

**“When Blue is Green”:
Towards a History of Workers as Environmentalists
in British Columbia and Beyond**

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the history of working-class environmentalism. It investigates the relationship between work and the environment and between workers and environmentalists. It presents five case studies that focus on the relationship between workers and the environment in British Columbia from the 1930s to the present, with particular emphasis on the forestry industry. Each case study examines how the interests of workers both intersect and conflict with the interests of environmentalists and how this intersection of interests presented itself throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Additionally, this dissertation examines how the working class has historically been constructed as the adversary of nature or wilderness and aims to explore how the working class, resource workers in particular, have come to symbolize that adversarial relationship. As well, it hopes to answer more epistemological questions about why working class environmentalism has not entered our lexicon and how lacking a sense of the working-class environmentalist serves to shape a discourse in which the history of worker environmentalism has been largely passed over. This study also explores how the collective memory of environmentalism has been constructed to exclude notions of class, and thus how environmentalism and the working class have been constructed as mutually exclusive categories.

While this dissertation explores the exclusion of working class environmentalism it also attempts to write the worker-environmentalist back into history and show how teaching working class and labour history can help remedy this exclusion.

Keywords: Labour; Environmentalism; Environmental discourses; Working Class; British Columbia; Environmental Justice

Dedication

To my Mom

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

The conflict between loggers and environmentalists is a common theme in the recent history of British Columbia, and much has been made of the so-called “war in the woods.” “War in the woods” has become the media’s shorthand for most environmental disputes and often frames the story as a struggle between workers and environmentalists. It was used in relation to the Walbran Valley protests and then to describe the protests over Clayoquot Sound.¹ However, this shorthand simplifies a complicated relationship between workers and the environment. Focusing solely on the struggles between workers and environmentalists both obscures common interests between the two groups and ignores worker-based activism on behalf of the environment.

The history of worker-based activism on behalf of the environment, which I call worker environmentalism in this dissertation, has often been overlooked and at times misrepresented. Richard White, in his article “Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?” suggests that environmentalists do not adequately consider work in their understanding of environmental issues. He argues, “Most environmentalists disdain and distrust those who most obviously work in nature. Environmentalists have come to associate work—particularly heavy bodily labor, blue-collar work—with environmental

¹ For examples of how “War in the Woods” has been used over time, see *Julia Prinselaar*, “Forward-Thinking Forestry—Clayoquot Sound’s War in the Woods,” *Watershed Sentinel*, Summer 2012. CBC News uses the term specifically to reference Clayoquot in “The War in the Clayoquot Woods is Over,” CBC Digital Archives, <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/the-war-in-the-clayoquot-woods-is-over>. For the news media’s use of the term as a shorthand for all logging disputes, see Jens Wieting, Valerie Langer, and Eduardo Sousa, “The War in the Woods,” *The Mark*, March 23, 2012; Glen Edwards, “Timber Talk May Spark War of the Woods, Industry Fears,” *Business Vancouver*, July 3, 2012; Sandy McRuer, “B.C. Forestry Would Benefit from a New ‘War in the Woods,’” *Vancouver Sun*, July 19, 2012; and Robert Matas, “Are We in Store for a War in the Woods?,” *The Globe and Mail*, April 24, 2012. *Canadian Geographic* magazine titled a story in their January/February 2011 issue “War for the Woods.” See also Lorna Stefanick, “Baby Stumpy and the War in the Woods: Competing Frames of British Columbia Forests,” *BC Studies*, no. 130 (Summer 2001): 41-68; and Roger Hayter, “The War in the Woods: Post-Fordist Restructuring, Globalization, and the Contested Remapping of British Columbia’s Forest Economy,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, no.3 (September 2003): 706-29, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1515504>.

degradation."² Thomas Dunk makes a similar point, arguing that the environmental movement did not adequately address working-class concerns about resource use.³ My personal experience corroborates White's observation. While working with various environmental groups in the early 1990s to save the Walbran Valley on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, our tactic of choice was to stop the fallers from entering the woods. From using tree sits and laying inventive obstacles on bridges, including suspending someone from the bridge to make the removal of the obstruction potentially fatal to the protestor, to simply standing in the road, we essentially tried to prevent loggers from going to work. Most often, these tactics created not dialogue but rather confrontation and animosity.⁴ This is how my journey to understand the rift between workers and environmentalists began. I was uncomfortable with the ways in which many environmentalists discussed the working class and troubled by how the media reduced the conflict to one between workers and environmentalists, conveniently leaving out the companies actually responsible for environmental degradation and resource exploitation.

Thus, this dissertation started with variations of the same question: Do workers' interests conflict with environmentalism? Can one pursue one's interest as a worker and logically and consistently pursue environmental issues? Is being a resource worker mutually exclusive to the definition of being an environmentalist? On the surface, these are simple questions to answer. Workers can and have acted as environmentalists. There are many instances of workers, and workers' organizations, advocating for improving, and in some cases protecting, the environment.⁵ Examples of workers

² Richard White, "Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?" in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 172.

³ Thomas Dunk, "Talking About Trees: Environment and Society in Forest Workers' Culture," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 31, no. 1 (February 1994): 14-34. I make a similar point in 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 (Fall 2004): 83-119.

⁴ For coverage of the campaign to save the Walbran, see Don Hauka, "War in the Walbran," *The Province*, April 24, 1992; Ann Rees, "Eco-Soldiers Say War's On," *The Province*, July 12, 1992; Times Colonist staff, "'Friends Aim Vigil at MacBlo,'" *Victoria Times Colonist*, June 22, 1992; and Tim Evans, "Old Growth Forests: There's No More Time for Talk," *Vancouver Sun*, June 23, 1992. For an overview of the first year of the campaign to save the Walbran in 1991, see Velcrow Ripper, and Heather Frise, dirs., *The Road Stops Here: The Walbran Valley* (Vancouver: Roadstopping Films, 1991).

⁵ This dissertation uses twentieth-century case studies, but for earlier examples of workers involved in environmental debates in British Columbia, see Mark Leier's discussion of the struggle

advocating on behalf of the environment abound, and include, for example, the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) in British Columbia advocating in its paper the *Lumber Worker* an end to clear cutting and a ban on raw log exports as early as the 1930s. As well, it promoted reforestation and urged conservation of resources. All these positions read like a contemporary environmental group's platform, yet they were called for by a labour union four decades before Greenpeace and the creation of a modern environmental movement.⁶ This example from the IWA only increased my desire to answer the questions I had about workers' relationship to environmentalism. The evidence presented in the following chapters illustrates that workers have acted in defence of, or on behalf of, the environment, however, this aspect of working-class activism has rarely been included in the histories of environmentalism. As a partial remedy to this gap in the historiography, I will analyze how workers have historically acted with environmental interests in mind. In order to examine these questions, I present five case studies that focus on the relationship between workers and the environment in British Columbia from the 1930s to the present, with particular emphasis on the forestry industry. Each case study examines how the interests of workers intersect with the interests of environmentalists, even when this was not necessarily apparent to either side, and how this intersection of interests presented itself throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Additionally, this dissertation examines how the working class has historically been constructed as the adversary of nature or wilderness. In *Wilderness and the American Mind*, renowned environmental historian Roderick Nash argues, "Nature lost its significance as something to which people belonged and became an adversary, a target, merely an object for exploitation."⁷ This dissertation aims to explore how the working class, resource workers in particular, have come to symbolize that adversarial relationship. As well, I hope to answer more epistemological questions about why working class environmentalism has not entered our lexicon and how lacking a sense of

over parkland on Deadman's Island in Vancouver in 1887-89, in *Red Flags and Red Tape: The Making of a Labour Bureaucracy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 58-61. For more on the labour movement and environment at the turn of the century in Vancouver, see Robert A. J. McDonald, "Holy Retreat or Practical Breathing Spot? Class Perceptions of Vancouver's Stanley Park, 1910-1913," *Canadian Historical Review* 65, no. 2 (June 1984): 127-53.

⁶ Jerry Lembcke and William M. Tattam, *One Union in Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1984).

⁷ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), xiii.

the working-class environmentalist serves to shape a discourse in which the history of worker environmentalism has been largely passed over in the writing of the history of environmentalism. This study also explores how the collective memory of environmentalism has been constructed to exclude notions of class, and thus how environmentalism and the working class have been constructed as mutually exclusive categories. In order to explore these issues, it is important to take a second look at the existing historiography of the environmental movement to examine how class has largely been written out of the historiography of environmentalism. While acknowledging that over the past two centuries the environmental movement has been neither static nor homogenous, it is important to note that the historiography of environmentalism has largely excluded workers. In “When Blue is Green,” I explore this exclusion of workers but also illustrate the existence of a worker-environmentalist discourse prior to the birth of the modern environmental movement and throughout the modern environmental period.

The history of the early conservation movement has shaped our understanding of what environmentalism is today. While the origins of the modern environmental movement are located in the 1960s and early 1970s, it grew out of the conservation and preservation movements of the late nineteenth century.⁸ Conservation has taken on different meanings throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Conservation historically meant the opposition to wasteful uses of resources. In nineteenth-century usage, in contrast to preservation, conservation was the more rational, corporatist, utilitarian approach. As Scottish American naturalist John Muir’s biographer Stephen Fox explained, “The general acceptance of the term itself, conservation, reflected the triumph

⁸ The origin of modern environmentalism is dated differently by a variety of authors. Many identify it with the writing of *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson. See, for instance, Mark Hamilton Lytle, *The Gentle Subversive: Rachel Carson, Silent Spring, and the Rise of the Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Eliza Griswold, “How ‘Silent Spring’ Ignited the Environmental Movement,” *New York Times Magazine*, September 21, 2012. Others see Earth Day as the key date in modern environmentalism. See, for instance, Riley E. Dunlop and Angela G. Mertig, eds., *American Environmentalism: The U.S. Environmental Movement, 1970-1990* (Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, 1992). One Canadian perspective identifies it with the founding of Greenpeace in 1971; see Frank Zelko, *Make it a Green Peace! The Rise of Counter Culture Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). Ryan O’Connor, however, places the beginnings in the late 1960s with the founding of Pollution Probe in Ontario. Ryan O’Connor, *The First Green Wave: Pollution Probe and Origins of Environmental Activism in Ontario* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014). The general consensus is that modern environmentalism started in the late 1960s or early 1970s.

of the utilitarian approach.”⁹ Samuel Hays’ influential book *Conservation and the Progressive Era* dealt solely with the utilitarian approach, particularly as practiced by Gordon Pinchot, the Chief Forester under Teddy Roosevelt, and others in the Roosevelt administration who were advocates of his “gospel of efficiency.” The “gospel of efficiency” refers to the pragmatic approach to conservation during the Roosevelt era characterized by the idea that the stewardship of American resources, including the waters, lands, and minerals, should be used for the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time.¹⁰ Rational planning of resource use was the mantra of the gospel of efficiency. In many ways, the Wise Use movement, examined in chapter 4 of this dissertation, attempted to harken back to this idea of rational planning of resource use to invoke for themselves the mantle of utilitarian conservationists and thus legitimate environmentalists. Fox argued that “after 1907 conservation was applied to everything that needed environmental protection. In this broader sense the word passed into everyday language, the original distinction lost.”¹¹ While conservation denoted the utilitarian approach, or wise use of resources, preservation refers to the preserving, or not using, of natural resources. Preservationists declined to think of nature as natural resources and preferred to see nature as wilderness with its own intrinsic value.

Although conservation and preservation seem neatly divided into two opposing categories, the very idea of nature and wilderness is contested. In *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Roderick Nash comments on the elusiveness of a fixed definition of wilderness. “One man’s wilderness may be another’s roadside picnic round,” observed Nash. What he is referring to is the subjective nature of the idea of wilderness. Nash suggests that seeing wilderness as a spectrum, from pure wild to pure civilization, would “permit distinctions to be made between wilderness and such related concepts as scenery, country, outdoors, frontier, and rural.”¹² What is generally seen as wilderness is

⁹ Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Boston: Little Brown, 1981), 108.

¹⁰ For more on Roosevelt era conservation, see Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959). A more recent work on the period is Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Escaping the Dark, Gray City: Fear and Hope in Progressive-Era Conservation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017). For a collection of primary sources from the era, see David Stradling, ed., *Conservation in the Progressive Era: Classic Texts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

¹¹ Fox, *John Muir*, 109.

¹² Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 6.

an undeveloped environment, from mountains to valleys or wild meadows, as long as it is undeveloped or uncultivated. The less human manipulation, the closer it is to being seen as true wilderness. However, this concept relies on ignoring the history of Indigenous presence on the land and their uses of the land. In the Eurocentric conception of wilderness, “the absence of men and the presence of wild animals is assumed.”¹³ In this way, the idea of wilderness becomes predicated on the notion that these areas have been previously absent of humans, thus negating the Indigenous history of occupation of what has become known as North America. Colonization of these lands has resulted in a Eurocentric conservation movement that advocated for parkland from the Progressive Era through to the present.¹⁴ Jon Johnson notes that “there is a persistent myth that, before the arrival of Europeans, most of North America was a trackless, primordial wilderness untouched by human hands.”¹⁵ He goes on to argue that the consequences of this myth have been dire. “This myth of an empty, wild continent,” Johnson writes, “has, not coincidentally, often been used to justify the seizure of Indigenous people’s lands for the use of Euro-Canadian and Euro-American settlers.”¹⁶ Although this dissertation is focused on the idea of worker environmentalism, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that all the land uses discussed in this project are built on the history of colonization.

Historically, the conservation and preservation movements are both cited as the forerunners of the modern environmental movement. However, both conceptions of this

¹³ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3.

¹⁴ On this point, see Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); W. M. Denevan, “The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82 (1992): 369-85; and Brett Clark, “The Indigenous Environmental Movement in the United States: Transcending Borders in Struggles against Mining, Manufacturing, and the Capitalist State,” *Organization & Environment* 14, no.4 (December 2002): 410-42. Lianne C. Leddy examines these issues in a Canadian context in “Intersections of Indigenous and Environmental History in Canada,” *Canadian Historical Review* 98, no.1 (March 2017): 83-95. On the constructed nature of parks, see Sean Kheraj, *Inventing Stanley Park: An Environmental History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).

¹⁵ Jon Johnson, “The Indigenous Environmental History of Toronto, ‘The Meeting Place,’” in *Urban Explorations: Environmental Histories of the Toronto Region*, ed. L. A. Sandberg, S. Bocking, and K. Cruickshank (Ontario: Wilson Institute for Canadian History), 59.

¹⁶ Johnson, “Indigenous Environmental History of Toronto,” 59. On Canada’s reliance on the doctrine of Terra Nullius for justification of colonialization see, Michael Asch, “From Terra Nullius to Affirmation: Reconciling Aboriginal Rights with the Canadian Constitution,” *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 17, no. 2 (2002): 23-40.

history largely ignore the history of industrial or urban environmentalism of the Progressive Era or treat it as a completely separate thing. What we know as environmentalism today follows the wilderness, rather than the urban, roots of environmentalism and harken back to the American icons of today's environmental movement: Emerson, Thoreau, and Muir. These early advocates of what would become environmentalism paid little regard to working on urban problems, as their goal was getting away from urban problems into a state of wilderness and protecting those spaces from the encroachment of industry and all its inherent problems. David Stradling argues in *Smokestacks and Progressives* that there was not much crossover between wilderness advocates and those attending to urban environmental problems.¹⁷

Survey texts on the history of the environmental movement virtually exclude working-class environmental efforts. From the early surveys of the roots of environmentalism in the 1980s through the 1990s and films based on one of the texts in the 2000s, the main survey texts of American environmentalism ignore the parallel development of a class-based environmental movement.¹⁸ The Canadian surveys of the roots of modern environmentalism initially focused on the formation of National and Provincial parks and ignored working-class environmental advocacy.¹⁹ In both the American and Canadian scholarship, the two accepted perspectives on the development of environmentalism, conservationist and preservationist, represented in the historiography failed to appreciate working-class efforts on behalf of the environment.

The lacuna of working-class examples in the historiography is not because the working class did not take up environmental concerns; however, these concerns have become part of the history of the health and safety movement and are not generally cited

¹⁷ David Stradling, *Smokestacks and Progressives: Environmentalists, Engineers, and Air Quality in America, 1881-1951* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

¹⁸ Fox, John; Phillip Shabecoff, *A Fierce Green Fire: The American Environmental Movement* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993). Shabecoff's book has been turned into the film *A Fierce Green Fire*, dir. Mark Kitchell (ZAP Zoetrope Aubry Productions, 2012).

¹⁹ A classic Canadian survey, originally published in 1978, that follows this vein is Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). Tina Loo offers a more nuanced and eclectic history of wildlife conservation in Canada, but the working class is not her focus. Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006). For an overview of the Canadian historiography on conservation and park creation, see Alan MacEachern, "Writing the History of Canadian Parks: Past, Present, and Future," *History Publications* 1 (2008), <http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/historypub/1>.

as part of the environmental movement. For example, Alice Hamilton was at the forefront of investigating industrial diseases and their effects in the workplace and the community. She wrote what would become a classic text called *Industrial Poisons in the United States*.²⁰ She and other labour activists also helped found the Workers Health Bureau in 1921 to “research in adjunct to the union movement for health and safety.”²¹ The Bureau put forward a program that integrated labour and the environment, with the understanding that “health is an industrial and class problem.”²²

Other than Robert Gottlieb’s *Forcing the Spring*, histories of environmentalism ignore this strand of the environmental movement. The widely read history of the roots of modern environmentalism, *John Muir* by Stephen Fox, makes no mention of Hamilton, her book, or the Workers Health Bureau; neither does the influential survey by Phillip Shabecoff, *Fierce Green Fire*.²³ The relevance of this omission is not that they missed one proto-environmentalist, but that they missed the connections between class and environment. David Stradling argues that the omission of urban reform, to which the early class-based environmentalism could be linked, is a long-standing historical paradigm started by Samuel Hays and continued “largely because Progressive Era urban reform does not fit well with the conservation narrative dominated by Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, and John Muir.”²⁴

Although this dissertation does not explore the intersections of race, class, and gender in depth, it is clear that both race and gender are also neglected in the mainstream historiographies. As environmental sociologist Dorceta E. Taylor notes, “The history of American environmentalism presented by most authors is generally limited to the perspective of White middle class male environmental activism.”²⁵ This has begun to

²⁰ Alice Hamilton, *Industrial Poisons in the United States* (New York: Mcmillan Company, 1929), cited in Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993), 51.

²¹ Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring*, 47.

²² Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring*, 69.

²³ Fox, *John Muir*; Shabecoff, *A Fierce Green Fire*.

²⁴ Stradling, *Smokestacks and Progressives*, 194n8.

²⁵ Dorceta E. Taylor, “Race, Class, Gender, and American Environmentalism,” *General Technical Report* (Portland Oregon: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Research Station, 2002), PNW-GTR-534. Also see her more recent, *The Rise of the American Conservation Movement: Power, Privilege, and Environmental Protection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

change. Canadian historian Tina Loo's *States of Nature* deals specifically with the history of conservation of wildlife, but she notes in the Canadian context that conservation "remained firmly grounded in particular interests defined by class and race."²⁶ Although Loo does not examine urban, working-class environmentalism, she does note that the rural working class was being pushed out of consideration by conservationists, arguing that "game laws were instruments of colonization, imposing and urban and bourgeois sensibility about wildlife on rural Canada."²⁷

A recent Canadian environmental history does a better job of incorporating class issues while still falling short of being a history of working-class environmentalism—which, to be fair, it in no way claims to be.²⁸ More problematic is Andrea Olive's survey *The Canadian Environment in Political Context* a political science survey of environmental politics in which the working class disappears entirely. She examines how environmental policy has been constructed in Canada and purportedly looks at all the stakeholders yet never mentions workers, organized labour, or their efforts through lobbying and campaigns to help set environmental policy.²⁹ Despite some improvements, the historiography of environmentalism, in particular mainstream surveys, have neglected the role of working-class environmentalists.

Histories of mainstream environmental movements fail to recognize that industrialization was not simply the scourge of the wilderness; it was also a catalyst for urban environmental movements. Smoke abatement groups were forming at the beginning of the Progressive Era and bringing up their concerns about the smoke caused by coal burning. While many historians of the environmental movement overlook the urban movement in favour of the wilderness side of environmentalism, urban reform movements are equally the forerunners of modern environmentalism. Additionally, urban

²⁶ Loo, *States of Nature*, 37.

²⁷ Loo, *States of Nature*, 40.

²⁸ Laurel Sefton MacDowell, *An Environmental History of Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

²⁹ Andrea Olive, *The Canadian Environment in Political Context* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018). The absence of labour's role is particularly telling in the section on water policy. On pages 131-32, she discusses all stakeholders without ever mentioning any unions, which is odd as CUPE has been advocating for clean, healthy, public, water for decades. See CUPE, "Water Issues and Research," accessed April 11, 2019, https://cupe.ca/issues-research?f%5B0%5D=field_subject%3A55. Also, the section on Forestry (pp. 166-67) makes no mention of the IWA at all.

reform movements contained the first class-based environmental analysis, as demonstrated by Alice Hamilton. However, rather than being understood as part of the history of environmentalism, the urban strand of environmentalism is treated as an entirely different historiography. While urban does not automatically mean working class, the working-class elements of urban environmental groups and advocates are framed as the forerunners of workers' health and safety movements rather than of early environmentalist movements to preserve wilderness or conserve natural resources. Segregating early worker environmentalism within the narrative of workplace health and safety movements enables the separation of the history of environmentalism from working-class history to persist. For example, in her article "Greening the Canadian Workplace: Unions and the Environment," Laurel Sefton MacDowell notes that "throughout the 1970s and 1980s, as unions increasingly brought occupational health and safety matters to the bargaining table, the number of strikes over such issues increased, and unions allocated more staff, time, and money to reducing workplace hazards and disease."³⁰ Activism over workplace hazards and disease is an important line of inquiry when looking at workers as environmentalists, but it is only part of the story, as the pollution factories create does not stop at their fence line.³¹ Relegating the health and safety historiography to a separate branch of history outside of

³⁰ Laurel Sefton MacDowell, "Greening the Canadian Workplace: Unions and the Environment," in *Sustainability: The Challenge: People, Power and the Environment*, ed. L. Anders Sandberg and Sverker Sorlin (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1998), 168.

³¹ For an overview of the history of Occupational Health and Safety, see Herbert K. Abrams, "A Short History of Occupational Health," *Journal of Public Health Policy* 22, no. 1 (2001): 34-80. A classic in the field of workers health and safety is Daniel M. Berman, *Death on the Job: Occupational Health and Safety Struggles in the United States* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978). See also Ronald Boyer, ed., *The Health and Safety of Workers: Case Studies in the Politics of Professional Responsibility* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Bennett M. Judkins, *We Offer Ourselves as Evidence: Toward Workers Control of Occupational Health* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986); and Joel Makower, *Office Hazards: How Your Job Can Make You Sick* (Washington, DC: Tilden Press, 1981). An overview written for workers and union officials is Phillip L. Polakoff, *Work and Health* (Washington, DC: Press Associates, 1984). A good starting point for histories of the struggle for recognition of workers health concerns is Barbara Ellen Smith, *Digging Our Own Graves: Coalminers and the Struggle Over Black Lung Disease* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987). See also James Whiteside, *Regulating Danger: The Struggle for Mine Safety in the Rocky Mountain Coal Industry* (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990); and Claudia Clark, *Radium Girls: Women and Industrial Health Reform, 1910-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). Recent Canadian work on the issue includes Jessica Van Horssen, *A Town Called Asbestos: Environmental Contamination, Health, and Resilience in a Resource Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016). Jeremy Milloy offers a unique take on workplace health issues by examining the issue of violence in the workplace and the inherently violent nature of work in *Blood, Sweat, and Fear: Violence at Work in the North American Auto Industry, 1960-1980* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).

environmentalism serves to reinforce the marginalization of working-class environmentalism. The idea of working-class environmentalism is a current one, and not widely used, partially because the history of workers as environmental advocates has been obscured by classed notions of environmentalism.³²

The exclusion of working-class environmentalism from the historiography has ramifications outside the field of history. Building the history of environmentalism on a faulty historical foundation leads to other misrepresentations of the role of class in social movements. This misrepresentation is prevalent in the field of sociology, more specifically in the work of new social movement theorists who explicitly reject class as a tool of analysis. For example, Alberto Melucci makes his move away from class clear. “I have gradually abandoned the concept of class relationships,” he states. “In systems like contemporary ones, where classes as real social groups are withering away, more appropriate concepts are required.”³³ The idea that the working class is no longer relevant in analyzing social movements is due, in part, to ignoring the growth of the working class, but it is also due to the lack of history showing the working class as key components of social movement mobilization in new social movements. Excluding the history of worker environmentalism from the historiography allows new social movement theorists and activists to ignore working-class mobilizations on behalf of the environment in the past, and thus it is easier to ignore it in the present.³⁴ Key to the examination of the history of worker environmentalists is the understanding that the two seemingly contradictory discourses of class and environmentalism are part of one single historical process. The exclusion of workers from the history of environmentalism is part of a larger hegemonic project to create a historical narrative that excludes class from the discussion of history.

³² Matt T. Huber pursues this line of inquiry in, Matt T. Huber, “Ecological Politics for the Working Class,” *Catalyst* 3 no.1 (Spring, 2019).

³³ Alberto Melucci, “A Strange Kind of Newness: What’s ‘New’ in New Social Movements?” *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, ed. Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 103.

³⁴ For early examples of new social movement theorists who argued that new social movements have displaced the working class as the agent of positive social change in society, see Klaus Eder, “The New Social Movements: Moral Crusades, Political Pressure Groups, or Social Movements?” *Social Research* 52, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 869-90; Claus Offe, “New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics” *Social Research* 52, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 831-32; and Warren Magnusson and R. Walker, “De-Centring the State: Political Theory and Canadian Political Economy,” *Studies in Political Economy* 26, no. 1 (Summer 1988): 37-71.

