu-chah-nulth and Nlaka`pamux First nations worked alongside their temporary allies, their end goals were divergent. First Nations were fighting for land rights, title and resource development, where environmentalists were fighting for preservation. Their differences quickly became clear when the battles ended and First Nations groups moved to develop natural resources on their land. Although the relationships were built on common desires, they would separate due to what Nadasdy argued was the inevitable realization that First Nations Peoples are not the "ecologically noble Indians" our Euro-American perspective stereotypes them as.

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[165] Wilson, *Talk and Log,* 89.

Although the end goals of the First Nations and environmental groups differed with each movement, separated by time and distance, all three cases led to the creation of parkland and the prevention of logging. They also led to co-management agreements between government and First Nations.[166] M'Gonigle's early prediction seems to have been correct. He argued that if environmental movements could move away from their "issue-specific" strategies of the past and come together through a collective vision and strategy for the future, they could provide the context for politics and economics in British Columbia.[167]

> ...despite the seeming isolation of the individual Band or small local group of environmentalists, no conflict is an island. Each is part of a large and growing movement seeking to create a sustainable foundation for native and non-Native cultures in British Columbia.[168]

Sewell argued a similar line, that these battles were spawning a "new dominant world order." This paper agrees with both, that the three movements did fuel one another and even though geographically separate; they did apply inordinate pressure on the political system, succeeding in pushing the provincial government to bend its policy rather than break under public pressure. In her book *Islands' Spirit Rising*, Louise Takeda acknowledges this shift in political policy when discussing the dramatic rise of opposition to industrial logging in the 1980s:

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[166] At South Moresby in 1993 the Gwaii Haanas Agreement in which the Haida Nation and the Government of Canada agreed to the cooperative planning, management and operation of the terrestrial and marine areas was signed. Also, in the same year the Province and five chiefs of the NTC signed The Hawiih of Clayoquot Sound Interim Measures Agreement, a two year interim agreement providing greater First Nations participation in forest management in Clayoquot Sound. On November 23, 1995, the battle for the Stein River Valley ended. British Columbia Premier Mike Harcourt ended the twenty-five year battle by creating the Nlaka`pamux Heritage Park to be co-managed by the Nlaka`pamux and the Province.
[167] M'Gonigle, "Native Rights and Environmental Sustainability," 126.
[168] Ibid.

> The need to restore social order and end the escalating "war in the woods" compelled the BC government to make a conceptual shift from top-down technical approaches toward more democratic and inclusive approaches to resource management.[169]

What remains to be seen is how far the context for politics and economics will shift in the future.

Several issues persist after the success of these movements. Land claims are still unsettled and First Nations and environmentalist relationships have been strained due to opposing end goals. For example logging continues in Haida Gwaii under co-management of First Nations and industry which environmentalists oppose. The "ecologically noble Indian" image and language around environmentalism still permeate urban views of nature. Nature continues to be objectified and regarded as separate from culture where instead, it must be viewed as part of our history and politics and not as Braun argues it is now, as a "site that somehow magically lies outside the messy world of history and politics."[170] Regardless of these issues, what is clear is that a "new dominant world view" had taken hold in British Columbia with industry and government working cooperatively rather than against one another. It was a new wave of public environmental acumen. It is this ever changing world view that is fueling discussions of language around the environment and social nature. By viewing nature as socially constructed we can hold language and other cultural-political strategies accountable for the ways in which nature serves humans and vice versa.[171]

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[169] Takeda, *Islands' Spirit Rising: Reclaiming the Forests of Haida Gwaii*, 8.
[170] Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest*, x.
[171] Ibid., 2.

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