The link between a historiography that ignores working-class environmentalism to a sociological theory of new social movements may seem tangential. However, one reinforces the other. New social movement theory attempts to explain modern day social movements that are seen to have started in the late 1960s and early 1970s. New social movement theory is predicated on the intellectual move away from so-called foundational narratives in order to explore the fractured identities and multiplicity of experience that new social movement theorists argue are characterized by postmodernism.³⁵ Ellen Meiksins Wood comments on the intellectual trend that dissociates politics from class and argues it represents a retreat from class and is essentially reframing bourgeois liberalism in a different guise.³⁶ This dissertation will examine the repercussions of this theoretical turn. Following Woods, I examine how this trend has erased working-class history and the role of the working class in environmental history from the public discourse around environmentalism. I am particularly interested in how the move towards postmodernism allows class struggle to be contained and the hegemony of capitalism maintained. The historiography of environmentalism that has largely ignored class is reinforced by new social movement theories that deem class irrelevant and argue that new social movements, including the environmental movement, are the new agents of social change. This, in turn, validates new social movement theorists ignoring, and indeed arguing against, the importance of class in their efforts to understand modern environmentalism as a social movement.³⁷ This becomes a closed, mutually reinforcing, theoretical system.

As noted, the different strands of ecology—conservation and preservation—that developed into the modern environmental movement largely neglected the world of work and workers. The history of the ideas we have about the environment, the wilderness, and what constitutes environmentalism, has been largely class segregated. For

³⁵ See Joan Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 773-97 for an example of this trend in history and Bryan Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990) for a critique of this trend.

³⁶ Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Retreat from Class: A New True Socialism* (London: Verso, 1986).

³⁷ New Social Movement scholars have continued to ignore class. Clare Saunders, an environmental politics academic, dismisses Marxists' concerns about the importance of class as a "near obsession." Saunders, *Environmental Networks and Social Movement Theory* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 123.

academics, this exclusion of class results in labour activism being framed as only about workplace issues and more importantly as antithetical to environmental activism.

If working-class environmentalism remains either absent or marginal within the scholarly treatment of environmentalism in Canada and the United States, the same is true for class in general. Historians have gradually moved away from class-based analysis of social movements, and labour has become an understudied aspect of history, replaced by new social movement history and thus creating a historiographical gap in our understanding of the history of post-World War II social movements generally and modern environmentalism specifically. However, there are a number of exceptions to this historiographical pattern.³⁸ Not all observers have embraced the separation of class and environmentalism, and my dissertation is situated within a counternarrative to the mainstream environmental history, loosely called environmental justice.

Environmental justice is a multidisciplinary field, and some books in this field have similar themes to my dissertation. For example, more than thirty years ago, Carlos Schwantes laid out a framework for putting class back into the discourse of environmentalism, but it has been taken up by relatively few.³⁹ Steve Marquardt's *Green Havoc: Panama Disease, Environmental Change, and Labor Process in the Central American Banana Industry* is a similar attempt to look at labour and the environment but

³⁸ It is important to note that there has been a resurgence in more explicitly class-based politics since the financial meltdown of 2008. This has taken many forms; Occupy Wall Street is perhaps the most obvious. On Occupy, see Emily Welty, Matthew Bolton, Meghana Nayak, and Christopher Malone, *Occupying Political Science: The Occupy Wall Street Movement from New York to the World*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). In the United States, a populist candidate—Bernie Sanders—ran for the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party in 2016 and explicitly identified himself as a socialist. On Bernie Sanders, see Heather Gautney, *Crashing the Party: From the Bernie Sanders Campaign to a Progressive Movement* (New York: Verso, 2018). In the UK, the Labour Party elected an explicitly socialist leader in Jeremy Corbyn. On Jeremy Corbyn, see Richard Seymour, *Corbyn: The Strange Rebirth of Radical Politics* (London: Verso, 2017). Perhaps a more successful example of a return to class-based politics post-2008 would be Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America who successfully upset Rep. Joe Crowley in New York's 14th congressional district in a democratic primary with an explicitly socialist platform and ended up winning the seat in the midterm elections in 2018. Gregory Krieg, "A 28-year-old Democratic Socialist just ousted a powerful, 10-term congressman in New York," CNN, last modified June 27, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/26/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-joe-crowley-new-york-14-primary/index.html>. See also the election of explicitly Socialist Kshama Sawant to Seattle City Council, "Socialist Victory in Seattle," *Socialism Today* 174, Jan/Dec 2013/2014. The Seattle Councillor was subsequently reelected and has written a book, *American Socialist* (Verso Books, forthcoming).

³⁹ Carlos Schwantes, "The Concept of the Wagers' Frontier: A Framework for Future Research," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (January 1987): 39-55.

through the lens of the labour process.⁴⁰ A Canadian example of this approach is Richard Rajala's, "The Forest as Factory: Technological Change and Worker Control in the West Coast Logging Industry, 1880-1930."⁴¹

There is also a growing literature on environmental and labour alliances in the United States and Canada. Many of these studies look at how environmental degradation and pollution creating industries disproportionately affect the working class and the poor, in particular racialized workers. Robert Bullard's *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class and Environmental Quality* is a classic in the field.⁴² Laura Pulido's *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest* and Andy Hurley's *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race and Industrial Pollution in Gary, 1945-1980* are excellent examples of this continuing direction in environmental justice literature.⁴³ Ken Cruikshank and Nancy B. Bouchier explored similar themes on the Canadian side of the border in "Blighted Areas and Obnoxious Industries: Constructing Environmental Inequality on an Industrial Waterfront, Hamilton, Ontario, 1890-1960."⁴⁴

Other historians have taken an interest in the classed nature of environmental activism and examined the possibilities of worker environmentalist alliances. Robert Gordon, for example, in his articles "Shell No! OCAW and the Labor-Environmental Alliance," and "Poisons in the Fields: The United Farm Workers, Pesticides, and Environmental Politics," challenges the idea that workers and environmentalists occupy

⁴⁰ Steve Marquardt, "'Green Havoc': Panama Disease, Environmental Change, and Labor Process in the Central American Banana Industry," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 1 (February 2001): 49-80; Harry Braverman, *Labor And Monopoly Capital: The Degradation Of Work In The Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998).

⁴¹ Richard Rajala, "The Forest as Factory: Technological Change and Worker Control in the West Coast Logging Industry, 1880-1930" *Labour/Le Travail* 32 (Fall 1993): 73-104. Richard A. Rajala also explores these themes in *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998). Richard White, *The Organic Machine* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

⁴² Robert Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class and Environmental Quality* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).

⁴³ Laura Pulido, *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996); Andy Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race and Industrial Pollution in Gary, 1945-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

⁴⁴ Ken Cruikshank and Nancy B. Bouchier, "Blighted Areas and Obnoxious Industries: Constructing Environmental Inequality on an Industrial Waterfront, Hamilton, Ontario, 1890-1960," *Environmental History* 9, no. 3 (July 2004): 464-96.

inherently contradictory ideological spaces.⁴⁵ “Between the late 1960s and early 1980s,” Gordon argues, “workers, progressive union leaders, and environmental activists from across the country concluded that the spread of hazardous substances in the workplace and the spread of pollution in the environment represented two aspects of the same problem.”⁴⁶ More recently, historian Chad Montrie published a short overview of workers and environmentalists in the United States entitled *A People’s History of Environmentalism in the United States*.⁴⁷ Eric Loomis’s *Empire of Timber* is most closely associated with the type of work this dissertation is interested in, as he examines the actions of workers as environmentalists in the Pacific Northwest.⁴⁸ Meredith Burgmann and Verity Burgmann’s *Green Bans, Red Union: Environmental Activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers’ Federation* provides a perspective outside of North America, as does Myrna I. Santiago’s *The Ecology of Oil: Environment, Labor, and the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1938*.⁴⁹ In the Canadian context, Gordon Hak explores similar themes in *Capital and Labour in the British Columbia Forest Industry*.⁵⁰ Another example from British Columbia is Richard Rajala’s “This Wasteful Use of a River: Log Driving, Conservation, and British Columbia’s Stellako River Controversy, 1965-72.”⁵¹

Others have explored the relevance of Marxist theory to this type of history. For example, Jonathan Hughes suggests that some of the solutions to the impasse between environmental action and class struggle lie with Marx’s communist slogan, “From each

⁴⁵ Scott Dewey, “Working for the Environment: Organized Labor and the Origins of Environmentalism in the United States, 1948-1970,” *Environmental History* 3, no. 1 (January 1998): 45-63; Robert Gordon, “Shell No! OCAW and the Labor-Environmental Alliance,” *Environmental History* 3, no. 4 (October 1998): 460-87; Gordon, “Poisons in the Fields: The United Farm Workers, Pesticides, and Environmental Politics,” *Pacific Historical Review* 68, no. 1 (February 1999): 51-77.

⁴⁶ Gordon, “Shell No!” 461.

⁴⁷ Chad Montrie, *A People’s History of Environmentalism in the United States* (London: Continuum, 2011). See also Dewey, “Working for the Environment.”

⁴⁸ Eric Loomis, *Empire of Timber: Labor Unions and the Pacific Northwest Forests* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁴⁹ Meredith Burgmann and Verity Burgmann, *Green Bans, Red Union: Environmental Activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers’ Federation*, (Sydney, AU: University of New South Wales Press, 2005); Myrna I. Santiago, *The Ecology of Oil: Environment, Labor, and the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁵⁰ Gordon Hak, *Capital and Labour in the British Columbia Forest Industry, 1934-74* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), esp. chap. 7, “Companies and Unions Meet the Environmental Movement,” 168-88.

⁵¹ Richard Rajala, “This Wasteful Use of a River: Log Driving, Conservation, and British Columbia’s Stellako River Controversy, 1965-72,” *BC Studies* 165 (Spring 2010): 31-74.

according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”⁵² John Bellamy Foster examines the relationship between environmentalists and workers.⁵³ However, both Hughes and Foster are more focused on theory than case studies that illustrate how workers have acted as environmentalists. Not that theoretical work is a problem. We need to examine how workers and environmentalists have been split along class lines. Ellen D. Russell picks up on the theoretical work of Foster in an article on resisting the divide-and-conquer politics of capital and state, stating, “Taking as its point of departure John Bellamy Foster’s caution that environmentalists’ failure to confront issues of class ‘will simply drive workers into the arms of capital,’ this article highlights the specifically capitalist dynamics that may enable capitalist firms to inhibit worker/environmental alliances.”⁵⁴ She goes on to state that her article “develops an accessible analytic framework to anticipate and deter ‘divide and conquer’ strategies, while providing tools that may enhance ‘red/green’ cooperation.”⁵⁵ This dissertation will build on her framework and provide case studies that compliment her theoretical formulation.

Within this relatively small but growing body of literature, the history of workers and environmentalists is merging—and also emerging. It is an exciting time to be doing environmental history that includes working-class history, or vice versa. The theory and practice of working-class environmental history is growing simultaneously. For example, the protest against the World Trade Organization in Seattle, Washington on November 30, 1999, also known as “The Battle of Seattle,” saw the slogan “Teamsters and Turtles together at last” gain international prominence.⁵⁶ A picture of this sign made it into a

⁵² Hughes discusses at length what Marx meant by this statement in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. He argues against the environmentalist interpretation that this was a statement supporting abundant growth. For a full explanation of this, see Jonathan Hughes, *Ecology and Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), particularly chap. 6, “Capitalism, Socialism and the Satisfaction of Needs,” 161-200.

⁵³ John Bellamy Foster, “The Limits of Environmentalism without Class: Lessons from the Ancient Forest Struggle in the Pacific Northwest,” in *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy: Environmental Justice Movements in the United States*, ed. Daniel Faber (New York: The Guilford Press 1998), 189.

⁵⁴ Ellen D. Russell, “Resisting Divide and Conquer: Worker/Environmental Alliances and the Problem of Economic Growth,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 29, no. 4 (December 2018): 109.

⁵⁵ Russell, “Resisting Divide and Conquer,” 110.

⁵⁶ Placard as seen by author, November 30, 1999, Seattle, Washington. Also documented in John Charlton, “Talking Seattle,” *International Socialism* 2, no. 86 (Spring 2000): 3-18. For an account of Seattle, see C. Pearson, “Peaceful in Seattle,” *Our Times* 19 (December/January 1999); and Alexander Cockburn, Jeffrey St. Clair, and Allan Sekula, *5 Days That Shook the World: Seattle and Beyond* (London: Verso, 2000).

number of publications and it was framed by the media as the beginning of the coming together of workers and environmentalists. This was the mainstream media's take on it, however, as "When Blue is Green" illustrates, workers had acted as environmentalists for many decades before the Battle in Seattle. The emerging field of working-class environmental history continues to publish new examples of this convergence. Recently, *Labour/Le Travail* published two articles on worker environmentalism in the same issue: Katrin MacPhee's "Canadian Working-Class Environmentalism, 1965–1985," and Joan McFarland's "Labour and the Environment: Five Stories from New Brunswick Since the 1970s."⁵⁷ This represents a progression in the journal's history and signals the gathering strength of environmental and labour history—working-class environmental history. However, confrontations between workers and environmentalists on the ground have not magically been resolved, nor have the differences between labour history and environmental history been erased. Yet there exists a promising intersection between both sets of groups. By uncovering the history of worker environmentalism, we may help better bridge the gap between workers and environmentalists. It is within this growing body of counterhegemonic discourse that I place my own work.

Building on this new work that puts workers in the middle of environmentalism rather than at the fringe or in opposition to it, "When Blue is Green" explores how this division between the labour movement and environmentalism is itself an historical and sociological construct. In pursuing the question of why the idea of the worker-environmentalist been excluded from the mainstream discourse and the historiography of environmentalism, I first look to Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. He argues that nations are largely constructed in the imagination. "It is *imagined*," he argues, "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."⁵⁸ I explore in more depth how a Canadian national imaginary that largely excludes the working class is constructed in chapter 6, but each chapter pursues the question of how working-class environmentalism is largely invisible in historical constructions of the Canadian nation. Chapter 6 will provide a more nuanced

⁵⁷ Katrin MacPhee, "Canadian Working-Class Environmentalism, 1965–1985," 123-49, and Joan McFarland, "Labour and the Environment: Five Stories from New Brunswick Since the 1970s," 249-66, both in *Labour/Le Travail* 74 (Fall 2014).

⁵⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983) 6.

examination of how dominant groups within the nation achieve hegemony in part by following the path provided by Antonio Gramsci, whose ideas I will incorporate to understand how nurturing the idea of worker versus environmentalist benefits the capitalist state and fosters an understanding of Canada that occludes class analysis.⁵⁹

In order to build on the work that challenges the traditional frame of workers as anti-environmentalist, “When Blue is Green” presents a series of interconnected case studies that illustrate how workers have constructed their own classed identity as environmentalists. The existence of working-class environmental discourses running through the 1930s to the present establishes a different context from which to examine the social, political, and cultural changes that took place prior to, and during, the era of new social movements. Each chapter presents an historical example of how individual workers, groups of workers, and institutions representing workers have acted as environmentalists by illustrating the moments where workers stepped outside of the traditional frame and acted on behalf of the environment. Thus, each chapter builds towards creating a fuller picture of both workers as environmentalists and the forces aligned to deny that history. Although the case studies are organized in a rough chronological fashion, this is not meant to suggest that it is an exhaustive study of every instance of working-class environmentalism from 1936 to the present. Instead, it captures distinct moments in the history of worker environmentalism in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Chapter 2, “Woodworkers as Environmentalists, 1937-1957,” examines the IWA paper the *Lumber Worker* from 1934 to 1960. In this chapter, I argue that there is a consistent thread of what would now be called environmentalist discourse in the IWA’s newspaper that helps illustrate that workers can and have historically been environmentalists. This discourse contributed to a worker environmentalism before the concept of modern environmentalism existed. In doing so, the chapter demonstrates the existence of a working-class environmentalist discourse, which in turn disrupts the mainstream environmentalist discourse that excludes class. It places an emergent environmentalism in British Columbia coming from the working class and works to unsettle the perceived orthodoxies that modern environmentalism sprung from the new social movements of the late sixties.

⁵⁹ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971) 323-77.

Chapter 3, “Saving the Environment One Worker at a Time,” explores the story of one worker from the 1950s to the 1980s and his contribution to the history of workers as environmentalists. Curley Chittenden worked to preserve the environmental integrity of the Skagit Valley, contributing to an environmental campaign that spanned two nations over the course of three decades. Chittenden’s worker environmentalism can add to the historiography of environmentalism and its intersection with high modernism. This approach explains how Curley Chittenden’s actions were part of a larger configuration of dissent against mega projects that threatened the environment. It also demonstrates that, not unlike the IWA in the 1930s and 1940s, Chittenden’s worker environmentalism preceded the new social movement critiques of energy resource projects in British Columbia.

Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation complement one another in that both are stories of workers who have articulated the intersection between working-class and environmental interests, one as a group united in a union, and one as an individual. Equally important is that both chapters illustrate the existence of working-class environmental discourse prior to the existence of a modern environmental movement. In the case of the IWA, decades before modern environmentalism and in the case of Curley Chittenden, in a period that precedes the modern environmental movement and continues through the early formation of environmentalism as we know it. This establishes a different context from which to view the social, political, and cultural changes that took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s that most people attribute to new social movements.

Chapter 4, “Sharing the Environment,” explores how industry front groups have exacerbated the tensions between workers and environmentalists. To accomplish this, it examines the discourse around environmentalism in British Columbia in the 1980s and 1990s and how it framed workers as one-dimensional actors who are inherently anti-environmentalist. It focuses on two industry front groups specifically, Share BC and the Forest Alliance of BC. I explore how they created the impression that they spoke for all workers and worked to garner positive public opinion so as to maintain “the social license to operate.”⁶⁰ The goal of this chapter is to examine Share B.C. and Forest

⁶⁰ Monika I Winn, Patricia MacDonald, and Charlene Zietsma, “Managing Industry Reputation: The Dynamic Tension Between Collective and Competitive Reputation Management Strategies,” *Corporate Reputation Review* 11, no. 1 (March 2008), 35–55, <https://doi.org/10.1057/crr.2008.4>.

Alliance of BC attempts to shape the discourse around resource extraction, and forestry in particular, to make the current economic order seem rational. Examining the public relations efforts of these groups and their efforts to naturalize the current modes of resource extraction as the only rational way to organize the economy also illuminates how they render counterhegemonic accounts of their activities deviant and unnatural. This chapter focuses on how issues are framed to create positive public opinion towards resource extraction, on the one hand, are coupled with the efforts of the industry front groups to divide and conquer those most likely to form oppositional discourse such as workers and environmentalists, on the other.⁶¹ The behaviour of Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC fit perfectly with the divide and conquer tactics outlined in Russell's theoretical construct.

While chapter 4 examines how environmentalists are often made to be the scapegoat for job losses in British Columbia, thus perpetuating the division between workers and environmentalist, chapter 5, "Alliances both Lost and Found," examines how these divisions have been resisted and at times overcome. It does this by looking at the history of alliances between workers and environmentalists. This chapter contradicts the notion that workers and environmentalists have nothing in common. It shows that, despite the efforts of front groups outlined in chapter 4, there have been successful alliances. Establishing the history of alliances between workers and environmentalists, however tenuous they have been in the past, further builds towards the history of the worker-environmentalist. This chapter raises the question of why we have no real concept of working-class environmentalism. Chapter 5 shows that workers have acted as environmentalists and that they have worked in both short- and long-term alliances with environmentalists. However, some question remains as to why working-class environmentalism has been largely ignored. How we arrived at this point is explored in more depth in chapter 6.

In chapter 6, "Workers, the Environment, and Historical Memory," the final case study in the dissertation, I argue that the historical idea of workers as anti-environmentalist is an intentional construct. It investigates how the Canadian Heritage Minutes helped to create a popular history, a dominant historical narrative, that excludes class issues and obscures any attempt to understand the history of working-class

⁶¹ Gordon Hak makes a similar point in *Capital and Labour*, 169.

environmentalism. In turn, I argue that the ways we as a society teach and learn history makes an understanding of working-class environmentalism almost impossible. Although it is difficult to prove a lack, or a negative, this chapter argues that a symptomatic reading of cultural texts reveals much about society by looking at what is absent as well as what is present in a text.⁶² This chapter illustrates how both our formal and informal education creates an historical amnesia around class issues. “When Blue is Green” suggests that any understanding between workers and environmentalists requires both groups to know their own history. Chapter 6 examines the obstacles that make this more difficult than it may seem. In particular, I argue, through a case study of the Historical Minutes, that popular history is constructed in such a way that it excludes any understanding of workers and environmentalists, thus rendering the idea of working-class environmentalism virtually impossible.

In chapter 7, “Role-playing Revolution: A Way Forward,” I further investigate the intersection of memory, teaching, and history. In particular I examine how both historic and contemporary K-12 and University curricula have served to erase the existence of both a history of environmentalist discourse running through workers’ publications as well as environmental advocacy displayed by workers’ actions in British Columbia. In this chapter, I provide some ideas of how this erasure can be remedied. In particular, this chapter focuses on education as way to both create an historical awareness of worker environmentalism and provide a different historical lens through which to see the history of labour *and* environmentalism. This chapter also draws on my experience teaching introductory courses in both labour history and Labour Studies at the university and college level in British Columbia over the past fifteen years and highlights how the occlusion of working-class environmentalism becomes clearer when looking at the absence of class in formal curriculum and offers some suggestions on how this can be remedied.

Using the above case studies, this dissertation will show that the dichotomy between worker and environmentalist persists both as an actual lived experience and on the level of discourse. This dissertation builds on James McCarthy’s idea that a false dichotomy has been constructed between nature and society that has led

⁶² For more on Althusser’s concept of a symptomatic reading and how it is used in cultural studies, see, John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, 8th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2018), 74-83.

environmentalists to neglect “issues of work, livelihood, and the production and distribution of wealth in society,” which in turn creates an unnecessary schism between workers and environmentalists.⁶³ This dissertation examines the roots of this schism in British Columbia. It also illustrates how capital and the state have deliberately cultivated the divide between workers and environmentalists for their benefit. There is a counternarrative to the “war in the woods” trope, and this dissertation adds to this counternarrative through case studies that help illustrate how this schism was actively promoted in British Columbia. Chapter 6 explains how this can extend to Canada as whole. By illustrating how working-class environmentalism has been largely erased in the historical narrative and offering case studies to remedy this erasure, this dissertation contributes to the historiographies of both environmental and labour history and in this way allows an understanding of the worker-environmentalist to flourish. By tracing the history of worker environmentalism from the 1930s to the present, these case studies contribute to both the history of labour and the history of the environmental movements, and thus build towards a history of working-class environmentalism in British Columbia and beyond.

⁶³ James McCarthy, “Environmentalism, Wise Use, and the Nature of Accumulation in the Rural West,” in *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millennium*, ed. Bruce Braun and Noel Castree (London: Routledge, 1998), 139-41.

Chapter 2.

Woodworkers as Environmentalists, 1937-1957

“The boss loggers in their mad scramble are concerned with only one thing, which is super-profits NOW.”¹

In September of 1938, Henry Lundgren, the business manager of the *B.C. Lumber Worker*, the newspaper of the British Columbia District Council of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA), laid out a challenge to the forestry industry: begin selective logging or risk permanently destroying the forestry industry and the forests themselves. Calling for preservation rather than devastation, Lundgren’s article illustrates the concern BC forest workers had for preservation of the forests of British Columbia. Almost four decades before anyone on the West Coast ever uttered the word “Greenpeace,” Lundgren argued, “The boss loggers in their mad scramble are concerned with only one thing, which is super-profits NOW.”² He warned of the consequences of unrestrained logging and stated that if this situation “continued unchallenged for another 25 years there would be no more marketable timber left in the province and a century of reforestation work [would be] needed to rebuild depleted timber stands.”³ Lest one think he was simply calling for a slower pace of cutting, he makes it clear that the IWA was advocating for selective logging as the only way to ensure the forests would still be there for future generations.⁴ Lundgren spoke plainly about the severity of the situation, making a call for forestry workers to unite against the devastating effects of clear-cut logging and the rampant destruction of the forests in the name of profit. “We are deeply concerned with the preservation of our forests and can by no means remain silent while the present devastation goes on day by day.”⁵ The words of Lundgren may sound familiar, as it is the same refrain of those who strove to save the Sitka Valley, the Stein, the Walbran Valley, Clayoquot Sound, and dozens of other sites

¹ H. Lundgren, “Selective Logging vs. Destruction,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, September 6, 1938.

² Lundgren, “Selective Logging.”

³ Lundgren, “Selective Logging.”

⁴ Lundgren, “Selective Logging.”

⁵ Lundgren, “Selective Logging.”

of environmental struggle in British Columbia, more than thirty to fifty years later.⁶ Therefore, it is not the words alone that are striking, it is when and by whom these words were spoken; by a unionist representing the IWA in 1938.

This chapter examines the words of the members of the IWA as published in their newspaper, *The B.C. Lumber Worker*, from its first issue as the paper of the IWA BC District Council in 1937 through to 1957 and the beginnings of a modern conservation movement. Examining the early environmental discourse in the *Lumber Worker* offers insight into how the IWA as a whole saw environmental issues. The newspaper provides a broader range of IWA members' perspectives over time than meeting minutes and motions. By examining *The B.C. Lumber Worker*, we can see the environmental concerns of the IWA leadership and membership in the decades preceding the modern environmental movement.⁷

The IWA, founded in 1937, emerged from an eclectic background of both radical organizing and conservative unionism.⁸ The history of organizing workers in the woods and mills of British Columbia can be traced back to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), founded in 1905.⁹ The radical organizers of the IWW would organize camps

⁶ For an overview of these environmental disputes, see Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).

⁷ The *Lumber Worker* ran for seventy-one years, from 1931 to 2002. It changed its name to the *Allied Worker* in July 2002. The *B.C. Lumber Worker* started as a publication of the Lumber and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union of Canada. In 1936, BC lumber workers became members of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) as the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union. In 1937, the union moved to the Federation of Woodworkers (and later the International Woodworkers of America) British Columbia District Council. By the 1960s, the newspaper was called the *Western Canadian Lumber Worker*. The paper was published irregularly in the mid-1980s and was briefly called the *Canadian Lumberworker*. In 1987, it was *the IWA – Canadian Lumberworker*. Regardless of the name, it was the voice of the forestry workers union in British Columbia.

⁸ For a good overview of the history of the IWA in British Columbia, see Andrew Neufeld and Andrew Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada: The Life and Times of an Industrial Union* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 2000). For a classic overview of the IWA from their founding to when they were still called The Industrial Woodworkers of America, see Jerry Lembcke and William Tattam, *One Union in Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1984).

⁹ For a classic overview of the IWW, see Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969). A more recent, and international, history is Peter Cole, David Struthers, and Kenyon Zimmer, eds. *Wobblies of the World: A Global History of the IWW* (London: Pluto Press, 2017). On the IWW organizing lumber workers in British Columbia and the IWWs free speech fights in British Columbia, see Mark Leier, *Where the Fraser River Flows: The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1990).

across the Pacific Northwest. The decline of the IWW after the First World War was the result of external factors: government repression; more conservative craft unions raiding their memberships; and hostile employers blacklisting IWW members while simultaneously implementing their demands to improve conditions for workers, which served to keep unions out. In Washington state and Oregon, the federal government went so far as to create the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumberman (Four-L) to keep more radical unions out. The secret of their success was that they remedied some of the worst conditions the IWW had identified by guaranteeing an eight-hour workday and providing edible camp meals and real bedding.¹⁰

After the First World War, loggers in British Columbia organized the BC Loggers Union, which would become the Lumber Workers International Union (LWIU).¹¹ Historian Stephen Gray notes, “there was considerable continuity in the history of unionism in the woods from the Wobblies through to the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada.”¹² When the first incarnation of the LWIU collapsed in 1924, most loggers and mill workers joined the American Federation of Labor (AFL) affiliated Lumber and Sawmill Workers’ Union, which was a local of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (UBC). The conservative nature of the UBC and the fact that they did not grant loggers full union rights would lead to the creation of the IWA in 1937.¹³

Although the logging industry was, and is, male dominated, women played a key role in the formation of the unions preceding the IWA and in the formation of the IWA itself. Historian Heather Mayer makes the point that women were active members of the IWW, not just as wives of members, and were drawn to the IWW because of the radical, and inclusive, politics. Female IWW members played a role in all aspects of the union’s activities. Mayer notes that “focussing on women changes how we see the IWW in a fundamental way. We see that its reach went far beyond lumber camps and hobo

¹⁰ Erik Loomis, *Empire of Timber: Labor Unions and the Pacific Northwest Forests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), esp. chap. 2, 54-88.

¹¹ Gordon Hak, “British Columbia Loggers and the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, 1919-1922,” *Labour/Le Travail* 23 (Spring 1989): 67-90. Also see, Gordon Hak, “Line Up or Roll Up: The Lumber Workers Industrial Union in the Prince George District,” *BC Studies*, no. 86 (Summer 1990): 57-74.

¹² Stephen Gray, “Woodworkers and Legitimacy: The IWA in Canada 1937-1957 (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 1989), 13.

¹³ On the relationship between the UBC and forestry workers, see Loomis, *Empire of Timber*, 99-100, 207-14.

jungles, and that it was a valid avenue for radical working-class women to organize, educate, and agitate for social justice.”¹⁴ Historian Sara Diamond stresses the importance of women’s involvement in union organizing as well. Discussing the IWA Ladies’ Auxiliary in the early years of the union, she argues, “the Ladies’ Auxiliary movement of the late 1930s and 1940s was one of the most powerful women’s movements in the history of British Columbia.”¹⁵ In addition to a strong organizing influence from women, the early IWA was influenced by the Communist Party of Canada, who counted a number of members among the IWA leadership group. The founding president of the IWA was Harold Pritchett, a Canadian Communist, and the IWA remained a communist-controlled union for much of the 1940s, though this would later become the source of a major internal battle.¹⁶ However, before the IWA became mired in a fight for control of the union internally, they had to gain union recognition from their employers, and this proved difficult. The 1938 strike for union recognition at Blubber Bay, Texada Island in British Columbia was a particularly hard fought strike, but it by no means was the end of employer and state animosity toward the IWA.¹⁷ But during the Second World War, labour was in a more secure position due to the demand for labour in support of the war effort, and the IWA leveraged this position. At the end of the Second World War, the IWA, campaigning on the slogan of 25/40, was able to bargain for better pay (a 25 cent per hour increase) and a 40-hour work week. The membership of the IWA in BC had topped 30,000, and the IWA’s position as the union representing

¹⁴ Heather Mayer, “Beyond the Rebel Girl: Women, Wobblies, Respectability, and the Law in the Pacific Northwest, 1905-1924 (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 2015), 2. Also see, Heather Mayer, *Beyond the Rebel Girl : Women and the Industrial Workers of the World in the Pacific Northwest, 1905-1924* Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2018.

¹⁵ Sara Diamond, “A Union Man’s Wife: The Ladies’ Auxiliary Movement in the IWA, The Lake Cowichan Experience,” in *Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women’s Work in British Columbia*, ed. Barbara K. Lantham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984), 287. Also see, Stephen C. Beda, “More Than a Tea Party: The IWA Women’s Auxiliary in the Pacific Northwest, 1937-1948” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 100, no.3 (Summer, 2009): 134-45.

¹⁶ On this time period, see Jerry Lembcke, “The International Woodworkers of America in British Columbia, 1942-1952,” *Labour/Le Travail* 6 (Autumn 1980):113-48.

¹⁷ “Support Local 163, IWA,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, May 31, 1938. “Ask Release Blubber Bay Riot Victims,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, January 17, 1939. For in depth analysis of the Blubber Bay strike, see Andy Parnaby, “We’ll hang all the policeman from a sour apple tree!”: Class, Law and the Politics of State Power in the Blubber Bay Strike of 1938-1939,” (master’s thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1995); Andrew Parnaby, “What’s Law Go to Do With It? The IWA and the Politics of State Power in British Columbia, 1935-1939,” *Labour/Le Travail* 44 (Fall 1999): 9-45; and Gray, “Woodworkers and Legitimacy.”

BC loggers seemed secure, but internal political strife would prove to be a challenge for the IWA in British Columbia.

In addition to the war abroad, the IWA was facing a war at home, a war to determine the influence of communism in the IWA, between a “White Bloc” of anticommunists in the IWA and the communist “Red Bloc,” who disaffiliated from the IWA in October 1948 and formed the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada (WIUC). In 1947, the United States passed the Taft-Hartley Act, which required all unionists elected to office to sign an affidavit swearing they were not communists.¹⁸ This period in the IWA’s history is covered well elsewhere, but it is worth here calling attention to an extended historiographical debate about the roots of anticommunism in the IWA in Canada. One persistent theme pushed by other historians has been that BC woodworkers were naturally anticommunist. In 1980, sociologist Jerry Lembcke explicitly rejected this thesis as put forward by Vernon Jensen, who in 1945 argued that the rank and file of the IWA rejected the communist leadership because it represented a foreign ideology.¹⁹ Lembcke also argued against the reiteration of the Jensen thesis in Irving Abella’s 1973 claim that “native unionists in [B.C.] successfully repulsed the Communist tide.”²⁰ Lembcke argued that previous historical writing on splits within the IWA glossed over the social and political conditions in Canada at the time and overemphasized the importance of conditions external to the IWA in Canada, including the influence of anticommunist International leaders in the United States and the anticommunism of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and the Trades and Labour Congress in Canada, who both pushed for the expulsion of communists from positions of leadership in Canadian unions.²¹ Building on Lembcke, for the purposes of this dissertation, it is

¹⁸ For more on the effect of Taft-Hartley on the BC IWA, see Gordon Hak, *Capital and Labour in the British Columbia Forest Industry 1934-74* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); and Ben Isitt, *Militant Minority: British Columbia Workers and the Rise of a New Left, 1948-1972* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

¹⁹ Lembcke, “International Woodworkers of America,” 113, citing Vernon Jensen, *Lumber and Labor* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945), 269.

²⁰ Lembcke, “International Woodworkers of America,” 114, citing Irving Abella, *Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

²¹ On the anticommunism of the CCF, see Lembcke, “International Woodworkers of America.” For a different take on the CCF, see Mikhail Leon Bjorge, “The Workers’ War: The Character of Class Struggle in World War II” (PhD diss., Queen’s University, 2017). Bjorge argues that throughout the Second World War the CCF outflanked the Conservative Party of Canada in terms of militancy and their anticommunist rhetoric came later. For a history of the CCF, see James

important to note that communism was not simply banished from the IWA in the 1940s, that there was not any natural inclination to repulse the communist tide. In fact, the struggle between communist and anticommunist factions is not only written on the pages of the *Lumber Worker*, but simmers beneath the surface in an internal struggle over the union and who controlled the very voice of the union, the *Lumber Worker*.

In 1948, the expelled communist members of the IWA formed the WIUC, and they retained control of the newspaper for a time. Their control is evident in such headlines as “Three Local Meetings Trounce White Bloc Disruptive Agents.”²² A few issues later, the WIUC published their Charter and noted nine locals under their control.²³ This issue also noted that the White Bloc put out an IWA version of the paper, as Canada Post had given the mailing rights back to the IWA. The union’s internal battles were reflected in the *Lumber Worker* in the late 1940s and into the 1950s. In 1951, in a front-page piece under the headline “Build Our Freedom,” Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL) president A. R. Mosher urged “constant vigilance against Communist intrigue in Canada.”²⁴ The WIUC dissolved in 1951, and with most of the membership going back into the IWA, membership growth in the IWA would continue throughout the 1950s.²⁵ This chapter will illustrate that, although there was this political divide within the IWA, worker environmentalism cut across that divide. This can be seen in the articles in the *Lumber Worker*. There were certainly rhetorical differences in how the Red Bloc controlled paper and, subsequently, the White Bloc controlled paper expressed environmental concerns. However, worker environmentalism was a feature of both the radical organizing of the Red Bloc and the conservative unionism of the White Bloc in the pages of the *Lumber Worker*.

Like most workers during the postwar compromise, IWA members would see their wages and benefits increase. However, work in the woods and mills of British Columbia were never fully secure, and by the 1970s there were major concerns about

Naylor, *The Fate of Labour Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Dream of a Working-Class Future* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

²² “Three Local Meetings Trounce White Bloc Disruptive Agents,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, September 15, 1948.

²³ “Charter of the WIU of Canada,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, October 20, 1948.

²⁴ “Build Our Freedom, Urges A.R. Mosher,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, September 20, 1951.

²⁵ Although most workers were readmitted into the IWA, over a thousand were blacklisted on the “errant members list” and not readmitted. The “errant members” list was finally abolished in 1998. See Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 300.

technological change, layoffs, and mill closures. The 1980s were a time of high inflation and more closures, and a key development during this decade was the 1987 splitting off of Canadian IWA locals from the International founding the IWA Canada.²⁶ Struggles over mill closures—including MacMillan Bloedel’s closure of the ALPLY Plywood plant and the Somass Cedar Mill in Port Alberni—continued into the 1990s; along with environmental concerns, this was a recurring theme of the decade, as I will discuss in chapter 4.²⁷ In 1994, the IWA were renamed the Industrial, Wood, and Allied Workers of Canada (remaining IWA Canada).²⁸ And in 2004, a merger with the United Steel Workers brought them back into an International union as the “Wood Council” district of the USW.²⁹

The IWA has traditionally been viewed as a business union, meaning that they are only concerned with wages and benefits and not larger issues of social justice. The idea that a union representing the “bread and butter” issues of its members would come in for criticism could seem an odd one, as unions are legally obligated to represent their members’ best interests; that part of this obligation is to ensure fair wages for members should not be insulting. However, criticism of this type of bread and butter unionism is more about what the union is not doing (i.e. advocating on larger social and political issues) rather than what it is doing. There has long been a debate about business unionism versus social unionism that I will not reiterate here.³⁰ While the IWA is not particularly well known for its social unionism, this idea that the IWA does not practice social unionism is an ahistorical understanding of the union, and it is clear from the

²⁶ Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 252-53.

²⁷ Things had gotten so bad that the IWA Local in Port Alberni wanted the government to pull MacMillan Bloedel’s Tree Farm License. Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 264-65. For more on the ALPLY Plywood plant, see Susanne Klausen, “The Plywood Girls: Women and Gender Ideology at the Port Alberni Plywood Plant, 1942-1991,” *Labour/Le Travail* 41 (Spring 1998): 199-236.

²⁸ Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 299.

²⁹ At first, they were the Steelworkers-IWA Council but then became known as simply the Steelworkers Wood Council in 2006. See United Steel Workers Wood Council, accessed May 20, 2019, <https://www.usw.ca/districts/wood>.

³⁰ On the history of business unionism, see Victoria C. Hattam, *Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997). On social unionism in Canada, see Stephanie Ross, “Varieties of Social Unionism: Towards a Framework for Comparison” *Just Labour: A Canadian Journal of Work and Society* 11 (Autumn 2007): 16-34; and Peter Fairbrother, “Social Movement Unionism or Trade Unions as Social Movement,” *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal* 20 (2008): 213-20.

union's BC newspaper that they were aware that representing members meant more than just bargaining for wage increases.

IWA member F. Lundstrum argued in a 1938 article in the *Lumber Worker* that in order to make the union a larger factor in the lives of its members, "it becomes the duty of the union not only to look after the interests of the workers as regards wages, hours of work, job conditions, etc. But also to deal with unemployment, forest preservation, reforestation and other matters which affect our members in a much more serious manner."³¹ Already in 1938, Lundstrum had made the link between a sustainable forest industry and the well-being of loggers and society as a whole, making what was essentially a social unionist argument. His argument takes the long view of sustainable forest practices as good for workers and the environment. The paper had also been advocating on behalf of their unemployed members in a way that would benefit both workers and the environment.

The *Lumber Worker* noted, "With the lumbering industry working at only half capacity, with the list of unemployed loggers and mill men growing daily, the unemployment problem looms ahead as the most serious problem facing our industry this season."³² The paper had been documenting the issue of unemployment and was following the occupation of the Vancouver Post Office. "Today in Vancouver Post Office some 700 to 800 unemployed are 'holding the fort' endeavouring to bring their plight to the attention of the authorities. Unless some adequate work scheme is provided, this small army will grow to many thousands within the next few weeks."³³ Rather than simply decrying the situation, the IWA laid out a housing and works plan, arguing that the government should follow the lead of the United States, who had put "billions into a home building and works program."³⁴ The *Lumber Worker* argued that unemployed loggers should be put to work in the industry and the lumber produced would go toward providing homes. "Let us realize now," the paper urged, "that unless the government steps in, log camps will not open this summer. Let every unemployed logger get into this battle at once, adding our thousands to the movement, our weight thrown behind the

³¹ F.Lundstrum, "Our IWA Unions Must Assume Broader Scope," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, October 4, 1938.

³² "Forward the Woodworkers' Unemployed Movement," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, May 31, 1938.

³³ "Forward the Woodworkers' Unemployed Movement."

³⁴ "Forward the Woodworkers' Unemployed Movement."

demand for a housing and public works program; for the absorption of our workers into the industry in which they have spent years.”³⁵

The paper also brought attention to the lumber barons’ disregard for basic forest safety in the name of profits. The preservation of the forests and the waste and careless use of natural resources in the name of profit were ongoing concerns of the union. They warned against the lack of care logging operators showed around old slashings, noting that “the greatest fire menace to our woods today lies in old slashings.”³⁶ The paper went on to argue that operators were constantly trying to save money, often at the expense of safety, “the burning of slash at the proper time sometimes upsets the routine of the operations; may cause some inconvenience and expense. So, counting the dollars and trusting to luck, the operators allow the slash to lay, and this becomes a veritable powder dump, defying all ordinary precautions.”³⁷ The paper was clear in assigning blame for timber destroyed by fire, arguing that, “invariably, the millions of feet of valuable timber which is destroyed by fire in dry seasons such as we are experiencing at the present time, is destroyed because profit hungry log operators evaded the slash-burning regulations and trusted to luck in order to save a few dollars.”³⁸

Calls for preservation and sound forestry management were regularly made by the IWA in the *Lumber Worker*. For example, in an editorial entitled “Turn on the Spotlight,” the IWA argued that logging operators were ignoring regulations in the name of profit and the government was not doing enough to stop it. “The frantic efforts of the boss loggers, ably supported by government departments, to hide the real cause of the forest fires, and to hide the mismanagement and inefficiency in fighting the fires,” the *Lumber Worker* argued, “is convincing proof that the main concern is not the preservation of our forests, but the preservation of profits.”³⁹ The paper followed this up a few issues later with a plea to “Save the Forests,” stating that “loggers and millworkers have lots at stake in the preservation and perpetuation of the forests, and the I.W.A. not

³⁵ “Forward the Woodworkers’ Unemployed Movement.”

³⁶ “Forest Fires,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, July 12, 1938.

³⁷ “Forest Fires.”

³⁸ “Forest Fires.”

³⁹ “Turn on the Spotlight,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, July 26, 1938.

only endorses, but has urged and will continue to urge a program of conservation and reforestation.”⁴⁰

The *Lumber Worker* made the connection between forest safety, preservation, and employment in stating that “the cleaning up of slash after logging operations, the making of fire guards, and the other essential things necessary to a reforestation and conservation program will put hundreds of unemployed loggers to work.”⁴¹ The IWA was a strong advocate for policy and procedures that would both benefit their members and the preservation of the forests. This often entailed both taking on employers and simultaneously advocating that the government enforce stronger standards in the woods. Referring to the forest fires that tore through the Vancouver Island forests the previous summer, the paper argued, “It is regrettable that it took a major disaster, the worst forest fire in the history of the industry in B.C., to arouse the public to a realization of the state of anarchy which prevails in the industry.”⁴² They went on to argue, “the government has allowed the profit-hungry logging operators a completely free hand to ruthlessly filch the forests where, when and how they wanted. Fire prevention regulations, which, if enforced, would have prevented probably in its entirety the devastation caused by the fire in the Campbell River-Courtenay area, were completely ignored.”⁴³ The union had already proposed that a simple solution to protecting the forest would be to “employ workers on relief to clear slash and cut fireguards.”⁴⁴ This would help prevent fires as well as provide employment for IWA members.

Lundgren and Lundstrum were not lone voices in the wilderness; lumber workers throughout the Pacific Northwest were making similar arguments for sustainability. The *Lumber Worker* republished an editorial from their sister paper in the United States, the *Timber Worker*, that reiterated the call for real sustainability and questioned the companies’ commitment to any real change. “The moral of the lesson,” the *Timber Worker* noted, “should be plain to workers in the lumber industry. The lumber operators have no serious intention of doing any more than they are forced to do in the way of

⁴⁰ “Save the Forests,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, August 16, 1938.

⁴¹ “Save the Forests.”

⁴² “Scramble Is On To Get From Under Responsibility For Disastrous Courtenay-Campbell River Forest Fire,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, October 11, 1938.

⁴³ “Scramble Is On.”

⁴⁴ F. Lundstrum, “Our IWA Unions Must Assume Broader Scope,” October 4, 1938.

selective logging, fire prevention, and reforestation.”⁴⁵ A month later, the union reported on how the Chief Forester of British Columbia, E. C. Manning, “appeared before the legislature and pleaded his case for the preservation of our forests.”⁴⁶ The article complimented Manning’s matter of fact and direct presentation and stressed how the provincial government was taking profits from logging and putting it into general revenue, reinvesting only 25 percent in forest administration, compared to other provinces that reinvested anywhere from 81 (Alberta) to 98 (Ontario) percent. The article argued, “We find from Mr. Manning’s report that our provincial government has all these years been starving its forestry branch into inactivity, inefficiency, and inability to carry out its elementary function because it might interfere with the policies of the boss loggers.”⁴⁷ The strategy of the IWA was to apply pressure on both employers and the state to take forest conservation and preservation seriously through job actions, lobbying, and exposing the current state of affairs within the forestry industry.

Members of the IWA went beyond merely discussing sustainability, advocating for a host of changes that can reasonably be called social union issues. Leading up to the IWA convention in 1939, a member wrote a letter to the editor supporting a program that the union was calling “A People’s Program,” which included health insurance, welfare committees, housing, reforestation, and selective logging.⁴⁸ The “People’s Program” was drawn up at the IWA convention, and it laid out a strong warning for the province. The editorial in the *Lumber Worker* argued that three out of five people in the province were dependent on the forestry industry. It went on to warn that a continuation of the current forestry methods would result in devastation, stating that “black stumps will be the sole heritage of our Port Albernis, our Courtenays, our Cowichan Lakes, in ten to twenty years, unless steps are taken immediately to conserve our forests.”⁴⁹ The IWA was clearly concerned about a sustainable environmental policy and how they

⁴⁵ “Selective Logging, Reforestation, And Fire Prevention Are Out As Far As Logging Operators Concerned: Interested Only in How Much Profits Can Be Taken In Shortest Time Possible,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, November 1, 1938.

⁴⁶ Henry Lundgren, “Manning Scores Government Neglect of Forest Resources: Appeals for More Funds to Carry on Campaign of Conservation,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, November 29, 1938.

⁴⁷ Lundgren, “Manning Scores Government Neglect.”

⁴⁸ Card 08-175, letter to the editor, “Convention Will Not Be Success Unless Men in Camps and Mills Take Part in Formulating Program Understood and Desired by Majority,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, November 8, 1938.

⁴⁹ “A People’s Program: An Editorial,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, January 10, 1939.

articulated their concerns was framed by the conditions at the time. This was during the tail end of the depression, and their concerns were rooted in an understanding that sustainable forests meant a sustainable livelihood for themselves and their children. The IWA rank and file membership seemed to concur. For example, one member wrote in calling for reforestation and arguing, “it is evident by the attitude of the logging operators that their one and only concern is to make as much profit as they can in the shortest time and to depend on them to take the lead would certainly be foolish.”⁵⁰ The paper had been continually advocating for unemployed workers and making links between sustainable forestry and employment.

The IWA was able to see that the issues of forestry workers intersected with the interests of society as a whole. In a 1939 article on housing, the editors of the *Lumber Worker* continued to make the link between adequate housing, forestry jobs, and public health. Commenting on a decision of the IWA’s BC Coast District Council’s decision to work with the Vancouver Housing Association, the editorial notes, “the menace to the lives and welfare of the people of Canada of slums and inadequate housing.”⁵¹ The editors made the link between disease and inadequate housing, arguing, “It is an irony, that in a country where such a number of the population is suffering from the scourge of poor housing, thousands of wood-workers are begging the opportunity to go to work.”⁵² Their argument is not solely altruistic; however, they show a holistic analysis of the problems of inadequate housing and how using wood from British Columbia to create housing would benefit all. They were making links between housing, sound forestry practices, employment, and value-added manufacturing, using the language of the time. “The benefits of adequate housing from the point of eradicating considerable disease and crime, from putting thousands of unemployed carpenters, loggers, woodworkers and allied workers, to work, up through all of these even to the beautification of our cities and towns means almost limitless benefits to every man, woman, and child in the

⁵⁰ Arne Johnson, “Reforestation Vital Issue,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, February 7, 1939.

⁵¹ “Start the Saws and Hammers Going,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, January 24, 1939.

⁵² “Start the Saws and Hammers Going.”

Dominion.”⁵³ The IWA was over seventy years ahead of its time. The BC government would eventually implement a “Wood First Initiative,” but not until 2009.⁵⁴

The IWA has historically been concerned with issues that the contemporary environmental movement are concerned with: sustainable forestry practices, value-added production, and an end to raw log exports—essentially an environmentally sound forestry policy that would not be out of place in a modern environmentalist program. In the case of the IWA position on using wood products, they were decades ahead of their time. Unfortunately, government did not take the voice of forestry workers seriously. If the union had been taken seriously this type of wood first initiative could have been implemented decades before a crisis in the timber industry occurred.

Looking through the *Lumber Worker* is like looking at the history of Canada through the lens of the resource worker in British Columbia. In the pages of the *Lumber Worker*, the news of the world was refracted through the interests of lumber workers; this was true even during the Second World War, when the war was the backdrop against which the IWA organized its labour. In an article outlining the recommendations of the District Convention, the *Lumber Worker* reported that the union was going to step up organizing by: re-establishing their radio broadcast, called “Green Gold”; establishing a trade union school to teach new members the fundamentals of trade unionism; organizing larger mass meetings of trade unionists; and renewing the push to organize sawmills. It also stressed that the key was “ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED” (all

⁵³ “Start the Saws and Hammers Going.”

⁵⁴ The Wood First Initiative was designed to “encourage a cultural shift toward viewing wood as the first choice for construction, interior design and daily living.” See British Columbia Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations, “Forest Carbon Strategy 2016-2020,” 7n11, accessed June 10, 2019, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/environment/natural-resource-stewardship/nrs-climate-change/bc_forest_carbon_strategy_09092016_sept_21.pdf. In order to implement the Wood First Initiative, the government of British Columbia passed the Wood First Act on October 29, 2009, and discussed the Act’s aims in the following way:

The Act requires wood to be considered as the primary building material in all new publicly-funded buildings, in a manner consistent with the British Columbia Building Code. In an average year, the Province funds almost \$3 billion worth of capital investments in buildings such as hospitals, schools, and social housing. Putting a wood first lens on this spending is an effective way to generate demand for wood products, while promoting climate-friendly construction and supporting our forest-dependent communities. For the press release on the Wood First Act see, <http://www.jti.gov.bc.ca/woodfirst/wood-first-act.html>, accessed August 9, 2018. For the legislation, see Wood First Act, S.B.C. 2009, c. 18, accessed August 9, 2018, http://www.bclaws.ca/Recon/document/ID/freeside/00_09018_01.

caps in the original).⁵⁵ This would be an important concern throughout the Second World War.

One specific wartime issue was the government's pegging of wages. In 1941, the Federal government announced that wages in all sectors would be pegged at the levels of 1926-1929. This was to be achieved through Order-in-Council PC 7440. PC 7440 prescribed that wage increases were prohibited for workers and there could only be bonuses based on the cost of living and then only if the cost of living went above 5 percent. The IWA opposed PC 7440, stating that it "jeopardizes and nullifies labor's hard earned right to bargain collectively as to wages, hours, and working conditions."⁵⁶ This is not to say that the IWA was opposed to the war. They were simply continuing in the fight for their members' rights and saw this as part of the war effort.

The IWA, and the labour movement more broadly, supported the war effort but not unconditionally. The *Lumber Worker* reported on the Canadian Congress of Labour Convention, stating,

That organized labor is willing and anxious to do its utmost to provide Great Britain and the Soviet Union and their Allies with all possible aid to defeat Hitler fascism, was expressed in a resolution endorsed unanimously, urging establishment of a special council of labor to assist in finding means of stepping up war production.⁵⁷

This did not change labour's position on PC 7440, "which was condemned as an order freezing poverty and the convention urged adoption by the government of a wage policy that would ensure an adequate standard for all workers."⁵⁸ The IWA could simultaneously support the war and use it to bargain better deals for their members. In arbitration between the IWA and Lake Logging Company, the union won "the right to collectively bargain, to leave of absence, seniority, check-off, and safety committees."⁵⁹ The IWA saw this as a positive development for members and the war effort. The union argued that they had,

⁵⁵ "District Convention Maps Program to Organize B.C. Lumber Workers," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, January 10, 1941.

⁵⁶ Harold J. Pritchett, "What Pegging of Wages Means to B.C. Labor," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, April 30, 1941.

⁵⁷ "All-Out War Effort Convention Keynote," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, September 20, 1941.

⁵⁸ "All-Out War."

⁵⁹ "Lake Log Victory Step to All-Out War Effort," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, October 25, 1941.

shown their good faith and their willingness to increase essential wartime production by insisting that conditions be improved, safety regulations adhered to, wages paid sufficient for good health, so that every possible effort could be used to step up production and not be wasted in struggles against the boss in worrying over job security or health.⁶⁰

Despite the understandable focus on the war, the IWA did not abandon their worker environmentalism. Agreements that increased wartime production illustrated the IWA commitment to environmental concerns. For example, as the war carried on for another year, a 1942 *Lumber Worker* headline proclaimed “IWA Offers All out Aid to Gov’t to Help Step Up War Production.”⁶¹ The article outlined the union’s proposal to establish an Industry Council that would work with government to ensure production was adequate to supply the war effort. However, it also noted that the council would also, “concern itself with seeing that adequate reforestation and conservation” would occur.⁶² In this way, the union was prioritizing what can best be described as worker environmentalism even during wartime. The IWA was also critical of government tactics toward workers at home. They argued for the release of all interned antifascists, stating, “The present government policy in persisting in retaining trade union leaders, anti-fascist patriotic citizens in internment camps and in prison under the plea that they are ‘communists’ acts as a serious brake to our national unity.”⁶³ They also linked this to more local issues, arguing, “the refusal to grant the Kirkland Lake miners the right of collective bargaining, despite a legal declaration guaranteeing this right, weakens the entire war front and makes it extremely difficult for the trade union movement to organize fullest production plans necessary for a total war.”⁶⁴

The Sloan Commission also occupied the pages of the *Lumber Worker*.⁶⁵ The Sloan Commission’s full title was the British Columbia Royal Commission on Forest Resources (1943-1945), named after Honourable Gordon McG. Sloan, the Chief Justice of British Columbia, who was tasked with overseeing the commission. The commission’s

⁶⁰ “Lake Log Victory.”

⁶¹ “IWA Offers All out Aid to Gov’t to Help Step Up War Production,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, January 17, 1942.

⁶² “IWA Offers All out Aid.”

⁶³ “Employees Urge Continuation of Comox Log Negotiations: National Conference Called for Release of All Interned Men,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, February 14, 1942.

⁶⁴ “Employees Urge Continuation.”

⁶⁵ “Sloan Forest Inquiry Reaches Final Stage,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, July 2, 1945.

mandate was to examine ways to modernize forestry methods in British Columbia.⁶⁶ In his submission to the Sloan Commission, the Chief Forester of British Columbia, C. D. Orchard, stated his personal reflections to the commission, which contained a critique of the current practices of forest management and its goals.

The object of forest management is to attain a maximum sustained annual income from the forest land in such products or values as the forest area is capable of producing, or, as usually stated by the Forester, simply "sustained yield." Too often it is taken for granted that the "yield" will be so much and nothing else. This is a costly misconception. Other values in items such as fish, game, water, recreation, scenery, and erosion control may exceed the value of the wood produced. Sound forest management cannot overlook these values.⁶⁷

In one issue, the *Lumber Worker* provided coverage of the Sloan Commission's proceedings that concerned logging close to streams and rivers and the danger of erosion and its negative impact on salmon spawning.⁶⁸ In addition to reporting on the Commission, the IWA also made a formal presentation. While the IWA participated in the Sloan Commission, this did not mean that they endorsed the recommendations or how they were implemented. The union was particularly critical of how the idea of sustained yield did not match the union's understanding of what that meant.⁶⁹

The internal discord between the Red Bloc and the White Bloc definitely took its toll after the Second World War. The anticommunist White Bloc had won control of the IWA, but as their article in the *Lumber Worker* points out, they initially had lost most of the locals to the breakaway WIUC.

On October 3, 1948, the entire District leadership, along with the great majority of Local Union officers in all Local Unions, with the exception of Local1-357, moved over into the Pritchard-Dalskog WUIC Organization.

⁶⁶ Honourable Gordon McG. Sloan, Chief Justice of British Columbia, "Report of the Commissioner: The Forest Resources of British Columbia" (Victoria, BC: Don McDiarmid, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1945).

⁶⁷ C. D. Orchard, "Forest Administration in British Columbia: A Brief for Presentation to the Royal Commission on Forestry" (Victoria, BC, 1945), 1-2, Legislative Library of British Columbia, http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs_rc/415333/415333_forest_admin_in_bc.pdf.

⁶⁸ "Evidence before Commission on Depleted Salmon Run," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, April 3, 1944.

⁶⁹ Al Parkin, "Fire Blackened Stumps of Perpetual Forests?" *B.C. Lumber Worker*, May 5, 1948. For more detail on the discussions around sustained yield, see Eryk Martin, "When Red Meets Green: Perceptions of Environmental Change in the B.C. Communist Left, 1937-1978. (master's thesis, University of Victoria, 2000).

At the time we were faced with a state of complete chaos which resulted in the disorganization of the entire District.⁷⁰

Despite coming out victorious, it is clear the White Bloc did not let up on their anticommunism. For example, one headline of a report from a local read, "1-217 Smacks The 'Commies.'" It read, in part, "Blunt condemnation of Communist parties as 'reactionary' and 'power mad' and determined to undermine the trade union movement, was expressed in the approval of a resolution originating with Local 1-217."⁷¹ The IWA leadership in this period took every opportunity to bash the former leadership of the IWA. This is unfortunate as it negates all the good work the IWA had done since its founding under Harold Pritchett and also contributes to the loss of the history of the IWA as a worker-environmentalist union.

The IWA called for unity but not reconciliation with the former IWA leadership that broke off to form the WIUC, stating, "Those who led the attempt to destroy the IWA in B.C. in 1948 will never be re-admitted to the Union."⁷² This antipathy continued throughout the early 1950s as a mix of scorn for the breakaway leaders and anticommunist rhetoric. The red baiting is clear in headlines such as "1-357 Exposes Poison Letters from Scheming 'Commie' Cell." The article apparently exposes communists, whom the author associates with the Labour-Progressive Party (LPP), writing letters critical of the IWA, which, according to the then White bloc-controlled IWA, confirms "their earlier warnings that LPP-Communist disruption of the IWA would be again attempted unless promptly repudiated by the membership."⁷³ That the IWA leadership was firmly anticommunist going into the 1950s is clear; the president of the CCL did not mince words when he stated, "No reason exists for a Canadian worker to give allegiance and support to Communist-led organizations."⁷⁴

Despite the Red-White split, the IWA continued to be concerned with environmental issues after the battle over the union and the subsequent victory of the anticommunist White Bloc. The White Bloc victory did not eliminate the environmental

⁷⁰ "From LPP Chaos to Democratic Strength is Year's Achievement," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, January 19, 1950.

⁷¹ "1-217 Smacks The 'Commies,'" *B.C. Lumber Worker*, February 16, 1950.

⁷² "Fadling Suspects 'United Front,'" *B.C. Lumber Worker*, April 27, 1950.

⁷³ "1-357 Exposes Poison Letters from Scheming 'Commie' Cell," *B.C. Lumber Worker*, January 17, 1952.

⁷⁴ "Build Our Freedom."

concerns of the union, as the IWA continued their critique of the environmental impact of resource extraction.⁷⁵ In an editorial entitled “Boom or Bust,” the *Lumber Worker* denounced corporate attempts to blame rising lumber prices on the union. They also restated their call for sustainable practices and value-added manufacturing. “A reasonable quota of Canadian production for Canadian consumption at reasonable prices would make sense.”⁷⁶ The editorial continued with a restatement of the benefits of value-added production over exporting raw logs. “Conservation plans are required to convert waste into commercial use. Better planning in the use of all grades of lumber will help the domestic market.”⁷⁷ The call for conservation would continue within the IWA. Noting the threat of forest fires, the editors argued, “forest conservation is vital for the continued employment of thousands of workers dependent for their livelihood on lumbering, and lumber manufacturing.”⁷⁸ The IWA, along with the BC Federation of Labour, presented a brief to the Provincial government in 1952 calling for a change to procedures for granting Forest Management Licenses and urging the government to keep public control over the forests. In addition, they argued for “less wasteful methods of logging, suitable provision by operators for natural regeneration, and utilization of present logging and mill waste.”⁷⁹

Throughout the early decades of its existence, the IWA was concerned with issues that we can reasonably consider environmental. Their environmental concerns often coincided with their economic interests, but this does not devalue the environmental scope of their concerns. They were very much acting as worker-environmentalists long before the modern usage of environmentalist had been coined. There is continuity in the environmental concerns articulated in the *Lumber Worker* throughout the internal struggles of the union, although changes in politics and culture can be seen in the *Lumber Worker* once the White Bloc took over. Despite the rhetorical

⁷⁵ Although a bit tangential, it is important to note that communists did not disappear from the membership of the IWA. Eryk Martin explores this issue and, in particular, the life of Ernie Knott, who was one of the communists who broke off from the IWA and helped form the WIUC. Martin notes Knott would return to the IWA in the 1970s, while other communists stayed with the union throughout the period. See Martin, “When Red Meets Green,” 2. Martin also notes that the *Allied Worker* published a piece on the life and times of Knott after his death. See “Founding IWA Member was Part of a Pioneer Generation,” *Allied Worker*, March 2004.

⁷⁶ “Boom or Bust,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, July 6, 1950.

⁷⁷ “Boom or Bust.”

⁷⁸ “Conservation Vital,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, July 19, 1951.

⁷⁹ “Federation Demands Controls,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, September 11, 1952.

shift from communist-inflected criticism of “Boss Loggers” and “Mad Profits” to the White Bloc emphasis on “Conservation Vital,” worker environmentalism consistently informed both. However, it is also clear that the union was becoming what can best be described as more of a business union. An editorial cartoon (Figure 2-1) from 1952 helps illustrate this.



Figure 1. Editorial Cartoon, *B.C. Lumber Worker*, March 20, 1952.

The demands in the cartoon were reiterated with the front-page story, “TEN DEMANDS,” laying out what they were asking for:

1. A 35-cent-an-hour wage increase across the board, to be added to the present base rate and cost-of-living bonus. The present base rate with the 14-cent cost-of-living bonus is \$1.431/2. The new base rate demanded is \$1.781/2.
2. Pay for all statutory holidays.
3. A Health and welfare Plan.
4. Travel time for loggers.
5. Union shop conditions.

In addition, five other demands will be presented during negotiations for the purpose of revising existing clauses in the contract.

6. Improved seniority clause.
7. Revision of the hours of work clause and exemptions.
8. Improved vacations with pay clause to provide two weeks vacations after three-years and three weeks after five years.
9. Guaranteed annual term of employment, or work year.
10. Guaranteed daily rate of pay for piece workers.⁸⁰

Clearly, the union had a focus on what we have come to describe as “bread and butter” issues. In case there was any doubt of this, the headline for an article in the next issue that went on to provide details about each demand read “More Butter on Our Bread.”⁸¹ The anticommunist Whites had gained control of the union in the 1950s but, as the union moved into the 1960s, the larger social and political landscape was changing. Stephen Gray notes that “during the coast bargaining in 1957 and 1958, rank-and-file militancy pushed the District leadership into conducting strike votes. Only the last-minute intervention of Premier W.A.C. Bennett helped avert a strike on a 90 percent vote in 1957.”⁸² If CP leaders had been eliminated the left-wing presence in the IWA had not been. Syd Thompson, former CPC member and relief camp worker, had a left-wing bloc, as did Tom Clark, who was part of a group associated with the communist Labour Progressive Party (LPP). Thompson and Clark were both elected in 1958 to the leadership of Vancouver Local 1-217—the same local that in 1952 had denounced the communist presence in the union and was the largest local in the district.⁸³ Despite the red-baiting and accusations that they were attempting to re-establish communist control of the union, Thompson and Clark were successful amongst the rank and file because they argued for better wages and working conditions. In 1959 the leadership of the district argued for a concessionary agreement but the rank and file rejected that and, led by a more militant left wing, the district voted en masse for an industry wide strike.⁸⁴ As

⁸⁰ “TEN DEMANDS,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, April 3, 1952.

⁸¹ “More Butter on Our Bread,” *B.C. Lumber Worker*, April 17, 1952.

⁸² Gray, “Woodworkers and Legitimacy,” 424.

⁸³ Gray, “Woodworkers and Legitimacy,” 424.

⁸⁴ Gray, “Woodworkers and Legitimacy,” 425.

historian Stephen Gray describes it, “As the woodworkers groped their way into the 1960s, the spirit of the WIUC rested uneasily in their collective conscience alongside the new realism of the IWA.”⁸⁵

More broadly, the conservation movement of the first half of the century was giving way to a more radical critique of the root causes of environmental degradation. However, I do not want to fall into the trap of assuming the 1960s was simply more radical. In many ways, the critique that the IWA offered in the 1930s and 1940s was far more radical, in the sense of getting to the root of the problem, than the second wave environmental movement that was forming in the late ‘60s and into the 1970s. Class was being moved off the environmental agenda. While the IWA was a workers’ organization that recognized the importance of the environment, thus wedding class and environmental issues, the burgeoning environmental movement did not consider class to be important. Although it is outside the scope of my analysis of the *Lumber Worker*, it is important to briefly discuss the later debates around the IWA and its position on environmental issues as it pertains to the larger arguments about worker environmentalism in this dissertation. The move away from the class-based environmentalism of the IWA was evident in the 1960s. A 1967 report from the BC Communist Party analyses the New Left in British Columbia and puts the lack of class analysis in the environmental movement into perspective:

Many environmentalists had no understanding of the political economy, merely desiring a pollution-free world with perpetual forests and large areas of wilderness. A great variety of people were attracted to environmentalism, and the politics of the movement did not fit comfortably into positions defined by labour and leftists in previous decades. Unionists and traditional leftists chafed when called undemocratic and authoritarian by the environmentalists, rejecting analyses that marginalized class and work issues, and that at times even lumped workers and employers together as environmental abusers.⁸⁶

Contrary to Hak’s analysis, other historians have focused on the IWA rather than environmental groups as the source of the tension between workers and modern-day environmentalists and tend to reinforce the idea of the IWA being anti-environmentalist. Alexander Simon, for instance, has argued that the IWA had “a long standing policy of supporting the government practice of granting most of the cutting rights to a few, large

⁸⁵ Gray, “Woodworkers and Legitimacy,” 425.

⁸⁶ Cited in Hak, *Capital and Labour*, 185.

pulp and lumber exporting companies, as they are thought to provide more stable employment and safer work environments than smaller companies.”⁸⁷ Simon is correct in his assertion that the IWA supported larger rather than smaller companies. However, this does not inherently have an anti-environmental meaning. Another historian, Eryk Martin, has also suggested that by supporting larger companies the IWA had sided with capital and the state because it meant employment for its members. Simon and Martin both argued that this narrowed the scope of the IWA’s activism. Martin quotes Simon’s observation that this signalled an “entrenchment of a more conservative union hierarchy, signalling a ‘new era of cooperation’ between the union and industry.”⁸⁸ Jerry Lembcke and William Tattam offered views different to those of Simon and Martin, arguing that the historic structure of the industry, with small mills in Oregon and larger operations in Washington and British Columbia, is what helped to determine the politics of the locals. In their view, it was the small mills that employed workers whose “backgrounds were conservative and their aspirations were bourgeois.”⁸⁹ They argue, “the operations in northern Washington and British Columbia, by contrast, were established in the era of monopoly capitalism, which allowed for much larger operations and use of year-round labourers. The large mills concentrated workers in company towns and logging camps and many of those were Scandinavian immigrants who had socialist or trade union experience in Europe.”⁹⁰ The gist of their argument was that the larger mills allowed for the development of industrial unionism and created the foundation for a more radical union movement, which, as we have seen did not preclude environmentalism.

The IWA’s early environmentalist take was class-oriented in ways more subtle than many have suggested. Rather than selling out to big corporations, the IWA saw the big companies as the only ones with which they could effectively bargain with on wages and safety issues. The also saw the big timber companies as the wave of the future compared to the smaller outfits. The IWA members’ class experience in the woods prior to the formation of the IWA had been with small outfits, the so-called “gyppo” outfits.

⁸⁷ Alexander Simon, “Backlash! Corporate Front Groups and the Struggle for Sustainable Forestry in British Columbia,” *Capital, Nature, Socialism* 9, no. 4 (December 1998): 8.

⁸⁸ Alexander Simon, “A Comparative Historical Explanation of the Environmental Policies of Two Woodworkers’ Unions in Canada,” *Organization & Environment* 16, no. 3 (September 2003), cited in Martin, “When Red Meets Green,” 159.

⁸⁹ Lembcke and Tattam, *One Union in Wood*, 180.

⁹⁰ Lembcke and Tattam, *One Union in Wood*, 180.

They were undercapitalized, often family run, outfits that were barely surviving themselves and they kicked down on the loggers. Historian Gordon Hak examined class formation in the coastal logging town of Port Alberni and interior city of Prince George. Hak pointed out that the interior had much smaller logging operations compared to the coast, which meant that forestry workers were isolated and geographically diffused and that these conditions could “neither create a cohesive working class nor sustain a strong union movement.”⁹¹ Simon’s argument that larger corporations automatically mean a watering down of radicalism within a union does not hold up historically.

The small outfits and mills were being squeezed and had little room to pay better wages. Nor were they in a position to think long term. The IWA knew, or believed they knew, that the future of both the woods and good jobs was not with small-scale, anti-union shops. Although discussing a bit earlier time period, Gordon Hak makes a similar argument about how the image of the independent lumberjack who did not need a union, or any rules for that matter, benefited the employer. He wrote, “Men who could tolerate, and even revel in the unsanitary camps and the dangerous woods work were an asset to the employers. Workers who were transient and pursued a life of independence were unlikely to organize into unions to challenge the authority of employers and limits on wages.”⁹² It was the larger corporations that had shown, during the war, that they could, of course under great pressure, grant wage increases and think longer term. It was also clear that, for good or for bad, governments would be favouring big corporations, which, as Hak points out, was a realistic reading. “The provincial government was active during the 1930s helping coastal lumber operators market their product.”⁹³ This is consistent with an idea of high modernism, which I’ll discuss in the next chapter, that bigger was better. Not just governments were part of the high modern period but corporations as well. The *Lumber Worker* from 1937 to 1957 represents the complexity of class and environmental issues and how they were linked in this period. The voices in *Lumber Worker*, however imperfect, illustrate the diversity of opinions and a more nuanced understanding of how class and environmental issues were interconnected.

⁹¹ Gordon Hak, “On the Fringes: Capital and Labour in the Forest Economies of the Port Alberni and Prince George Districts, British Columbia, 1910-1939” (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 1986), 152.

⁹² Gordon Hak, “On the Fringes,” 169.

⁹³ Hak, “On the Fringes,” 67.

Despite my disagreement with Martin on the issue of the relationship of the IWA to large mills, he does important work that sheds light on the 1970s IWA. He argues that the IWA had not actually moved away from their environmentally informed critique of capitalism in as fundamental a way as some, such as Simon, would have us believe. Martin's work supports my contention, as evidenced in the following submission from a long-time IWA member to the inquiry on logging the Tsitka Valley, that an environmental ethos did not simply disappear from the IWA:

As a logger of thirty years, an IWA member, Nick Chernoff made an in-depth and passionate submission at the Campbell River meeting as a representative of the Environmental Committee of the Campbell River and Courtenay Labour Council. Chernoff organized his presentation around his own personal experiences as a logger in order to address specific logging techniques. Arguing in favor of Option C or D, Chernoff stressed that any meaningful plan to balance jobs with ecology needed in the Tsitka to focus on the methods of logging.⁹⁴

Martin's work is primarily about showing how communists were also environmentalists, but it also provides evidence that the environmental discourse of the IWA carried on throughout the 1960s and 1970s. He notes that Ernie Knott, the focus of his thesis, helped form the Committee to Extend the Moratorium on Logging of the Tsitka Watershed (CEM). Knott was representing the Environmental Committee of the Victoria Labour Council.⁹⁵

In looking at the *Lumber Worker* from the start of the union in 1937 through two decades to 1957, my intention has been to illustrate the IWA's historic concern about the environment, which predates the modern environmental movement. This has been demonstrated. It is the history that has been lost. It is this loss of historical memory that allows unions like the IWA to be framed as anti-environment and anti-environmentalist. As I noted before, some of this critique has merit when, for example, examining conflicts over logging in the 1980s and 1990s, as I do in chapter 3. However, the relationship between the IWA and the environment is complicated; the IWA cannot be simply written off as inherently anti-environmental, as this examination of the *B.C. Lumber Worker* shows.

⁹⁴ Martin, "When Red Meets Green," 166.

⁹⁵ Martin, "When Red Meets Green," 175.

It is at this point that my coverage of the *Lumber Worker* ends, but not because the *Lumber Worker's* environmental discourse ended in 1957. As Martin's work suggests, there is much of value to be gained by looking at the later decades of the IWA's existence. I end my coverage of the *Lumber Worker* here because the next chapter covers the proto-environmentalist period of the 1950s and 1960s and chapter 4 deals with the 1980s and early 1990s, when two other players, Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC, entered into the discourse. These two groups would alter the political landscape of the forestry debate in British Columbia so radically that I devote chapter 4 to this era. What is clear is that the IWA was putting forward what would be considered an environmentalist position in the 1930s and 1940s, a full three decades before the start of modern environmentalism. The IWA's call for environmental considerations was perhaps somewhat muted, but none the less the IWA's position was still what would be considered environmentalism by modern standards. The IWA in the 1930s through the 1950s was an example of worker environmentalism. It stands an example of collective action by the working class on behalf of the environment. The next chapter examines an individual workers' environmental stand in the 1950s, illustrating that the IWA was not simply an anomaly.

Chapter 3.

Saving the Environment One Worker at a Time

"These days you don't know whether to admit you were a logger or not."
– Curley Chittenden, 1990.¹

Curley Chittenden was referring, of course, to the negative publicity that those working in the resource industry, particularly forestry, had been receiving in British Columbia. Workers had become the villains in environmental disputes raging up and down the coast and throughout the Interior of British Columbia.² Curley Chittenden should have been proud to admit he was a logger, as he was not just any logger but a logger-environmentalist, who had done much to preserve wilderness in British Columbia. Although Chittenden was instrumental in identifying and helping to preserve a unique meadow, now called Chittenden Meadow, he is most often remembered as an environmentalist that used to be a logger rather than a logger that was also an environmentalist or, as I call it in this dissertation, a worker-environmentalist.

The origins of the modern environmental movement in British Columbia are not often located in the Skagit River Valley in the 1950s. Some locate it further west, on the coast in Vancouver, in the 1970s with the beginnings of Greenpeace.³ Other historians locate it a bit earlier with the fish and game clubs that would become the BC Wildlife Federation in 1965 or with the founding of the Society for Pollution and Environmental Control in 1969.⁴ While the narrative of the modern environmental movement is not

¹ Curley Chittenden cited in "Forestry," *BC Bookworld*, Winter 2003, <https://abcbookworld.com/writer/chittenden-wilfrid-w/>.

² For a good overview of disputes over logging and wilderness, see Jeremy Wilson *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).

³ On Greenpeace as a key part of the modern environmental movement in British Columbia, see Frank Zelko, "Making Greenpeace: The Development of Direct Action Environmentalism in British Columbia," *BC Studies*, no. 142/3 (Summer/Autumn 2004): 197-239.

⁴ Jeremy Wilson identifies fish and game clubs as well as naturalist and outdoor recreation clubs as the precursors to the modern environmental movement in British Columbia in *Talk and Log*, 98-101. Tina Loo also makes a compelling argument that fish and game clubs across Canada were crucial to conservation in the first half of the twentieth century and the precursor to the modern environmental movement in "Making a Modern Wilderness: Preserving Wildlife in Twentieth Century Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (March, 2001): 91-121. The

wrong, it is incomplete and, as noted previously, often excludes workers. This chapter offers a different story, that of a worker-environmentalist who, in trying to stop the environmentally destructive ramifications of what would become known as the High Ross Dam, would set himself against the high modernist tendencies of the time.

This chapter situates the story of one man, Curley Chittenden, within the narrative of the modern environmental movement in British Columbia. Chittenden would become the catalyst for the modern environmentalist struggle to save the Skagit River. In turning his back on the work he had been doing to clear the land for the Seattle Light and Power Company in 1953, he sparked a struggle that would span more than three decades and cross international boundaries. His is the story of a worker-environmentalist who preceded the better-known environmental activist groups that would define the late 1960s and early 1970s. The story of the Skagit has been told before, but it has not fully examined Curley Chittenden's part, or framed Chittenden as a worker-environmentalist.⁵ This chapter expands the story of the fight against the High Ross Dam. It also contributes to an emerging historiography on working-class environmentalism by focusing on a previously underexplored example of a worker-environmentalist who was a catalyst for an international environmental movement in the 1950s—more than a decade before the modern environmental movement emerged in British Columbia.

The story starts in the Skagit River Valley. The Skagit River flows from the North Cascade Mountain Range of British Columbia, near Allison Pass in present-day Manning Park. The Skagit passes through Manning Provincial Park and into the Skagit Valley as it flows across the 49th parallel into the United States. As the Skagit makes its way to the Pacific Ocean via Puget Sound, it is dammed as part of the Skagit Hydroelectric Project.

Vancouver-based Society Promoting Environmental Conservation (SPEC) bills itself as “the oldest environmental non-profit in Canada.” They changed the name from Society for Pollution and Environmental Control in 1981. “About SPEC,” Society Promoting Environmental Conservation, accessed March 31, 2018, <http://www.spec.bc.ca/>.

⁵ There are two Canadian histories of the High Ross Dam Dispute. One is Terry Allan Simmons, “The Damnation of a Dam: The High Ross Dam Controversy” (master’s thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1974). The most recent is Phillip Van Huizen, “Flooding the Border: Development, Politics, and Environmental Controversy in the Canadian-U.S. Skagit Valley,” (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2013). See also Jackie K. Kirn and Marion E. Marts, “The Skagit-High Ross Controversy: Negotiation and Settlement,” *Natural Resources Journal* 26, no. 2 (Spring, 1986): 261-89.

The Seattle power provider Seattle City Light operates all the dams.⁶ This story is primarily about the damming of the Skagit at its most northerly point in the United States. The Ross Lake Reservoir, created by the Ross Dam, floods 194 hectares into British Columbia when it is full, but is below the BC border in the winter when drawn down for power needs.”⁷

The Skagit River Valley is more than just a source of power for human needs; it is one of the most diverse ecosystems in British Columbia. A climactic transition zone, where the Coast Mountain Range and the Interior of British Columbia meet and overlap, the Skagit Valley is home to many threatened and endangered species, including spotted owls, peregrine falcons, phantom orchids, and it is also the only place in mainland British Columbia to find Pacific Rhododendrons.⁸ The Skagit Valley watershed is also a stretch of contiguous wilderness between the United States and Canada that such species as the grizzly bear rely on to move between two largely human-built environments. Hiking west to east through Manning Park and the Cascades wilderness, one would move through six of the biogeoclimatic zones of British Columbia.⁹

⁶ Prior to the Federal Power Act of 1920 and the creation of the Federal Power Commission, hydro projects in the United States had been the purview of the Department of Agriculture. The Skagit River hydroelectric project—which, once built, included the Gorge, Diablo, and Ruby (which would be renamed Ross) dams—were licensed by the Federal Power Commission in 1927 as part of F.P.C. license 553. For an overview of the chronology of the licensing, amendments, and building of each dam, see “Ross Dam and the Canadians” n.d., box 30, folder 16, City Light, Superintendent Records, Record Series 1200-13, Seattle Municipal Archives, Seattle, WA. Another brief overview of the timeline can be found in “Memorandum for the Mayor and City Council: Status of Ross High Dam Project,” December 18, 1972, box 30, folder 15, City Light, Superintendent Records, Record Series 1200-13, Seattle Municipal Archives.

⁷ A. J. Fedoruk, *Upper Skagit Watershed Ecosystems Management Plan, Prepared for Resource Stewardship, Ministry of National Resource Operations* (North Vancouver, BC: Skagit Environmental Endowment Commission, 2011), http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2011_2/476453/upper-skagit-watershed-ecosystems-management-plan-april-2011.pdf. Also, see “Skagit Valley Provincial Park,” BC Parks (website), accessed March 31, 2018, http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/explore/parkpgs/skagit/nat_cul.html.

⁸ For a list of species, see Environmental Stewardship Division, *Management Plan for E.C. Manning Provincial Park and Cascade Recreation Area* (Penticton, BC: BC Parks, November 2004), 155-222, Appendix I-7.

⁹ These zones include the Coastal Western Hemlock Zone, the Coastal Douglas-Fir Zone, the Mountain Hemlock Zone, the Engelmann Spruce-Subalpine Fir Zone, the Alpine Tundra Zone, and the Montane Spruce Zone. See David F. Fraser et al., *Natural and Human History Interpretive Theme Document for Manning Provincial Park* (Victoria: Arenaria Research and Interpretation, 1989). See also Environmental Stewardship Division, *Management Plan*, iv.

The Skagit River Valley is not pristine wilderness, nor has it been for a long time. The debate around the valley is not about preserving untouched wilderness as much as it is about the nature and scope of human intervention in the valley and the unique ecosystems within the watershed that need to be preserved.¹⁰ The history of the Skagit River goes back millennia. Archaeologists have identified artifacts confirming First Nations use of the Skagit Valley dating back eight thousand years.¹¹ The meadow now bearing Chittenden's name "is of ancient origin and its recent history and current status reflect a complex interaction among fire, soil, and climate variables."¹² Although it is not the focus of this project, it is important to state that the Indigenous history of Skagit has largely been left out of narratives about the valley in the twentieth century. Historian Philip Van Huizen notes that stories about the valley often include First Nations peoples up to the twentieth century, and then they are written out, as if they disappeared. He argues, "this depiction of a fading indigenous presence in the valley leaves a lot out, however. Although their populations indeed decreased dramatically, indigenous groups did not stop using the valley."¹³

In terms of non-Indigenous use of the Skagit Valley, David Fraser, Daniel Farr, L. R. Ramsay, and Nancy Turner note that "the first white man to travel through what is now Manning Park was Alexander Ross an employee of the Pacific Fur Company. He used the Skyline trail to pass east through the Cascades in January 1813."¹⁴ Several decades later, in 1858, during the BC gold rush, a U.S. Army captain and engineer, W. W. De 'Lacy, cut a route through the Skagit Valley, allowing American prospectors to avoid paying customs on gold at British posts in the Fraser Valley.¹⁵ In the middle of the

¹⁰ For more on the idea of wilderness as contested, see Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); and Richard White, *Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980).

¹¹ See D. Lepofsky et al., "Historical Meadow Dynamics in Southwest British Columbia: A Multidisciplinary Analysis," *Conservation Ecology* 7, no. 3 (2003), <http://www.consecol.org/vol7/iss3/art5/>. See also "Skagit Valley Provincial Park."

¹² D. Lepofsky et al., "Historical Meadow Dynamics."

¹³ Van Huizen, "Flooding the Border," 64. Van Huizen's history documents the Indigenous uses of the valley throughout the twentieth century and traces "indigenous involvement in the industrial modernization of the Skagit Valley" (65). He covers this in particular in chapter 2, "The Paradox of Multiple Use in the Skagit Valley," 61-88.

¹⁴ David F. Fraser et al., *Natural and Human History*, 106.

¹⁵ Fraser et al., *Natural and Human History*, 112.

nineteenth century, gold fever was becoming a common affliction, and the Americans who had rushed to California were now turning their sights north to the goldfields of British Columbia. The governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in British Columbia was becoming nervous about the influx of Americans across the 49th parallel. While investigating where the boundary should be in 1859, the Canadian Boundary Commission made a trail from Chilliwack to the Skagit on the Canadian side. During the gold rush, this trail was used to access the Interior of British Columbia and the present-day Skagit trail follows portions of that trail.¹⁶

The area was also investigated as a potential site for the railway to connect British Columbia with the rest of Canada.¹⁷ And although it was deemed not ideal for a railway, the area became important for other issues of national sovereignty, particularly in terms of how the use of the Skagit River by the United States would impact Canadians.

Ranchers also staked a claim in the Canadian area around the Skagit River. From 1883 to 1904, the Cawley homestead occupied what would become known as the Chittenden Meadow.¹⁸ Henry Robert Whitworth, an English immigrant, purchased the Cawley Ranch and cleared 256 acres in the area. Whitworth built a ranch house and stable with timber cleared from the land and operated it as a cattle ranch from 1905 to 1909, when the whole Whitworth family left the area due to illness.¹⁹ It was in 1906 that manipulation of the Skagit for the purposes of energy generation began. In 1906, the Seattle City Light Company began planning a hydroelectric project with the intention of damming the Skagit River for its own power needs. The plans of the Seattle City Light Company were not immediately going to impact British Columbians; however, other plans to dam rivers originating in Canada, such as the Columbia, to generate

¹⁶ Fraser et al, *Natural and Human History*, 115. Also, see "Skagit Valley Provincial Park."

¹⁷ Sir Sanford Fleming notes the area around the Skagit and Similkambeen was "manifestly impractical for a railway." Sir Sanford Fleming, *Report on Surveys and Preliminary Operations on the Canadian Pacific Railway: up to January 1877* (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1877), 106. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers undertook operations to remove snags from the Skagit to keep it navigable for steamships. They note, "The Skagit is the largest and has more navigable water than either of the other four rivers; a larger class of steamers is run and the greatest amount of business is also done upon its waters." United States Army Chief of Engineers, *Annual Report Part IV, Appendix TT - Report of Major Handbury* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 2563.

¹⁸ Lepofsky et al., "Historical Meadow Dynamics."

¹⁹ "Skagit Valley Provincial Park."

hydroelectric power in the United States were emerging. As a result, the United States and Great Britain signed what is known as the Boundary Waters Treaty in 1909.²⁰ In order to adjudicate any disputes that would arise between the two countries over issues of the use of waters that flowed across the borders, the International Joint Commission (IJC) was created.²¹

It is within the context of the IJC and the agreement that Canada and the United States would cooperate in regard to waterways that spanned their shared border that much of Curley's story is contained. From 1909 onwards, the Seattle City Light Company began to plan massive damming projects on the Skagit River. On October 28, 1927, Seattle City Light was granted license 553 by the Federal Power Commission in the United States for three dams, the Diablo, the Gorge, and the Ruby (later, Ross).²² The Whitworth ranch was purchased by Seattle City Light in 1929.²³ Two dams, the Diablo and the Gorge, were built on the Skagit on the US side of the border, and permission, through an amendment to the license, was given on July 23, 1937, to begin construction on the Ruby. The name was changed from Ruby to Ross with permission given by the Commission on May 3, 1946, which also allowed for Step 2 to raise the level of the Ross.²⁴ The Ross Dam was the most northerly dam, and it created the Ross Lake Reservoir. At peak capacity, the high water level meant that the reservoir reached the Canadian border. The power company then put forward the plan to make the Ross Dam even higher. This plan was referred to as the High Ross project. If implemented, the plan to increase the height of the Ross Dam would further increase the incursion of Ross Lake into Canadian territory. Plans for the "High Ross" dam indicated that the Skagit Valley, on the Canadian side, would flood as far as Silvertip Campground, which

²⁰ *The Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909* (International Joint Commission, 2016), accessed June 13, 2019, <https://ijc.org/sites/default/files/2018-07/Boundary%20Water-ENGFR.pdf>.

²¹ *Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909*.

²² "United States of America Federal Power Commission, re: City of Seattle Project No. 553, 'Order Ruling on Motion, Providing for Hearing and Setting Dates,' September 11, 1972," box 32, folder 1, Record Series 1200-13, Seattle Municipal Archives.

²³ City of Seattle, Department of Lighting, Letter from John M. Nelson Superintendent of Lighting to Mr. Patrick D. Goldsworthy, President North Cascades Conservation Council states, "We purchased the properties from Henry Robert Whitworth in accordance with City Ordinance No.5823 on September 18, 1929." Document in box 3, file 10, R.O.S.S. Committee (Run Out Skagit Spoilers), Rare Books and Special Collections (hereafter RBSC), University of British Columbia Library (hereafter UBCL), Vancouver, BC.

²⁴ "United States of America Federal Power Commission, re: City of Seattle Project No. 553, 'Order Ruling on Motion, Providing for Hearing and Setting Dates,' September 11, 1972."

is twenty-three kilometers from the Canada-US border. In 1942, the International Joint Committee approved the High Ross project, citing the need for more power to aid the war effort. "The proposed High Ross Reservoir was authorized by the International Joint Commission on January 27, 1942, subject to compensatory indemnification agreement to be executed at a later date with the Province of British Columbia."²⁵ This would raise the dam by 120 feet and flood more than 5,000 acres on the Canadian side of the border. The project was delayed, however, because the road required to clear the land was not constructed until 1946. The BC government passed the Skagit Valley Lands Act in 1947 to facilitate the proposed increase in the height of the Ross, but political delays over compensation for flooding the land continued to hold back the project.

The High Ross Dam project and the use of the Skagit for the electricity needs of Seattle can be understood as part of the era of high modernism, and it is here that Curley Chittenden enters the picture. Curley Chittenden's story takes place in the social, political, and economic context of post-Second World War British Columbia, a period characterized by what James C. Scott calls high modernism. Scott conceptualized high modernism as a time when there was an increasing control over nature marked by scientific planning to control both human and natural environments. It is characterized in particular by mega projects, including hydroelectric dams.²⁶ As historian Daniel MacFarlane argues, "dams represented modernity and power, both state and electric."²⁷ A number of Canadian environmental historians, including Matthew Evenden, Tina Loo, and Meg Stanley, have examined the intersection of industrial development and the environment in the era of high modernism.²⁸

In their article examining the history of the damming of Peace River, Tina Loo and Meg Stanley expand on the notion of high modernism. Unlike Scott, Loo and Stanley argue that those building the mega dams did not ignore local knowledge, and

²⁵ "United States of America Federal Power Commission, re: City of Seattle Project No. 553, 'Order Ruling on Motion, Providing for Hearing and Setting Dates,' September 11, 1972."

²⁶ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

²⁷ Daniel MacFarlane, *Negotiating a River: Canada, the US, and the Creation of the Saint Lawrence Seaway* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014).

²⁸ Matthew Evenden, "Mobilizing Rivers: Hydro-Electricity, the State, and World War II in Canada," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99, no. 5 (2009): 845-50; Tina Loo, "High Modernism, Conflict, and the Nature of Change in Canada: A Look at *Seeing Like a State*," *Canadian Historical Review* 97, no.1 (Spring 2016): 34-58.

instead, they argue, “Dam-building was characterized by an intense engagement with place that generated a particular kind of knowledge, something we call 'high modernist local knowledge.’”²⁹ Loo and Stanley argue that “without a deep, precise, and particular understanding of the local environment, the hydroelectric dams on the Peace and Columbia could not have been built in the first place.”³⁰ Loo and Stanley suggest that environmental historians have underplayed the importance of the local knowledge of the geologists and hydrologists integral to the building of these mega projects. They argue that these workers were not alienated from nature but rather engaged with it and that “their engagement with the locales in which they worked encompassed all the senses; it brought mind, body, and place together.”³¹ Loo and Stanley argue that this engagement would ultimately create cognitive dissonance for the workers, who were unable to reconcile their role in using their local knowledge of the environment to radically change and alter that environment. To illustrate this cognitive dissonance, they use the example of two workers (Woodsworth and Wilson) who had reservations about their roles in dam building projects but went along with them despite their misgivings. They conclude,

In many ways, the pride and regret that characterize Woodsworth's and Wilson's reflections about the legacy of the high modernist projects they were involved with is what one might expect: a very modern response to a modern dilemma. Their ambivalence captures the self-consciousness and “reflexivity” that defines the modern condition; to be modern is to be an agent of change and celebrate it, even as we mourn what is lost in the process.³²

Although many of the workers engaged in dam projects most likely had few choices if they wanted to be gainfully employed, this does not mean they lacked agency. Regret for being a part of such a radical change in the environment was not an inevitable outcome for those who had reservations about mega projects such as dams. This chapter examines a worker employed in the very kind of high modernist project that Loo and Stanley study but with a much different outcome. Curley Chittenden was employed to use his local knowledge of nature in the service of dam building, but his very

²⁹ Tina Loo and Meg Stanley, “An Environmental History of Progress: Damming the Peace and Columbia Rivers,” *Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (September 2011): 408.

³⁰ Loo and Stanley, “Environmental History of Progress,” 412.

³¹ Loo and Stanley, “Environmental History of Progress,” 415.

³² Loo and Stanley, “Environmental History of Progress,” 425.

rootedness in the local and engagement with nature led him not to later regret his participation but to turn his back on his assigned role in the moment.

The Seattle City Light Company was going to raise the level of the Ross Dam and it fell to one Wilfred W. Chittenden to supervise the clearing of the land that would be flooded. The BC Parks website sums up the events surrounding Chittenden's act of environmentalism in the following two sentences: "Eventually, Mr. 'Curley' Chittenden was hired by the Seattle City Light Company to supervise the clearing of the land. He commenced work but after a period of time refused to continue the project and joined the fight to save the area."³³ Tony Eberts, an environmental columnist and the outdoors editor for *The Vancouver Province* from 1979 to 1994, remembered Chittenden in the Skagit Valley Oral History Project in the following way:

Curley hired on as head of a crew to clear the flood area. I think it was a big stand of Ponderosa Pine that really upset Curley—the idea of cutting this. So he objected to this. And finally—they wouldn't listen to him—so he quit. And just about the same time the ROSS group was formed, "Run Out Skagit Spoilers." So Curley, as it were, dropped his axe and crossed the floor and took up against the idea of flooding the valley.³⁴

A study of the area published in the journal *Conservation Ecology* notes that Chittenden recognized the meadow's uniqueness and prevented logging of the forest immediately surrounding it, although logging roads and camps were built nearby, and some logging roads crossed the meadow. The water in the reservoir reached its northern extent, near the southern end of the meadow, in 1952.³⁵ The timing of Curley's actions is a bit muddied by the oral histories. Some have him "putting down his axe" simultaneous with the formation of the ROSS (Run Out Skagit Spoilers) committee. In a 2003 interview, Ken Farquharson said, "So the road had to be built in the Skagit, and contractors who did it really had to be Canadian contractors. Curley actually had the contract to do that, to do that initial clearing. And it was at that time that he became very fond of the Skagit and was sort of horrified when the prospect of the next increment of raising the dam

³³ "Skagit Valley Provincial Park."

³⁴ Edward Liebow, Dorinda S. Bixler, and Sara J. Breslow, with Evelyn Jarosz, *Skagit Oral History Project Phase I: Final Report* (Seattle: Environmental Health and Social Policy Center, 2003), 23, <http://skagiteec.org/wp-content/uploads/SEEC-Oral-History-Phase-I-Report.pdf>.

³⁵ Lepofsky et al., "Historical Meadow Dynamics."

would happen. He was a member of the ROSS Committee.”³⁶ Farquharson’s comments seem to mistakenly put Curley’s action simultaneous to the formation of the ROSS committee however; it seems clear his refusal to cut the pines and spoil the meadow was prior to the more traditional environmentalists awareness of the area. Tom Perry helps clear up the timeline, while adding some more understanding of Curley’s actions.

And one of our greatest activists unfortunately died about ten years ago, Curley Chittenden, who was a logger that logged all over British Columbia, all of the coast and in the lower mainland of B.C., and retired, and had logged in the Skagit. And he refused to log the giant trees in the way of the reservoir in the early Fifties. He just decided he didn't think it was right, and basically put down his tools. Curley, when he retired became the archetypal activist who at a drop of a hat, a phone call, would say, yeah, ok, I'll get in my truck, self-contained, got all my camping gear, my can of chili or whatever in there, go out to the Skagit and hand out leaflets to people. We would go in the fishing season, and even late in the fall, and just say, “Look, you're fishing here. Right where you're standing could be under sixty feet of water. Just write a letter, please.” It was a very effective tactic, because the people who we were talking to had a direct personal stake.³⁷

Chittenden’s intervention brought public attention to the proposed flooding of the Skagit valley. Seattle City Light’s records confirm the 1950s date, more specifically 1953, stating, “March 1953, City Light hired a crew of 45 Canadians to clear the 600 acres of the Canadian part of the basin to elevation 1600 feet and burn the 10 square miles of accumulated debris.”³⁸ Chittenden’s notes comparing the valley from 1953 to the 1970s bears out that he was clearing the valley in 1953, as he states, “In 1953 the Basin was full of deer, beaver, bear, grouse, and big fish.”³⁹ This puts Chittenden’s actions over a decade before the formation of the ROSS committee. Terry Allan Simmons, one of the leaders of the ROSS committee, who would also do his master’s degree on the topic, situates the formation of ROSS in December 1969.⁴⁰

³⁶ “Interview with Ken Farquharson, May 14, 2003,” in Liebow et al., *Skagit Oral History Project*, 35.

³⁷ “Interview with Tom Perry, May 13, 2003,” in Liebow et al., *Skagit Oral History Project*, 81-82.

³⁸ Seattle City Light, “Clearing of Ross Basin,” n.d., box 3, folder 10, R.O.S.S. Committee (Run Out Skagit Spoilers), RBSC, UBCL.

³⁹ “Chittenden Notes,” June 1, [no year], box 3, folder 3, R.O.S.S. Committee (Run Out Skagit Spoilers), RBSC, UBCL.

⁴⁰ Liebow et al., *Skagit Oral History Project*, 3.

Although Farquharson may have had the dates wrong, his recollection, along with Perry's, reaffirms Loo and Stanely's contention about local knowledge, but in a different manifestation than usual. Farquharson notes, "he had, of course, an enormous amount of local knowledge. And he knew a lot of people around Hope and things that the rest of us didn't know."⁴¹ Chittenden was not the only logger who was opposed to logging the area, but he was the first. The International Woodworkers of America local was also opposed. As Tom Perry notes, "We even got the IWA, the International Woodworkers of America in those days they were called, who are the major logging union. We even got the IWA local that would have had the logging contract if it were a union job, to state publicly that they would not accept a contract to log the Canadian Skagit."⁴²

Chittenden's actions in and of themselves did not save the meadow that now bears his name. What he did was to stop the project and create more interest in the area. This in turn gave more time for public opposition to coalesce around the issue. For his efforts, Curley Chittenden does have a meadow named after him, but his efforts were not heralded at the time, and even today he is not a well-known name outside of certain circles. Chittenden's actions are noted in a variety of publications often associated with hiking in the region. For example, the *Falcon Guide to Hiking the Cascades*, in describing the nature trail into Chittenden Meadow notes, "The meadow is of great ecological significance: Ponderosa pines are ordinarily restricted to locales east of the Cascade divide, but they thrive here beside the Skagit. The meadow was once part of a turn-of-the-century cattle ranch, and was later named for Curley Chittenden, a Canadian logger who spearheaded the effort to thwart a higher dam on Ross Lake that would have flooded the valley far into Canada."⁴³

The resolution of the High Ross controversy was a drawn-out affair. By 1967, a compensation agreement had been reached and, although it faced intense opposition, was upheld by the provincial government in 1967.⁴⁴ On the American side, the US

⁴¹ "Interview with Ken Farguharson," 35.

⁴² "Interview with Tom Perry," 81-82.

⁴³ Erik Molovar, *Hiking the North Cascades: A Guide to the Area's Best Hiking Adventures*, 2nd ed. (Guilford, CT: Morris Book Publishing, 2009), 193.

⁴⁴ "High Ross Treaty," Skagit Environmental Endowment Commission (website), accessed June 13, 2019, <https://skagiteec.org/about/high-ross-treaty/>.

National Park Service established the North Cascades National Park and the Ross Lake and Lake Chelan National Recreation Areas in 1968. In 1970, on the Canadian side, the Skagit Valley Provincial Park was established as a 1,500-hectare provincial park, adding 32,000 hectares in 1973 to create the Skagit Valley Recreational Area (recreational areas allow greater latitude for the crown to allow resource development such as mining).⁴⁵ In 1996, the provincial government declared it a provincial park.⁴⁶

The government of British Columbia and the City of Seattle signed the High Ross Treaty in 1984. The treaty committed BC Hydro to supply Seattle City Light with as much energy as would have been created by raising the Ross Dam for the next 80 years. The Skagit Environmental Endowment Commission (SEEC) was established in order to oversee an endowment fund for the preservation of the area and to protect the habitat of the Upper Skagit Watershed. The SEEC would also serve as an advocate for the Upper Skagit Watershed. The commission's stated purpose in the High Ross Treaty was:

To conserve and protect wilderness and wildlife habitat; To enhance recreational opportunities in the Skagit Valley; To acquire mineral or timber rights consistent with conservation and recreational purposes; To conduct studies of need and feasibility of projects; To plan for and construct hiking trails, footbridges, interpretive displays and the like; To cause the removal of stumps and snags in Ross Lake and on the shoreline as deemed appropriate, and the grooming and contouring of the shoreline, consistent with wildlife habitat protection; and to connect, if feasible, Manning Provincial park and the North Cascades National Park by a trail system.⁴⁷

The land use for the area that comprises the Canadian side, or the Upper Skagit Valley, is a complex combination of protected lands, parks, ecological reserves, recreation areas, and unprotected Crown land. E. C. Manning Park, established in 1941, is the oldest Class A park. The Skagit Valley Provincial Park, as discussed above, was established in 1970. Adjacent protected areas have been added in subsequent years. The Cascade Recreation Area, containing 11,858 hectares, was established in 1987 after considerable public discussion. The Snass River drainage portion of the recreation

⁴⁵ Environmental Law Centre Clinic, University of Victoria, Faculty of Law, with Steve and Kathy Berman Environmental Law Clinic, University of Washington School of Law, *A Land and Resource Management Review for the Skagit Environmental Endowment Commission*, February 2005, 47, <http://www.elc.uvic.ca/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/UpperSkagitReport.pdf>.

⁴⁶ *A Land and Resource Management Review*, 48.

⁴⁷ "High Ross Treaty."

area was upgraded to Class A park status and added to E. C. Manning Park in 1999 as a result of a recommendation from the Protected Areas Strategy Table for the Lower Mainland Region.⁴⁸ Four Ecological Reserves exist within the Skagit Valley Provincial Park: the Skagit River Forest Ecological Reserve, containing approximately 75.5 hectares; the Ross Lake Ecological Reserve, containing approximately 61.6 hectares; the Skagit River Cottonwoods Ecological Reserve, containing approximately 90.7 hectares; and the Skagit River Rhododendrons Ecological Reserve, containing approximately 64.9 hectares.⁴⁹ See Figure 3-1 below for a map of the area.

⁴⁸ Environmental Stewardship Division, *Management Plan for E.C. Manning Provincial Park and Cascade Recreation Area*, 1.

⁴⁹ See Schedule C, "Skagit Valley Park," Protected Areas of British Columbia Act, S.B.C. 2000, c. 17, accessed June 13, 2019, http://www.bclaws.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/00017_00. For more on ecological reserves, see the Friends of Ecological Reserves website, <http://ecoreserves.bc.ca/>, which provides a tour of the Skagit Valley Park Ecological Reserves.

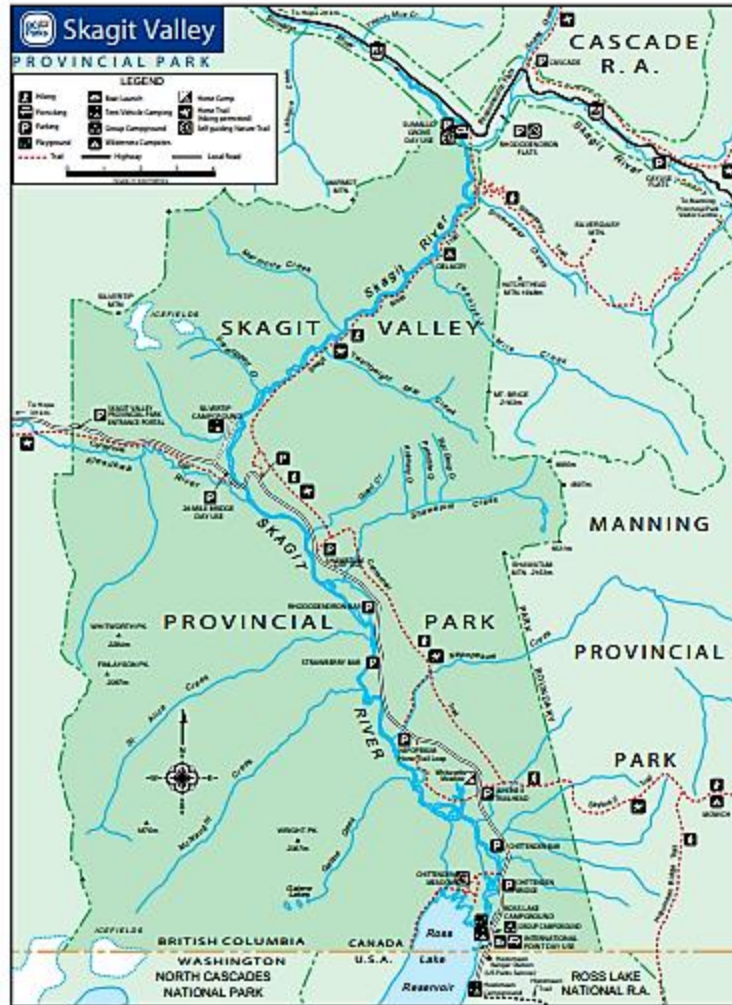


Figure 2. Map: Skagit Valley Provincial Park, BC Parks

Why is this meadow, or this area in general, important? The Chittenden meadow is a relatively small piece of meadowland in a somewhat remote section of British Columbia. On the American side, the Skagit has always played an important role, if only because it helps keep the lights on in the Emerald City. The population near the Canadian side is comparatively sparse and the area is used by those going for a hike or perhaps attempting to smuggle our number one export across the border. The importance of the Skagit Valley lies beyond the measure of population density or resource extraction. This area is important as a site for a classic struggle between the inherent beauty and value of a wilderness, on the one hand, and the industrial use and value associated with resource extraction and power generation, on the other. Chittenden's choice to stop logging the valley because of the intrinsic value of the

meadow he had been employed to destroy was rare at the time, although it was during this period that the valley and its surrounding area was beginning to be seen as more than simply untapped resources.

Curley Chittenden did not single-handedly save the Skagit River. However, he did identify unique qualities, in the form of ponderosa pines and the meadow, of one part of this complex ecosystem, and he was instrumental in bringing attention to the Canadian side of the Skagit Valley. Chittenden's actions, and the studies of the meadow that were made possible by them, have had an enormous impact on our understanding of the meadow historically and meadow ecosystems more broadly. Numerous archaeological studies have been conducted there and a Simon Fraser University study was undertaken to gain a better understanding of meadow dynamics. The report on meadow dynamics noted that Chittenden Meadow "has evidence of a range of factors that are known to drive meadow dynamics elsewhere."⁵⁰

Curley Chittenden had an impact on the history of British Columbia in other ways as well. He was not a wallflower nor was his family new to the idea of being an integral part of the history of British Columbia. Chittenden's grandfather, Captain Newton Chittenden, published two of British Columbia's first travel books, *Travels in British Columbia* in 1882 and *Exploration of the Queen Charlotte Islands* in 1884.⁵¹ He apparently was the first white man to extensively explore the interior of the Queen Charlotte Islands. And Curley Chittenden himself claimed he played a part in getting logger writers Joe Garner and Ivan Ackery to write their memoirs.⁵² Chittenden also contributed to the history of the province as an amateur historian, writing and publishing

⁵⁰ Lepofsky et al., "Historical Meadow Dynamics," 5. In an interesting aside, the authors note that Curley's contribution to understanding the area did not end with his initial refusal to destroy it. They wrote that decades later, "the first recorded site on the Canadian side of the study area (DgRg 1) was identified by W. "Curly" [sic] Chittenden, one of the first homesteaders in the area (Figure 8). In 1972 while bulldozing, Chittenden uncovered a carved bird effigy stone bowl as well as a small scatter of lithic artifacts about 4 km northwest of the Ross Lake Campground. Chittenden did state in an interview (Chittenden 1994 in Bush 1997: 17) that he had also collected artifacts during the 1930s and 40s in what is now known as 'Chittenden Meadow' located at the north end of Ross Lake."

⁵¹ See "Forestry," *BC Bookworld*, Winter 2003, <https://abcbookworld.com/writer/chittenden-wilfrid-w/>.

⁵² "Forestry."

with Arnold M. McCombs *The Harrison-Chehalis Challenge* and *The Fraser Valley Challenge*, illustrated local histories of logging and sawmilling.⁵³

Chittenden is also important, though underappreciated, in terms of his role in the history of worker-environmentalist discourse. Although Chittenden's contributions to environmentalism have been recognized, he, unlike Greenpeace or David Suzuki, is far from a household name on the West Coast. He simply laid down his chainsaw long before Greenpeace and well before anyone was thinking of making environmental protest public theatre. Despite this, Curley Chittenden would become part of the discourse around environmental protection years after his actions to save the meadow that now bears his name. In May 1990, he was acknowledged as a visitor to the BC Legislature and his environmental contributions were noted.

MR. PERRY: I'd like to introduce to the House a very distinguished visitor in the gallery today, well known to Mr. Speaker, Mr. W.C. "Curly" [*sic*] Chittenden of West Vancouver. The Minister of Education has kindly consented to share in the introduction, because Curly [*sic*] is known to many of us for his efforts on behalf of the Skagit Valley and the ROSS committee. He shared the Minister of Environment's environmental award of achievement in the ROSS committee at the time the Minister of Education was serving in that capacity. I'd like to ask the House to make Curly [*sic*] welcome.⁵⁴

That same year, in an exchange over estimates by the Minister of Parks, Curley Chittenden's name was invoked again, this time around the question of mining in the area and the lack of decision on making the Skagit a provincial park.⁵⁵ The Minister of Parks was asked to explain when the Skagit would be made a provincial park. The minister replied in a rather vague manner, stating:

⁵³ Arnold M. McCombs and Wilfred W. Chittenden, *The Harrison-Chehalis Challenge: A Brief History of the Forest Industry Around Harrison Lake and the Chehalis Valley*. (Harrison Hot Springs, BC: Treeline Publishing, 1988); and *The Fraser Valley Challenge: An Illustrated Account of Logging and Sawmilling in the Fraser Valley* (Harrison Hot Springs, BC: Treeline Publishing, 1990).

⁵⁴ British Columbia, *Official Report of Debates of the Legislative Assembly (Hansard)*, 34th Parl, 4th Sess (May 10, 1990) at 9257 (Mr. Perry), https://www.leg.bc.ca/documents-data/debate-transcripts/34th-parliament/4th-session/34p_04s_900510a.

⁵⁵ As noted elsewhere, the Skagit Valley Recreation Area was established by Order in Council 4037, December 6, 1973, and contained 80,500 acres, including 3,700 acres formerly designated as Skagit River Park. It was upgraded to provincial park status, to be known as the Skagit Valley Park, per OIC 1308, November 2, 1995, and containing approximately 27,948. The conversion of OIC to Statute designation per the Protected Areas of British Columbia Act in 2000 maintained the size of the park.

HON. MR. MESSMER: The master plan, as you are aware, was sent out. The remarks have been given back to our staff at this time. I have not been there. However, I can assure the member that when the House is out I intend to go in there. I intend to ask the Minister of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources (Hon. Mr. Davis) to go in with me on the same trip along with our senior staff to take the recommendations and review the remarks that have been sent in on the master planning, because it is essential that a decision be made as soon as possible.

The answer to the question is that I have undertaken that an answer will be given.

The response to his vague answer was as follows:

MR. PERRY: I have made a longstanding offer to previous government ministers—and I'd be delighted to make it again to the minister—of a free canoe trip down the Skagit River this summer at a time of mutual convenience.

The next part of the exchange contains the reference to Curley.

HON. MR. MESSMER: I think it would be unfair for me to say that at this time. After all, the recommendations are coming in. I have not seen the particular site. Like the Carmanah, until you go and see a site, it's very difficult to prejudge.

MR. PERRY: That's a good answer. I think once he has seen the site he'll understand my concerns. I don't think it will be hard to convince him that it wouldn't be a good idea to plan mining in that site, once he has seen it.

Another quick question on the Skagit. I've had a call recently from Mr. Curly [sic] Chittenden and Tony Everts, the *Province* outdoor reporter, who are concerned about road-paving in the Skagit. I had a very thoughtful response from the Minister of Highways (Hon. Mrs. Johnston) to a letter I sent her a few months ago. Her response came in the last few months, and it indicated that there were no plans to pave that road. I'd just like to confirm that with the Minister of Parks.⁵⁶

It seems clear that Chittenden's name was being used as a rhetorical tool, but nevertheless his contributions were being noted as significant, which is not historically the trend for worker-environmentalists. It is important he was acknowledged, but I must point out it was as an environmentalist and not as a worker-environmentalist.

⁵⁶ British Columbia, *Official Report of Debates of the Legislative Assembly (Hansard)*, 34th Parl, 4th Sess (July 26, 1990) at 11608-11609, https://www.leg.bc.ca/documents-data/debate-transcripts/34th-parliament/4th-session/34p_04s_900726p.

According to the BC Parks Service, “William [*sic*] 'Curly' [*sic*] Chittenden, a Fraser Valley logger and one of the chief proponents for conserving the valley, lived just long enough to receive word of the Skagit's official protected designation before his death at age 88. A special section of the valley, Chittenden Meadows, honours his commitment to save a rare stand of ponderosa pine trees located here.”⁵⁷ Upon his death, environmental groups eulogized him. The Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC) published a eulogy in their annual report:

Wilfred "Curley" Chittenden 1913–1995

When Curley passed away this past September, the wilderness preservation movement lost one of its most beloved elders. Curley was no stranger to WCWC's office. Often times we'd hear his gruff voice call—“come on, I'll buy you lunch, there's something I want to talk to you about.” The conversation would usually be about some Lower Mainland wild place in the sights of a logging company. His assessment of the situation, whether it be logging in Vancouver's drinking watersheds or the fight to protect Pinecone-Boise-Burke would be sprinkled with tough-talk and a razor-edged humour. A conversation with Curley was sure to put a little starch in the backbone of any preservationist.

Curley's clear understanding of the effects of logging came from his love of nature, his age (he was 82 this year) and because, for most of his working life, he was a logger. Decades ago, he quit his logging job in the Skagit Valley and went on to lead the fight for its preservation, The Skagit was declared a provincial park this year—only a few days before he passed away. He will be greatly missed and fondly remembered forever.⁵⁸

Although it is a thoughtful eulogy, the narrative constructed by the Wilderness Committee separates the working life of Chittenden as a logger from his life as an environmentalist. They make it appear as though his leading the fight to save the Skagit came after he quit his logging job, rather than as simultaneous to his working as a logger, thus discounting that his role as a logger was fundamental to his turn toward environmentalism.

⁵⁷ “Vancouver Coast and Mountains: South Fraser Valley,” British Columbia.com, accessed June 25, 2019, <http://britishcolumbia.com/things-to-do-and-see/wildlife-viewing/vancouver-coast-mountains/>. There are discrepancies about Curley Chittenden's age at the time of his death. This website has it at 88 but most others at 82. 82 appears to be correct.

⁵⁸ “Wilderness Committee Annual Members Report 1995-96,” *Wilderness Committee Educational Report* 14, no.15 (Winter 1995), accessed June 13, 2019, https://www.wildernesscommittee.org/sites/all/files/publications/1995%20Annual%20Report.pdf?_ga=2.103214086.700253375.1560472203-517066383.1560472203.

Wilfred “Curley” Chittenden is not the only logger who has acted as an environmentalist. Nor does the example of one man prove my thesis of workers as environmentalists. What it does do is provide an example of the worker-environmentalist. It also illustrates that although Chittenden’s actions are directly tied to his position as a worker, in narratives constructed around his legacy, his life as a logger is most often clearly delineated as separate from his work as an environmentalist. The case of Curley Chittenden does not negate Loo and Stanley’s work on how high modernism takes local knowledge and transmits it. Their point that “big dams didn't just destroy places; they also de-territorialized and globalized them by turning situated knowledge about locales into work experience, problems, and case studies that travelled, informing development in other parts of the world,” resonates with my case study as well.⁵⁹ Instead of informing further industrial development, Chittenden’s stand against high modernism’s brutish dams also took local knowledge and globalized it. In this case, local knowledge turned into an international protest, and serves as a case study in resistance to modernist impulses. Chittenden’s story allows us to contemplate that perhaps to be modern is also to resist the brute force of high modernism, not to simply reflect on the damage it has wreaked. Chittenden’s history, however, stands in opposition to one contention of Loo and Stanley. In discussing two workers who had reservations about their role in dam building projects but went along with them anyway, Loo and Stanley’s conclusion is that Woodsworth’s and Wilson’s regret captures the ambivalence and self-consciousness of the modern condition, which is “to be an agent of change and celebrate it, even as we mourn what is lost in the process.”⁶⁰ Curley Chittenden was an agent of change, but one that did not fit the prescribed role of a worker in the high modernist era. Instead of mourning what was lost he fought to ensure that it was not lost to the perceived needs of the modernist imperative.

My point is not that Chittenden should be a folk hero, though there would be nothing wrong with that. The point is that individual workers have contributed greatly to the cause of environmentalism, sometimes, as in the case of Chittenden, long before the term “environmentalist” was even coined. Documenting individual workers’ contributions to environmentalism illustrates my argument that workers have a long history of acting on behalf of the environment, often contrary to their short-term interests. Opponents

⁵⁹ Loo and Stanley, “Environmental History of Progress,” 421.

⁶⁰ Loo and Stanley, “Environmental History of Progress,” 425.

could also point to contrary examples, or simply write my example off as an anomaly. Curley Chittenden's example alone does not prove my thesis. His example is a piece of the puzzle. Chittenden's efforts on behalf of the environment show how a logger can put his short-term interests, the money received for a logging contract, aside in favour of the long-term interests of a sustainable environment for its inherent, rather than monetary, value.

Curley Chittenden's memory is scattered across a few hiking books and the oral history of the Skagit Valley. As historian of memory Pierre Nora states, "Modern memory is, above all, archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image. What began as writing ends as high fidelity and tape recording."⁶¹ Curley's memory is disappearing and does not exist outside a few traces—a few pages in Hansard or a hiking book, a plaque in a park far from the centres of population. Even as I write the history of Chittenden, memory of him as a living example of the worker-environmentalist is fading. Phillip Van Huizen, who has done the most recent historical work on the Skagit River does not mention Chittenden at all in his article "Panic Park: Environmental Protest and the Politics of Parks in British Columbia's Skagit Valley." His more comprehensive study of the High Ross Dam Controversy from 1926-1984 lumps Chittenden in with beatnik poets, suggesting "the Seattle and British Columbia governments can perhaps be forgiven for neglecting to consider the writings of beatnik poets or individual loggers in British Columbia when they negotiated their final deal in 1967."⁶²

In an interesting development that highlights the impermanence of "saving" a river, a valley, or any environmental achievement, there has been a resurgence of interest in logging and mining the Skagit Valley. There is still much vigorous debate about the future of the Skagit and it can not be considered truly "saved."⁶³ As recently as

⁶¹ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24.

⁶² Van Huizen, "Flooding the Border," 81.

⁶³ There has been a myriad of plans for land use, including Summit Environmental Consultants, *Ecosystem Plan: E.C. Manning Provincial Park Skagit Valley Provincial Park & Cascade Recreation Area*, 2003; Ministry of Environment, Environmental Stewardship Division, *Management Plan for E.C. Manning Provincial Park and Cascade Recreation Area*, 2004; Ministry of Energy, Mines, and Petroleum et al., *Silverdaisy Integrated Management Plan*, 1998; and North Cascades Grizzly Bear Recovery Team, *Recovery Plan for Grizzly Bears in the North Cascades of British Columbia*, 2004. The United States has their own plans for their side of the

2018 there has been logging in the valley that appears to be in contravention of the Parks Act. The Wilderness Committee and Ecojustice pointed out the logging in a joint press release:

It is surprising that BC Timber Sales is logging in the Skagit River watershed when B.C. signed an international agreement in 1984 that was meant to protect that watershed," said Erica Stahl, staff lawyer at West Coast Environmental Law. "BC Timber Sales' clearcutting in the Skagit watershed goes against the spirit of the agreement, negotiated by B.C. itself to protect this beautiful area for future generations."⁶⁴

Prior to the issuing of the press release, two familiar figures were calling attention to the same issue and explaining the history all over again for a new generation. Ken Farquharson and Tom Perry published an op-ed in the *Vancouver Sun* warning of the impending mining that encroached on both Manning Park and Skagit Valley Park. Farquharson had been the chair of ROSS fifty years previous and Tom Perry the coordinator of ROSS. They warned, in part, that, "B.C. Timber Sales is about to tender cutblocks in the Skagit Valley right beside Manning Provincial Park. Roadbuilding for logging high in the subalpine is ongoing as we write. This is against the interests of B.C. Parks and the requirements of the Skagit River Treaty. Premier John Horgan can stop it with a telephone call to the responsible minister."⁶⁵ In addition, they provide a bit of a lesson on why this logging and proposed mining needs to be stopped, "Road construction for logging has already begun, and breached two formerly pristine drainages. Logging these subalpine slopes, directly above Skagit Valley Provincial Park and protected spotted owl habitat frustrates the mandate of SEEC and the long-term objectives of B.C. Parks."⁶⁶ Clearly, the struggle over the Skagit is not actually over. Considering that this dissertation is not only about workers or environmentalism but also

border, Wildlife Management Program, Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife, *Skagit Wildlife Area Management Plan*, 2006. However, no plan addresses the watershed as a whole, and there are parts of the watershed not currently identified in any of the plans. The Upper Skagit Watershed Fish and Wildlife Management Plan, [http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/435833/f-w-mgmt-draft\[1\].pdf](http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/435833/f-w-mgmt-draft[1].pdf), strives to integrate the relevant key points from these previous plans and to provide management guidelines for any activities to be initiated within the watershed in British Columbia.

⁶⁴ "B.C. Environment Minister Told to Kick Logging Trucks Out of Manning Park or Face Court Action," press release, August 2, 2018, ecojustice, <https://www.ecojustice.ca/pressrelease/release-bc-environment-minister-logging-manning-park/>.

⁶⁵ Ken Farquharson and Tom Perry, "Horgan Should Cancel Logging Plans for Skagit Valley," *Vancouver Sun*, <https://vancouversun.com/opinion/op-ed/ken-farquharson-and-tom-perry-horgan-should-cancel-logging-plans-for-skagit-valley>.

⁶⁶ Farquharson and Perry, "Horgan Should Cancel."

about how we remember and how we construct historical narratives, it brings forth many issues for me to reflect on as an historian.

Writing contemporary history, histories of topics that are not fixed or static, always presents challenges. On a personal note, it is sad to see the struggles of so many remaining unresolved, lacking finality. However, as a historian it offers a good lesson in the impermanence of what we consider to be already established history. It gives the lie to the oft used phrase “and the rest is history,” as it illustrates that history is never truly fixed or not in need of rewriting. In addition, as an activist, it pains me that the fight is never truly over. At risk of being un-academic, I think about the subject of this chapter as if I knew him personally, which I think is a common affliction among historians. In this imaginary relationship, I am in some ways glad that Curley is not here to see work that he helped start possibly being undone, but I am also sad that he is not here to continue the fight. At the same time, knowing that there are many who actually knew and loved Curley and who are just sad he is not here, I have no real right to feel any way about Curley’s absence.

This chapter aims to preserve the memory of a working-class environmentalist. However, in doing so, it may be performing the destructive work that Nora, in the following quote, attributes to history: “At the heart of history is a critical discourse that is antithetical to spontaneous memory. History is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it.”⁶⁷ He goes on to argue that “this form of memory comes to us from the outside; because it is no longer a social practice, we interiorize it as an individual constraint.”⁶⁸ However much this history may be from the outside, it is important to retain some memory of working-class environmentalism as it has largely been erased from the national narrative. This means contemporary working class environmentalists looking back for inspiration, tradition, and meaning, will have difficulty finding any of those things if we rely solely on spontaneity. When Curley Chittenden is compared to beatniks it seems more like writing off the history of the worker environmentalist than writing in. Nora does argue that, “the passage from memory to history has required every social group to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history. The task of remembering makes everyone his own

⁶⁷ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 9.

⁶⁸ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 14.

historian.⁶⁹ He goes on to state, “Those who have been long marginalized in traditional history are not the only ones haunted by the need to recover their buried pasts. Following the example of ethnic groups and social minorities, every established group, intellectual or not, learned or not, has felt the need to go in search of its own origins and identity.”⁷⁰ In many ways this dissertation is a search for the origins and identity of the worker-environmentalist.

In my next chapter, I will broaden the scope of this project and examine how industry-backed groups organized to thwart both the idea and the lived reality of working-class environmentalists, as well as their attempts to frame workers and environmentalists as mutually exclusive identities. In addition, I will examine how those same groups created the discourse of jobs and the environment as an us versus them proposition, thus displacing the idea of the worker-environmentalist and making the idea, and actuality, of a working class-environmentalism seem impossible.

⁶⁹ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 15.

⁷⁰ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 15.

Chapter 4.

Sharing the Environment

"I never wanted to put my campaign into direct conflict with labour, because I thought that was a false antagonism."¹
– David Peerla, Greenpeace Forest Campaigner.

On July 16, 1993, on the side of a logging road leading into the forests of Clayoquot Sound, the RCMP waded into the crowd of over two hundred and began arresting organizers of the two-week-old Clayoquot Sound protests.² At the time, it was the largest number of arrests in Clayoquot to date, but it was just the beginning of what would become the largest environmental protest in Canada.³ When reading or writing about the environmental movement in British Columbia, it is almost impossible to avoid coming across the issue of logging in the old growth forests of western Vancouver Island. Clayoquot Summer would become one of Canada's most famous confrontations between environmentalists, workers, the state, and corporations.⁴ Over the summer and

¹ "Greenpeace and the Politics of Image," *Ideas*, CBC Radio Transcripts, November 9, 1993, 35.

² Canadian Press, "RCMP Arrest 18 in Clayoquot Logging Protest," *The Gazette*, July 17, 1993. The RCMP had arrested twelve protestors the week before; see Canadian Press, "Arrests Mark Start of B.C. Logging War," *Toronto Star*, July 7, 1993.

³ While the 1993 protests would become historic, it was not the start of protests in Clayoquot Sound. Concerns about the old growth forest had been growing for years, and protests and arrests had happened the year before as well. See Richard Watts, "List of Protestor-arrests Grows at Clayoquot Logging Blockade," *Times Colonist*, July 18, 1992; Richard Watts and Roger Stonebanks, "25 Arrested as Anti-Logging Protestors Beef up Clayoquot Battleline," *Times Colonist*, August 1, 1992; Richard Watts, "Flat Halts RCMP False Arrest of 2 Tofino Officials on Road to Logging; Apology Follows," August 7, 1992; Roger Stonebanks, "Review Confirms Contempt Charges," *Times Colonist*, August 19, 1992; and Richard Watts, "Clayoquot Group Want No-Logging Area 2 ½ Times Larger," *Times Colonist*, August 28, 1992.

⁴ For background on the history of the dispute, see Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel, *A Vision and Its Context: Global Context for Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound*, March 1995, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/farming-natural-resources-and-industry/natural-resource-use/land-water-use/crown-land/land-use-plans-and-objectives/westcoast-region/clayoquotsound-lud/clayoquot_lud_scientificpanelrpt_vision.pdf; Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel, *Progress Report 2: Review of Current Forest Practice Standards in Clayoquot Sound*, May 10, 1994, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/farming-natural-resources-and-industry/natural-resource-use/land-water-use/crown-land/land-use-plans-and-objectives/westcoast-region/clayoquotsound-lud/clayoquot_lud_scientificpanelrpt_currentstandards.pdf; Craig R. Darling, *In Search of Consensus: An Evaluation of the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force Process*, (Victoria: UVic Institute for Dispute Resolution, 1991); and Province of British Columbia,

fall of 1993, the protests in the sound would eventually attract more than eleven thousand protesters.⁵ Over eight hundred people were arrested—the largest number of persons ever arrested for social protest in Canada.⁶

The campaign, designed to put pressure on forestry companies to stop clearcutting in old growth forests, ended up in direct conflict with workers, as proxies for those companies. Conversely, the companies were falsely, but persuasively, able to set forestry workers against the environmentalists by claiming their jobs were at stake. The Clayoquot Sound dispute is one example of how environmental conflicts often play out as conflicts between workers and environmentalists. The framing of environmental conflicts as workers versus environmentalists perpetuates the idea that workers and environmentalists have mutually exclusive interests, thus making a modern understanding of worker environmentalism difficult.

A key source fostering mistrust between workers and environmentalists during the environmental disputes in British Columbia in the late 1980s and early 1990s were the publicity efforts of corporate lobby groups, specifically Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC.⁷ This chapter will examine how Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC

Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision: Background Report, (Victoria: Queen's Printer for British Columbia, 1993).

⁵ On the 1993 Clayoquot Sound protests, see Keith Baldrey, "Pristine Clayoquot Turns into Battlefield," *Toronto Star*, May 12, 1993; Clayton Ruby, "Many People Will Break the Law this Summer to Save Clayoquot Sound," *Globe and Mail*, June 1, 1993; Anne McLroy, "The Biggest Environmental Battle Ground in Canada," *CanWest News*, June 24, 1993; Canadian Press, "Children Join Logging Protest Mounties Arrest 2 Schoolboys in Battle of Clayoquot Sound," *Toronto Star*, July 8, 1993; Robert Mason, "Anti-logging Rock Group Met by Hundreds Chanting," *Vancouver Sun*, July 15, 1993; Brian McAndrew, "1,500 Halt Clayoquot Logging," *Toronto Star*, July 16, 1993; Charles Trueheart, "Canada, Conservationists Battle over Rain Forest," *The Washington Post*, August 4, 1993; Canadian Press, "300 Dragged away from Anti-logging Protest," *Toronto Star*, August 10, 1993; Stewart Bell, "Loggers, Supporters Confront Protesters," *Vancouver Sun*, August 16, 1993; and Brian McAndrew, "Clayoquot Express on Track as Protesters Clamor on board," *Toronto Star*, November 3, 1993. For an overview of the dispute in Clayoquot Sound, see Howard Breen-Needham, Sandy Frances Duncan, and Deborah Ferens, eds., *Witness to Wilderness: The Clayoquot Sound Anthology* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1994).

⁶ David Tindall, "Twenty Years after the Protest, What We Learned from Clayoquot Sound," *Globe and Mail*, August 12, 2013; Anne Champagne and Ronald MacIassac, *Clayoquot Mass Trials: Defending the Rainforest* (Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 1994).

⁷ For a short summary of the forestry industry lobby and Share groups, see Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 31-42; and Claude Emery, *Share Groups in British Columbia*, (Ottawa: Library of Parliament Research Branch, 1991). On the history of the Wise Use movement in the United States, see David Helvar, *The War Against the Greens: The Wise Use Movement, the New Right, and Anti-*

functioned to exacerbate existing tensions between workers and environmentalists. In addition, this chapter draws on the work of Antonio Gramsci to help understand how Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC helped frame corporate interests as the common interest.⁸ It will provide case studies that illustrate the divide-and-conquer tactics outlined by political scientist Ellen D. Russell in her article, “Resisting Divide and Conquer: Worker/Environmental Alliances and the Problem of Economic Growth,” which offers a framework that “highlights the specific capitalist dynamics that may enable capitalist firms to inhibit worker/environmental alliances.”⁹

Before looking at the examples of Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC, it is important to understand the underlying ideology behind the groups and their formation. Both groups were modelled on the industry-backed, anti-environmentalist Wise Use movement in the United States. The Wise Use movement held its founding conference, called the Multiple-Use Strategy Conference, at the Nugget Casino and Hotel in Reno, Nevada, in 1988. The findings of the conference were published in the document *The Wise Use Agenda*, which was promoted as “the citizen’s guide to environmental issues.”¹⁰ The agenda included “Top 25 Goals,” one of which was the “Passage of the Global Warming Prevention Act to convert in a systematic manner all decaying and oxygen using forest growth on the National Forests into young stands of oxygen-producing carbon dioxide-absorbing trees to help ameliorate the rate of global warming and prevent the green-house effect.”¹¹ In other words, a key point of the agenda was to clear-cut all old growth forests and plant new trees. It also framed clear cuts as global

Environmental Violence (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994); T. H. Watkins, “Wise Use: Discouragements and Clarifications,” in *Let the People Judge: A Reader on the Wise Use Movement*, ed. John Echeverria and Raymond Booth Eby (Covelo, CA: Island Press, 1995), 45; Eve Pell, “Stop the Greens: Business Fights Back by Hook or by Crook,” in Echeverria and Booth Eby, *Let the People Judge*, 21; Tarso Ramos, “Wise Use in the West: The Case of the Northwest Timber Industry” in Echeverria and Booth Eby, *Let the People Judge*, 83; Alan Gottlieb, ed., *The Wise Use Agenda: The Citizen’s Policy Guide to Environmental Resource Issues* (Bellevue, WA: The Free Enterprise Press, 1989); and Alfred M. Olivetti, *This Land Is Your Land, This Land Is My Land: The Property Rights Movement and Regulatory Takings*, (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2002), 41.

⁸ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (1971; New York: International Publishers, 2018), 12.

⁹ Ellen D. Russell, “Resisting Divide and Conquer: Worker/Environmental Alliances and the Problem of Economic Growth,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 29, no. 4 (October, 2018): 109-110.

¹⁰ Gottlieb, *Wise Use Agenda*. See also, John Echeverria and Raymond Booth Eby, eds., *Let the People*, 11.

¹¹ Gottlieb, *Wise Use Agenda*, 6.

warming prevention. Most of the twenty-five points were similar anti-environmental stances couched in environmental language, such as “immediate wise development of the petroleum resources of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWAR) in Alaska.”¹² The significance of the American Wise Use movement is that many of the BC politicians and industry leaders who would create Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC attended the founding Wise Use Reno conference.¹³

Corporate lobby groups disguised as grassroots groups modelled on the Wise Use movement came to prominence in British Columbia in the late 1980s and early 1990s during province-wide conflicts over logging, including those in the Sitka, the Stein, and the Walbran Valleys, as well as at Clayoquot Sound.¹⁴ Forestry companies and conservative politicians exerted pressure on workers to join them in defence of the industry against environmentalists. Mimicking Wise Use media strategies, BC forest industries framed the debate as defending their industry against environmentalists who, if successful, would take forestry workers’ jobs away. In an article on competitive and collective reputation management choices, Monika Winn, Patricia MacDonald, and Charlene Zietsma note that forestry companies collaborated to undertake a million dollar advertising campaign through the Council of Forest Industries to defend their interests and discredit environmental concerns. This would lead to the formation of the public relations group the Forest Alliance of BC.¹⁵

The Share B.C. groups presented themselves as grassroots groups of workers and concerned citizens but were created as top down organizations funded by the forestry industry and backed by conservative politicians. The links to government would prove useful, as the politicians could parrot industry-backed claims that

¹² Gottlieb, *Wise Use Agenda*, 5.

¹³ The agenda of the founding meeting lists the following affiliates from British Columbia: Cariboo Lumber Manufacturers Association, Williams Lake; Council of Forest Industries, Vancouver; Furney Distributing Ltd. Port McNeil; MacMillan Blodel Ltd., Vancouver; Mining Association of British Columbia, Vancouver; Jack Mitchell, Alderman, City of Port Alberni; Share Our Forest Society, Cobble Hill; Share the Stein Committee, Lytton; Truck Loggers Association, Vancouver; Western Forest Products Ltd., Port McNeil.” Ramos, “Wise Use in the West,” 83.

¹⁴ Kim Goldberg, “More Wise Use Abuse MacMillan Blodel Makes Use of Ron Arnold’s Wise Use Movement,” *Canadian Dimension*, May/June 1994, 27. For more on the practice of corporate campaigns concealed as grassroots organizing, often called astroturfing, see Adam Bienkov, “Astroturfing: What is it and Why does it Matter?” *The Guardian*, February 8, 2012.

¹⁵ Monika I. Winn, Patricia MacDonald, and Charlene Zietsma, “Managing Industry Reputation: The Dynamic Tension Between Collective and Competitive Reputation Management Strategies,” *Corporate Reputation Review* 11, no. 1 (2008): 35–55.

environmentalists were taking away forest industry jobs. For instance, then Social Credit BC Minister of Forests Claude Richmond framed it this way when speaking to W. D. Logging Company and Weston Forest Products workers in Port McNeil: “There are those out there who would take your jobs away. They are not many but they are very vocal.”¹⁶ At a different meeting that day, he went environmentalists. Recasting environmentalists as dangerous others was an essential part of the hegemonic discourse if it was to be effective in pitting workers against environmentalists. Richmond was a Social Credit MLA in British Columbia from 1980 to 1991, when he left politics until he was re-elected in 2001 as a BC Liberal. Immediately following on to urge the workers to join the battle against environmentalists: “We must stand up and protect the working forest, that place where we earn our living.”¹⁷ By blaming environmentalists for job losses, the actual reasons for job losses—technological change, speedups, and mill closures to ensure maximum profitability—remained unchallenged.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Richmond repeatedly framed the conflict as one between workers and his stint as minister of forests in 1991, he became a paid lobbyist for the forestry industry and started his own consultancy business.¹⁹ Even years after his second run in politics as a BC Liberal had ended, he was still defending industry and perpetuating the jobs versus environment debate, as his letter to the *Squamish Chief* newspaper demonstrates:

As a former minister in both the forests and tourism portfolios in BC, I can state unequivocally that development can and must exist while

¹⁶ “Fight for your Jobs – Minister Urges Loggers,” *Port Hardy Gazette*, December 5, 1990.

¹⁷ “Fight for your Jobs.”

¹⁸ For a history of the technological changes in the forestry industry, see Ken Drushka and Hannu Kontinen, *Tracks in the Forest: The Evolution of Logging Machinery* (Helsinki, Finland: Timberjack Group Oy, 1997). Richard A. Rajala also covers this in *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998). On how technological changes cost workers jobs, see Joyce Nelson, “Technology, Not Environmentalism Cuts Forest Jobs,” in Breen-Needham, Duncan, and Ferens, *Witness to Wilderness*, 99-101. M. Patricia Marchak, Scott L. Aycok, and Deborah M. Herbert cover how technological innovations allowed for increased production at the same time as cutting jobs in *Falldown: Forest Policy in British Columbia* (Vancouver: David Suzuki Foundation and Ecotrust Canada, 1999).

¹⁹ Office of the Premier, “Backgrounder: Executive Council Biographies,” June 16, 2005, accessed June 7, 2019, https://archive.news.gov.bc.ca/releases/news_releases_2005-2009/2005OTP0071-000583-Attachment4.htm. His consultant company was Claude Richmond Consultants Inc., as noted on his LinkedIn profile, accessed June 7, 2019, <https://ca.linkedin.com/in/claude-richmond-972b0733>. Richmond also had to register each time he lobbied the provincial government, and you can see his name along with former BC cabinet ministers John Les and Barry Penner in the Lobbyist Registrar of BC, “Who’s Lobbying Who in BC?: Monthly Snapshot – September 30, 2013, accessed June 7, 2019, <https://www.lobbyistsregistrar.bc.ca/handlers/DocumentHandler.ashx?DocumentID=164>.

maintaining the natural beauty all of us hold dear. We have witnessed environmental stewardship in other resource industries in B.C. and there's no reason to think we can't create an LNG industry with the same high standards. We can all agree that it's our duty to provide opportunities for this generation, and that while we are doing so, to also protect the environment for all those that follow. A healthy environment needs to be fostered and protected for future generations, but so too does our economy. A healthy economy means jobs and opportunities in new industries, which will provide benefits for British Columbians today and well into the future. If there is to be a healthy debate on LNG development, then those who support LNG projects must ensure that their voices are heard.²⁰

The point is not to single out Claude Richmond as unusual, but to point out that this political trajectory, from politician to corporate lobbyist and back to politics, is quite common and illustrates the relationship between state and capital. Richmond was not unlike forest ministers before him and those that would come after him. The previous Social Credit minister of forests, Tom Waterland, had been forced to resign from cabinet on January 17, 1986, as he had a \$20,000 investment in pulp mills in Port Alice and Squamish through Western Pulp Partnership. This was the same company that was arguing for logging South Moresby Island and the Stein Valley, both of which would be decisions made by the minister of forests. The energy minister at the time, Stephen Rogers, had a \$100,000 investment in the same corporation.²¹ Tom Waterland would resign his seat permanently in 1986 and become the president of the BC Mining Association, only reinforcing the links between politics and corporations.²² Future forest ministers would also be found in conflict of interest. NDP Minister of Forests Dan Miller was suspended from his cabinet position for transferring a timber licence to his old employer, Repap Carnaby Inc., the owner of the pulp mill where Miller used to work.²³ These political links are exactly what corporate lobby groups rely on. Share B.C. and Forest Alliance of BC both used the connection between BC politics and BC business to

²⁰ Claude Richmond, "Letter: Speaking Up for B.C.'s Resource Industry," *Squamish Chief*, February 19, 2005, accessed June 7, 2019, <https://www.squamishchief.com/opinion/letters/letter-speaking-up-for-b-c-s-resource-industry-1.1768628>.

²¹ John Cruickshank and Jack Danylchik, "Holds Investment in Forest Company, B.C. Minister Quits," *Globe and Mail*, January 18, 1986. Alan Fotheringham, "Politics of a Different Kind," *Maclean's*, February 17, 1986.

²² *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 9, no.3 (Autumn 1986): 44. Waterland would be President of the BC Mining Association from 1986 to 1993; see Ron Nutt, "Waterland Picking up Political Reins Again," *Vancouver Sun*, February 13, 1993.

²³ Keith Baldrey, "Surprise, Doubt Greet Resignation: Forest Minister's Conflict Called not all that Serious," *Vancouver Sun*, September 18, 1992.

their advantage. The creation of Wise Use groups can be seen as another way that dominant groups seek to win consent from the public, an effort to make the interests of capital appear as the common interest.

A key way to achieve this consent is by making the opposition to environmental groups appear grassroots. The grassroots, by the people for the people, appearance of the groups often starts with the name, for example, "People for the West" in the United States, framed themselves as a grassroots group, opposed to laws restricting mining on public lands. Their name makes it appear like a grassroots initiative, however, People for the West was an offshoot of the Western States Public Lands Coalition, a corporate-backed advocacy group funded by "Chevron, Homestake Mining Co. and uranium producer Energy Fuels Corp."²⁴ It is not that regular people do not join these groups, in fact, having regular members is good for the appearance of an industry-fronted grassroots group. It is that corporations are the key funders and often the founders of these groups. The money usually comes first, then the corporate and political directors, only then are the "grassroots" members recruited. This is really the exact opposite of what is usually meant by grassroots. It is in fact a top down, corporate model of organizing.

Although largely corporate funded, these corporate front groups also use fundraising as a tool not just for more money but as part of their messaging. Wise Use cofounder Alan Gottlieb is also a fundraiser for conservative causes and explains it this way: "In the world of mail-order fund-raising, it helps to have an evil empire: the specter of an enemy to raise potential contributors' fears and open their wallets."²⁵ He elaborates, "the environmental movement has become the perfect bogeyman."²⁶ The corporate backing of so-called grassroots groups is not limited to forestry and mining interests: "Honda and Kawasaki, two Japanese companies that make off-road vehicles, have given money to the Blue Ribbon Coalition, a group that has been trying to get more access to public land for use of those vehicles."²⁷ Jessica Matthews writes in the

²⁴ John Lancaster, "Western Industries Fuel Grass-Roots Drive for 'Wise Use' of Resources," *Washington Post*, May 16, 1991.

²⁵ Timothy Egan, "Fund-Raisers Tap Anti-Environmentalism," *New York Times*, December 19, 1991.

²⁶ Egan, "Fund-Raisers."

²⁷ Egan, "Fund-Raisers."

Washington Post, the idea of sticking up for the little guy in these grassroots groups is no more than “than convenient political camouflage.”²⁸

In the case of British Columbia, the forestry industry funded Share groups that disseminated propaganda and innuendo that would cause workers to spend their energy fighting environmentalists rather than looking for the real sources of economic uncertainty and instability. This was made easier as forestry companies could generally rely on a favourable hearing in the media and used this to their advantage.²⁹

The media in British Columbia were aware that Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC were not really grassroots groups. An article in the *Globe and Mail* provided “a glossary of entrees” that illustrates this knowledge. The *Globe* defined the Forest Alliance of BC as “an industry-sponsored group established last year to build public confidence in the industry’s performance through broad public involvement and education.”³⁰ The article defined Share B.C. as “a coalition of community-based groups, originally established by the industry, to promote shared use of the forest resource in their area rather than preservation in parks of wilderness areas.”³¹ Despite this knowledge, both groups would be regular invoked in the media as grassroots groups. In particular Share B.C. would rarely be identified as an industry-created group.³²

A good example of how the media framed the ongoing conflict is the media coverage of a critic of the role of Wise Use strategies in the forestry town of Port Alberni BC. Bob Skelly, the former provincial leader of the NDP and the Member of Parliament for Port Alberni during the Clayoquot conflict, was critical of Share B.C. and its links to Wise Use. He articulated these criticisms and was roundly attacked by the local paper. The headline of the Port Alberni paper—the *Alberni Valley Times*—sums up how Share groups and their allies framed their opponents. One headline read “Saving Jobs and

²⁸ Jessica Mathews, “Takings Exception,” *Washington Post*, February 14, 1994.

²⁹ For the story of how the *Vancouver Sun* shut down critical comments on Share B.C., see Kim Goldberg, “Axed: How the *Vancouver Sun* Became a Black Hole For Environmental Reporting,” in Breen-Needham, Duncan, and Ferens, *Witness to Wilderness*, 34-41.

³⁰ Patricia Lush, “Squaring off a la forestiere: A Glossary of Entrees,” *Globe and Mail*, April 4, 1992. It should be noted that the Forest Alliance of BC is often referred to as BC Forest Alliance. I will use Forest Alliance of BC except in direct quotes that use the former.

³¹ Lush, “Squaring off a la forestiere.”

³² The Forest Alliance of British Columbia would initially be identified as a PR-created, corporate-funded lobby group, but this would change, as I explain later in this chapter.

Backing Death Squads? An MP Links Share Groups to Latin American Extremists.”³³ The article covered Skelly’s contention that Share was linked to both forest companies and right-wing extremists. When asked if he supported Share B.C., “He [Skelly] responded no. The reason? They are linked to the Moonies, a right-wing religious cult which, in turn has connections to right wing death squads in Latin America.”³⁴ The reporter mocked Skelly’s claim, noting that “the former provincial NDP leader made the comments with a straight face. That made it all the more difficult for people to accept.” The news article then quotes IWA vice-president saying “Mr Skelly had taken leave of his senses.”³⁵ The article does not research Skelly’s claims but instead attempts to discredit Skelly by gathering quotes from union bureaucrats and industry representatives that frame Skelly as anti-industry and thus anti-worker.

The article frames Skelly as an enemy of the community he was elected to represent. “What the party faithful found so hard to believe was that one of their own—representing a province where forestry is the No.1 industry—would malign a community based organization of loggers, mill workers and civic officials that has sought to preserve forest industry jobs.”³⁶ The journalist uses anecdotal quotes from community members, such as a Mr. Bassingthwaite, “a paper maker at the MacBlo plant for 25 years,” who stated, “his group was targeted by environmentalists during a strategy session in Hawaii last year. And there is no link at all he insists between Share B.C. and Mr. Moon’s church, or any sinister international organization. ‘All we are is ordinary people in the province worried about our jobs.’”³⁷ The newspaper article effectively laid out the sides in the dispute, with Share Groups and the forestry industry on the side of workers and any critics of Share or the industry framed as enemies of the community. The narrowly defined discourse around forestry as presented by the newspaper left little room for a nuanced discussion of the concept of worker environmentalism.

³³ Tim Gallagher, “Saving Jobs and Backing Death Squads?” *Alberni Valley Times*. See also “Skelly Challenged: Prove it or Apologize,” *Alberni Valley Times*, March 6, 1991; and Rob Diotte, “Skelly Links Share Groups with Right Wing Death Squads,” *Alberni Valley Times*, March 4, 1991, 1.

³⁴ Gallagher, “Saving Jobs.” For support of Skelly’s claims with regard to Canada, see Emery, *Share Groups in British Columbia*.

³⁵ Gallagher, “Saving Jobs.”

³⁶ Gallagher, “Saving Jobs.”

³⁷ Gallagher, “Saving Jobs.”

The extensive coverage of Skelly's critique of Share groups and the comments critical of his critique created a backlash against Skelly. One letter to the editor of the *Times* stated, "Mr. Skelly you should not only apologize but you should resign in shame as well."³⁸ The treatment and condemnation of Skelly served as a warning to anyone else who would consider voicing their concerns or reservations about Share groups.

Skelly clarified his comments in a letter to the editor of the same paper. He does not back away from the connections he made between Share groups, Ron Arnold, and right-wing death squads, but he does illuminate how his stance is actually pro-labour and pro-environment and how the two are not mutually exclusive. "I drew a connection between the Share groups in British Columbia and Ron Arnold of the Wise Use movement in the United States, who is also connected to extreme right-wing anti-labor organizations in the US and elsewhere."³⁹ Skelly described a meeting in the summer of 1988 just outside of Port Alberni: "After all of the invited guests had been treated to food and drinks at MacMillan Blodel's expense, Bob Findlay introduced two speakers he had invited, Lloyd Forman of Share the Stein and Pat Armstrong of Moresby Consultants. Their speeches concerned environmentalists or 'preservationists' wanting to destroy the forest industry in Port Alberni."⁴⁰ Skelly points out that the Mayor of Port Alberni, Gillian Trumper, who was also a former Social Credit candidate, volunteered to set up a Share group in Port Alberni. Skelly then outlined a meeting later that summer of the directors of this newly formed Share group, which included Norm Godfrey, a former regional forester for MacBlo, and representatives of logging contractors. Skelly continues the story: "During the summer of 1988 MacMillan Blodel shut down work in each department of each of its operations and convened employee meetings to convey the information that environmental groups were intent on eliminating their jobs.... [L]oggers were informed that the company would assist them financially in setting up a share group."⁴¹

In addition, Skelly noted that "During the same period, MacMillan Blodel flew a number of people from British Columbia to Reno to attend a 'Multiple Use Strategy Conference,' sponsored by the Centre for the Defence of Free Enterprise, a unification

³⁸ Robert A. Hunter, letter to the editor, *Alberni Valley Times*, March 26, 1991.

³⁹ Bob Skelly, "Not Willing to be Involved with Extremists and Fanatics," *Alberni Valley Times*, April 16, 1991.

⁴⁰ Skelly, "Not Willing to be Involved."

⁴¹ Skelly, "Not Willing to be Involved."

church (Moonie) front organization.”⁴² This is confirmed by the index of the *Wise Use Agenda* book, published after the conference.⁴³ It would have been easy for reporters in Port Alberni to be aware of this, moreover, given that they were writing articles that were incredulous of such claims, it was incumbent upon them to do the research. There had been an article in the *Vancouver Sun* that very descriptively confirms Skelly’s claims. “In the dry desert air over Nevada last August a Macmillan Bloedel Ltd. plane carrying company executives, Port Alberni Mayor Gillian Trumper and Ald. Jack Mitchell near the flashing neon gambling strips of Reno. For two days the groups sat with other B.C. visitors including mining industry lobbyist and one-time B.C. forests minister Tom Waterland, Council of Forest Industries vice-president Tony Shebbeare and other listen to speeches about doing battle with ‘preservationists’ in the U.S., Ontario, and B.C.”⁴⁴ It is clear that Port Alberni business and political leaders colluded to introduce Wise Use tactics to British Columbia.

The attacks on Skelly, purportedly in defence of the honour and interests of the working class, were in fact coming from company managers, conservative politicians, and their supporters. A closer look at those leading the critique of Skelly shows they were being disingenuous about their corporate backers and deceitful in their claims of ignorance about the connections to Wise Use and Ron Arnold in the United States. For example, in the article, “Skelly Challenged: Prove it or Apologize,” Port Alberni city councillor Henry Nedergard stated that it “wouldn’t do to try and discredit the share groups when they appear to be the only voice speaking up for the jobs being lost to the preservation lobby.”⁴⁵ The Mayor of Port Alberni, Gillian Trumper, also joined in the condemnation. Trumper was outraged at the “outlandish comments,” so much so that she wrote Skelly an open letter in the paper saying, in part, “your remarks have served to demean the employment of those in this and other communities whose sole means of support depends on the forest industry.”⁴⁶ Jack Mitchell, another Port Alberni council member, moved that council support Mayor Trumper’s letter and argued that “Share

⁴² Skelly, “Not Willing to be Involved.”

⁴³ Gottlieb, *Wise Use Agenda*.

⁴⁴ Ben Parfitt, “Forests: Fighting Forever? Business and Preservations Wage a Public Relations War over the Provinces’ Resources,” *Vancouver Sun*, May 30, 1989.

⁴⁵ “Skelly Challenged.”

⁴⁶ Diane Morrison, “Skelly Attack on Share Groups Angers Council Member,” *Alberni Valley Times*, March 26, 1991.

Groups in the U.S. are becoming highly politicized, something that is not happening here.”⁴⁷ However, Trumper knew that Share B.C. had corporate backers as she attended the founding meetings of the Port Alberni Share group organized by the forestry companies and was flown to the Wise Use conference in Reno in MacBlo’s corporate jet. It is clear that Trumper knew of the politics of the Wise Use movement, as she, according to the *Sun*, “recalls being a little uncomfortable with some ‘very right wing groups’ at the conference.”⁴⁸ Councillor Mitchell also clearly knew about the links to corporations and to Wise Use in the United States as he was also at the Wise Use founding meeting.⁴⁹ Gerry Furney, the mayor of Port McNeil, also attended and signed onto the Wise Use agenda. He too protested Skelly’s connections, stating, “I hope the provincial NDP take him to task for such an irresponsible statement.”⁵⁰

In response to his critics’ claims that he was anti worker, Skelly pointed out, “I am more than willing to acknowledge that most Share group members are ordinary working people who simply want to keep their jobs in an industry which has provided honourable work for them. I am not, however, willing to support the objectives of large companies and the Moonie organization, who are exploiting the legitimate fears of forestry workers and communities simply to achieve their own political and economic objectives.”⁵¹ Critics of Skelly focused on his comments about Ron Arnold’s links to both the Unification Church and Oliver North and the Contras. These links are also there to see but are decidedly not the main issue in British Columbia.⁵² Focusing on that aspect of Skelly’s critique rather than his contention that Share B.C. was a cover for conservatives and business interests made it easier to portray Skelly as unreasonable. It must be kept in mind that Skelly’s main point was that Share groups do not support workers and are essentially industry front groups. He argued, “They don’t care whether

⁴⁷ Morrison, “Skelly Attack on Share Groups.”

⁴⁸ Parfitt, “Forests: Fighting Forever?”

⁴⁹ Emery, *Share Groups in British Columbia*, 23.

⁵⁰ Gallagher, “Saving Jobs”

⁵¹ Skelly, “Not Willing to be Involved.”

⁵² For an expose of the Forest Alliance hiring of Burson-Marsteller and of Burson-Marsteller’s less-than-illustrious clients, such as the Military Junta of Argentina, see Stephen Hume, “Forestry Flack’s Record: Defending the Indefensible,” *Vancouver Sun*, July 22, 1991; and Stephen Hume, “Murder? Torture? They Didn’t See a Thing,” *Vancouver Sun*, July 24, 1991.

your jobs are lost or not. They are out to attack environmentalists.”⁵³ His statement is demonstrably true. The report Skelly used as a basis for his claim documents and cites the attendees of the event, noting, “Although the gathering’s central topic was the ‘wise use of the environment’ the underlying theme was reportedly how to counter the growing influence of environmentalists.”⁵⁴

However, it is clear that at least two mayors and one council member in BC resource towns were more than willing to spearhead a campaign to discredit another Canadian politician’s concerns about a right-wing, US lobby group’s influence in BC politics while at the same time being founding members of that very group. In the words of one critic of Wise Use, “this is a classic example of a lie galloping across the range while the truth is still pulling its boots on.”⁵⁵ It also shows that the Share B.C. agenda was taking from the exact same playbook as Wise Use in the United States: the group was “a wise disguise for a well-financed, industry-backed campaign that preys upon the economic woes and fears of U.S. citizens.”⁵⁶

Share B.C.’s tactical mirroring of Wise Use was not limited to Port Alberni. Share groups were also active in attempting to undermine Clayoquot Summer. The work of Share B.C. made it easy for workers to see environmentalists as their enemy. Especially as environmentalists were blockading workers from work sites, Share was successful in creating a backlash against the blockades in Clayoquot Sound. Over five thousand people came from across British Columbia to support the Clayoquot Sound strategy and, more specifically, the logging community in an event billed as “Ucluelet Rendezvous ’93.”⁵⁷ In counter-protest to the blockade, “200 litres of human excrement were dumped by the logging blockaders’ information site.”⁵⁸ This tactic of trying to redirect workers’ anger away from corporate practices was quite successful in British Columbia. In March 1994, over twenty thousand loggers protested on the lawn of the legislature against the provincial government’s land use legislation. Perhaps not surprisingly, Gerry Furney,

⁵³ Diotte, “Skelly Links Share Groups.”

⁵⁴ Emery, *Share Groups in British Columbia*, 22.

⁵⁵ Thomas A. Lewis, “Cloaked in a Wise Disguise,” in Echeverria and Booth Eby, *Let the People*, 14.

⁵⁶ Lewis, “Cloaked in a Wise Disguise,” 14.

⁵⁷ Bell, “Loggers, Supporters Confront Protesters.”

⁵⁸ William Boei, “200 Litres of Human Excrement Dumped at Anti Logging Group’s Information Tent,” *Vancouver Sun*, August 4, 1993.

attendee of the Wise Use conference in Nevada, spokesperson for Share B.C., and Mayor of Port McNeill, helped organize the protest. “It is time we said to the NDP that enough is enough,” Furney said. He laid the blame for job losses and a declining industry on city-dwelling, academic environmentalists, not on corporations, stating, “It is time for us to stand up and be counted. And we’ll do this again if we have to keep up the pressure on these urban environmental academics.”⁵⁹ Share B.C. sponsored the event and many of the workers present had the day off with pay. This is quite the incentive to join a “grassroots” protest.

Although much of the Share group activity was industry-backed protest, it is important to understand why workers would respond to Share tactics: to dismiss them as mere dupes is counterproductive if one really wants to forge an alliance of workers and environmentalists. While the Share groups that sprang up around this time were industry supported, they raised concerns that resonated with workers in the forestry industry in a way that environmentalists did not. One logger who had come from Williams Lake to support the Ucluelet workers put it this way: “People in forest dependent communities don’t want to destroy the forests, as environmentalists claim. But they also want their children to be able to work in the forest industry if they want to.”⁶⁰ Political ecologist James McCarthy cautions that “Wise Use clearly speaks to them in ways that mainstream environmentalism does not, and it is important to understand why rather than to dismiss them as victims of false consciousness.”⁶¹ He goes on to argue, “Wise Use mounts a powerful critique of mainstream environmentalism. It charges—with considerable evidence—that environmental protection has been in large part an elite project representing not a generic “public” but a group segregated by race, class, and place.”⁶² I have made similar arguments elsewhere about the classed nature of the environmental movement.⁶³

⁵⁹ Miro Cernetig, “20,000 loggers to March on B.C.’s Legislature,” *Globe and Mail*, March 21, 1994.

⁶⁰ Bell, “Loggers, Supporters Confront Protesters.”

⁶¹ James McCarthy, “Environmentalism, Wise Use, and the Nature of Accumulation in the Rural West” in *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millenium*, ed. Bruce Braun (Florence, KY: Routledge, 1998), 139.

⁶² McCarthy, “Environmentalism, Wise Use,” 139.

⁶³ John-Henry Harter, *New Social Movements, Class, and the Environment: A Case Study of Greenpeace Canada* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011).

For the worker-environmentalist, the critiques of environmentalism launched by Wise Use in the United States and Share in Canada would resonate. However, the Wise Use critique of environmentalists as elites was equally, if not more, true of the industry front groups. Workers found themselves being encouraged to identify with their employers through front groups, and the environmental movement was touted as the enemy. It was a classic bait and switch. Fortunately, some did not buy these bait-and-switch tactics. David Perla, for instance, a Greenpeace forest campaigner during the Clayoquot Sound protests, recognized the fundamental mistake of making workers, not capital, the target of environmentalist protest. He was uncomfortable with any focus on workers and eventually left Greenpeace:

I never wanted to put my campaign into direct conflict with labour, because I thought that was a false antagonism. So I never organized any direct civil disobedience which prevented workers from going to work in the forest.... I was really confronting what I saw as the fundamental opponent: namely capital—the corporate sector.⁶⁴

People like Perla allowed for a change in attitudes between groups that had more in common than Share wanted them to realize and paved the way for unlikely alliances into the twenty-first century.

Many forestry workers who joined Share groups were looking to protect themselves from what they had been convinced was a threat to their livelihood. These forestry workers should be seen first as victims of capital rather than as anti-environmentalists. Joining Share was an understandable reaction to a perceived threat; that the threat identified may have been the wrong threat or that those doing the threat assessment may not have had their best interests at heart is something only clear in hindsight. Forestry workers joining Share also illustrates a lack of knowledge about the history of worker-environmentalism. This has more to do with a lack of worker-environmentalist history being occluded than anything else. The idea of a worker-environmentalist and the history of the IWA's environmentalism had been partially occluded and were not being passed down from generation to generation.

The intention of Share groups in BC was clear: to drive a wedge between resource workers and environmentalists. Share's status as industry front group is clear: "With respect to B.C. Share groups, the forestry companies have provided these 'local

⁶⁴ "Greenpeace and the Politics of Image," 35.

citizens coalitions' with much of their organizational impetus and financial backing. Their apparent objective has been to pit labour against environmentalists and environmentally oriented persons. Their effect has been to divide communities and create animosity in the very places where honest communication and consensus should be encouraged."⁶⁵ The main problem for those critiquing Share groups was that the false grassroots groups deliberately obscured the links between corporate funding, conservative politicians, and conservative ideology. In addition, those who saw through the front groups were ruthlessly attacked in the media, as Skelly was, in order to discredit them. It was these types of tactics—the mimicking of grassroots groups, the denials of both corporate backing and links to Ron Arnold and the Wise Use movement in the United States, and attacks on all their critics—that Share B.C. used so effectively to perpetuate a rift between workers and environmentalists. As Claude Emery wrote, "The tactics, themes and formulations such as 'preservationists,' 'multiple use' and 'resource sharing' being put to use by the Share communications strategy, do, however, indicate a common source of counseling and training—Ron Arnold and the Wise Use movement. Share organizers, who chose to accept counsel and coaching from these sources, were likely in a position to know about Wise Use and their advocates."⁶⁶ Despite what seems clear now, at the time the Share groups were effective in their campaign and successfully alienated workers from environmentalists in British Columbia and made the concept of worker environmentalism seem impossible.

Share groups across British Columbia took on slightly different names, but the goals were the same. Some groups borrowed more directly from the Wise Use agenda than others. For example, one group in the Kootenays called themselves Canadian Women in Timber. This was a direct take on Arnold's strategy to establish citizens groups to add legitimacy to pro-industry rhetoric and create the impression of grassroots support of industry practices thus countering environmentalists' popularity.⁶⁷ The Kootenay chapter of Canadian Women in Timber took out ads in the local newspaper and generated media coverage through their press releases. The Kootenays Canadian Women in Timber group note their US roots in an article contributed to the *Kootenay Advertiser*. "C.W.I.T. is fashioned after Women in Timber, a sister organization that has

⁶⁵ Emery, *Share Groups in British Columbia*, 46.

⁶⁶ Emery, *Share Groups in British Columbia*, 46.

⁶⁷ Ramos, "Wise Use in the West," 86.

been active in Alaska and eight western states for a number of years.”⁶⁸ An article in the *Cranbrook Daily Townsman* reported that Canadian Women in Timber hosted a meeting with a guest speaker from the Forest Resource Commission. The theme was wise use of resources and hit familiar themes such as urban populations not understanding forestry issues, the threat to the spotted owl being exaggerated, and that in terms of forest management, “we must use it wisely for all.”⁶⁹

According to the Canadian group itself, “Canadian Women In Timber began in 1989 and is truly a grassroots organization.” They frame themselves as the voice of reason: “Since our inception in 1989, we have provided the public with a balanced view of forest land use issues. We work with allies and partners, such as industry associations, forest and wood companies and educational institutions.”⁷⁰ Their stated mission and vision is “to encourage sound management and wise use of forest resources in Canada for the benefit of all, with a focus on public education through schools and community organizations; and enhance and foster public understanding of BC’s forest resources and sustainable forest management.”⁷¹

From its name, CWIT would appear to be an organization of women working in the forestry industry. However, Maureen Reed did extensive interviews with women who were either directly involved or had partners working in the forestry industry on North Vancouver Island. She notes,

Of the sixteen women employed in forestry occupations, only two remained members of CWIT. Many others had initially contacted CWIT, but as an organization composed of “loggers’ wives” it did not meet their professional needs or personal expectations. It does not challenge gender relations in the home or in society; rather, it stems from a desire to protect those traditional norms and the places that practice them.⁷²

⁶⁸ “Women’s Group Advocates Sharing the Forest’s Resources,” *Monday Magazine*, November 13, 1989.

⁶⁹ “Women in Forests Gather to Discuss Matters of Interest,” *The Daily Townsman*, November 14, 1989.

⁷⁰ “About Us,” Canadian Women in Timber (website), accessed November 11, 2016, https://www.canadianwomenintimber.com/about_us.

⁷¹ Our Mission and Vision statement, Canadian Women in Timber (website), accessed June 12, 2019, <https://www.canadianwomenintimber.com/>.

⁷² Maureen G. Reed, *Taking Stands: Gender and the Sustainability of Rural Communities* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 136.

Reed also noted that generally, “the prevailing sentiment is strongly pro-industry, pro-community, and anti-environmental.”⁷³ Reed cautions against taking the interviews out of context and states that in her whole work “one can see women holding multiple positions and places in the community, and their voices and concerns are worthy of further consideration and debate.”⁷⁴ However, even to Reed, the “CWIT is a pro-industry group”⁷⁵

As Reed cautioned, it is wrong to assume that all women in forestry are uncritical supporters of industry. One of her interview subjects, Donna, noted that she was “concerned that loggers have increasingly been forced into adversarial positions with environmental organizations, yet she is also sickened by the stark, red-neck, anti-environmental attitudes of some individuals.”⁷⁶ It is this understanding of both the anti-environmental attitudes cultivated by industry groups and the complicated gendering of the work that is missing in CWIT work. Reed’s work shows the nuanced positions that women in forestry take. However, CWIT is one more example of a pro-industry lobby group that functioned to perpetuate the gulf between workers, their communities, and environmentalists.

Unlike the Share groups and the Forest Alliance of BC, the Canadian Women in Timber group still exists, though it seems very small. Their main contribution to the forestry debate today is a colouring book entitled *Fun in the Forest with Splinter the Woodpecker*. The book continues the pro-industry tradition to which CWIT and Share groups were born. They have forest animals to colour, with such captions as “Only a very small part of our Forest is logged each year” and games, such as a maze for a child to “Help the logging truck find its way through the forest to the mill.”⁷⁷ They have also added a second book, *Logging with Splinter*.⁷⁸ The books themselves are educational. *Logging with Splinter* explains the carbon cycle, has a logging equipment matching game, and explains sawmills and the pulping process. Their latest publication is a

⁷³ Reed, *Taking Stands*, 133.

⁷⁴ Reed, *Taking Stands*, 133.

⁷⁵ Reed, *Taking Stands*, 136.

⁷⁶ Reed, *Taking Stands*, 138.

⁷⁷ Canadian Women in Timber, *Fun in the Forest with Splinter the Woodpecker*, accessed June 12, 2019, https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/c0e42a_6a102f5bf4564708af16a840088cd9ee.pdf.

⁷⁸ Canadian Women in Timber, *Logging with Splinter*, accessed June 12, 2019, https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/c0e42a_c5f0362d7eb54206ad8cd9eb8c94cee4.pdf.

pamphlet entitled *Splinter's Timber Log*, which is intended for secondary students and adults. According to their website, it “is a snap shot of the forest sector in BC and a great introduction tool for teaching about forestry or refreshing your general knowledge about the sector.”⁷⁹ According to their newsletter report on their 2017 annual general meeting held via conference call, their “activity books remain as the keystone of the organization. We still are met with great delight when people leaf through them. With another year of thousands flying off the shelf, their relevance speaks for itself.”⁸⁰ Outside of the colouring books and information pamphlet, the main event for CWIT seems to be having a table at the annual Council of Forest Industry event. COFI was one of their key funders in the 1990s and continues to be, and it was also the main creator of the Forest Alliance of British Columbia.⁸¹ Clearly, CWIT is still an industry-funded group, but it fills a niche of pro-industry education, thus contributing to a pro-industry culture.

The Forest Alliance of BC did not pay as much attention to appearing as a grassroots group. The Alliance was conceived by Burson-Marsteller, a prestigious public relations firm hired by the major forestry companies operating in British Columbia. The Council of Forest Industries had been the corporate lobby and public relations face of the B.C. forestry industry, but it was seen as too obviously an industry-run organization.⁸² The forestry companies represented by the Council decided that Burson-Marsteller would be hired to help combat the rising popularity of environmentalism, and they came up with the idea of a corporate-funded group that appeared to be

⁷⁹ Canadian Women in Timber, *Splinter's Timber Log*, accessed June 12, 2019, https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/c0e42a_57048ac4dd874195b88e6ab27c457127.pdf.

⁸⁰ Canadian Women in Timber, “28th Annual General Meeting,” *Leaflit*, Fall 2017, accessed July 8, 2019, <https://www.canadianwomenintimber.com/newsletters>.

⁸¹ CWIT lists their “friends and sponsors” as: Association of BC Forest Professionals, Balcaen Consolidated Contracting Ltd, BC Forest Safety Council, Checkmate Fire Prevention Inc, Council of Forest Industries, Finning, Great West Equipment, Genome BC, Gudeit Bros Contracting Ltd, Inland Kenworth Parker Pacific, Interior Logging Association, Island Timberlands, Kamloops Woodlot Education Society, Kineshanko Logging Ltd, North Enderby Timber Ltd., Southstar Equipment Ltd, Stella-Jones Inc., Strategic Natural Resource Consultants, TimberWest, Wood N Frog Communications Ltd., West Fraser Western Equipment Ltd., Woodland Equipment Inc. “Our Friends,” Canadian Women in Timber, accessed June 12, 2019, <https://www.canadianwomenintimber.com/our-friends>.

⁸² COFI still exists as the collective corporate voice of the B.C. Forestry industry. BC Council of Forest Industries (website), accessed June 29, 2019, <https://www.cofi.org/>.

independent. In the spring of 1991, the Forest Alliance of BC was created for this purpose.⁸³

One of the first acts of the Forest Alliance of BC, in a textbook example of co-optation, was to recruit a high-profile spokesperson, former IWA president Jack Munro.⁸⁴ Choosing Munro as chair was a shrewd choice as Munro would serve to further the divide between workers and environmentalists, which was exactly what the industry wanted. Munro's bombast and larger than life persona defined the IWA through the 1970s and 1980s—he was the voice of the IWA and the BC labour movement in this era.⁸⁵ He was also was a good choice because he had made his disdain for all types of social activists, not just environmentalists, very clear. In a *Maclean's* article, Jack Munro claimed that Greenpeace wanted to "shut down logging" on Canada's West Coast.⁸⁶ His bombastic defence of the industry continued, and when environmentalists campaigned to boycott Canadian timber, he stated, "local environmentalists who support a boycott of Canadian timber are guilty of treason."⁸⁷ Munro's nineteen years as president of the IWA ended just as his tenure with the Forest Alliance of BC began, and this made it difficult to differentiate between what he was saying as spokesperson for the corporate front group Forest Alliance of BC and as the past president and spokesperson for the IWA.

Despite Munro's reputation being tarnished in social justice circles as social activists, academics, and many trade union activists had identified him as the villain in

⁸³ On the creation of the Forest Alliance of BC and Burson-Marsteller's role in it, see Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 37. On the Alliance's purpose to "stimulate public support for the forest industry," see Bruce Livesey, "PR Wars: How the PR Industry Flacks for Big Business," *Canadian Dimension*, November/December 1996, 9-13. For a more detailed look at Burson-Marsteller and their role in providing public relations for companies like Union Carbide after the Bhopal disaster, see Joyce Nelson, *Sultans of Sleaze: Public Relations and the Media* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 1989).

⁸⁴ Canada News-Wire, "Jack Munro Heads New Citizens Group," April 10, 1991, accessed July 18, 2019, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/1509917-murojack01179.html>. See also Tom Hawthorn's profile of Munro after his departure from the IWA, "The Face of Jack Munro," *The Province*, January 12, 1992.

⁸⁵ Bill Tielman, "Jack Munro, BC's Working Class Hero," *The Tyee*, November 18, 2013, accessed January 15, 2016, <https://thetyee.ca/Life/2013/11/18/Jack-Munro-Working-Class-Hero/>.

⁸⁶ Jennifer Hunter, "Score One for the Ecologists," *Maclean's*, May 5, 1998.

⁸⁷ Ben Parfitt, "Supporters of Timber Boycott Guilty of Greason, Munro Says," *Vancouver Sun*, April 11, 1991.

the Solidarity years, he still had credibility amongst many rank-and-file unionists.⁸⁸ However, not all unionists were fans of Munro. Norm MacLellan, vice president of the Canadian Paperworkers Union (CPU) stated, “I think it’s wrong. I think the Forestry Alliance is a tool of the companies, and I think a person of his (Munro’s) stature is making a bad mistake.”⁸⁹ If his actions during Solidarity meant that Jack Munro was no longer a role model for working-class resistance, he was a reliable foe to environmentalists, which was convenient for industry. Also, neither Greenpeace nor Friends of Clayoquot Sound had offered a tenable alternative for workers. Industry had made a very good choice in Jack Munro as spokesperson as he would further exacerbate the existing tensions between workers and environmentalists.

Just prior to his switching sides from representing workers to representing industry, Munro engaged in a debate around environmental issues with NDP MP Jim Fulton. The letter exchange was published in an NDP newsletter and foreshadows his role as corporate apologist. It is an important debate as it resembles the tactics and rhetoric employed by industry, politicians, and Share groups to undermine a worker-environmentalist-centred critique of forest-industry practices. The debate centred around who best represented IWA members’ interests.

Jack Munro, then president of IWA Canada but also about to be named leader of the Forest Alliance, wrote to Jim Fulton, MP for Skeena British Columbia, to complain about comments he had made at the Canadian Labour Congress Environmental Conference in November 1990. Munro said he was, “disappointed” with Fulton’s “comparison of British Columbia to Brazil.”⁹⁰ Munro reminded Fulton that “a European boycott of Canadian forest products is getting underway by some environmental groups. The kinds of comparison that you are making do nothing to help prevent such a boycott.”⁹¹ Munro attempted to malign Fulton’s concerns as anti-worker, stating, “it strikes me as grossly unfair that one of ‘our’ elected representatives should so willingly play into the hands of those that would hurt Canada’s working men and women.” Munro

⁸⁸ For an account of Solidarity, see Bryan Palmer, *Solidarity: The Rise and Fall of an Opposition in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1987).

⁸⁹ Ben Parfitt, “Munro’s Alliance with Industry Deemed Unholy by Paper Union,” *Vancouver Sun*, December 18, 1991.

⁹⁰ Jack Munro to Jim Fulton, January 17, 1991, reprinted in *New Directions*, July 1991, 12.

⁹¹ Munro to Fulton.

does make a nod towards environmentalism but clearly not Fulton's brand. "We are not Brazil of the North. We know that our industry has a long way to go in environmental protection. However, we must fight to make sure that harvesting/regeneration practices change."⁹²

Before looking at Fulton's response, it is important to note the similarities between Munro's attack on Fulton and the variety of attacks on Bob Skelly for voicing similar concerns. Share groups, pro-industry politicians, and the companies themselves attacked Skelly as an enemy of workers for talking about sustainability and suggesting that forest companies were not genuinely interested in sustainable practices. Munro similarly cast Fulton as anti-worker for criticizing forestry industry practices. Essentially both Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance were arguing that the interests of workers and environmentalists were mutually exclusive. They attempted to frame forestry companies and their spokespeople as the only ally of workers. Within this framework, the idea, let alone the reality, of a worker-environmentalist could not exist.

Fulton's response illustrates that he was capable of recognizing the difference between criticizing the forest industry and criticizing workers. He also makes the point that the practices of the forest industry were the real problem for forestry workers and environmentalists alike.

Dear Jack,

First off, the speech I gave at the November CLC convention Environment Conference received a standing ovation from the brothers and sisters, a good number of them from the forest industry. Second, I am not on a campaign to put your members out of work, but it's obvious who is. Restructuring within the industry has brought about a near doubling in harvest (from 50 million cubic meters to over 100 million cubic meters) massive increases in corporate profits and close to one third of the organized workforce have lost their jobs to automation. About 34,000 jobs were cut overall in the past decade due to automation, not alienation of forest land. During the 1950s, BC forests generated 2.64 direct jobs for every 1000 cubic meters cut. Today that figure is less than one direct job. California on the other hand gets 5.2 jobs today for the same amount cut.⁹³

⁹² Munro to Fulton.

⁹³ Jim Fulton to Jack Munro, January 17, 1991, reprinted in *New Directions*, July 1991, 12.

Fulton explains in another page of detailed statistics his reasons for attacking the forest industry's terrible environmental record and makes a convincing argument that Jack Munro's target should be unsustainable forestry practices and the corporate drive for profits over workers, not environmentalists. Although not stated directly, Fulton was making the argument for the worker-environmentalist and suggesting that the rank and file of the IWA was onside with a perspective that valued both work and the environment.

Fulton was not alone in identifying industry practices as the source of job insecurity for workers. The issue of technological change is a daunting one for all workers. Forestry workers had been particularly hard-hit over the past forty years, a period over which the annual volume of timber logged in BC had tripled while direct forestry jobs per thousand cubic metres had been cut in half.⁹⁴ The introduction of the feller buncher had serious consequences for the workers. As forest industry analyst Pat Marchak points out, "Felling and bunching, for example, are now done by operators in mobile machines. One machine driver can log far more trees in a morning than the skilled faller of the past could have done in several days, and the driver never leaves his cab."⁹⁵ The workers in the forestry industry had been devastated by the changes, and it clearly was not because production slowed down. Since 1980, production had increased while employment had decreased in logging, sawmills and planing mills, and pulp and paper mills. By 1995, employment in logging had decreased by 23 percent from 1980 and production had increased by 21 percent. In sawmills and planing mills employment had dropped by 18.8 percent and production had increased by 18.7 percent. Pulp and paper mills experienced similar trends: 18.8 percent of the labour force had been cut and production had increased 22.7 percent between 1980 and 1994.⁹⁶ It should be difficult to blame environmentalists for these types of numbers, and, given his tenure as head of the IWA, Munro ought to have known the issues around technological changes better than anyone outside of the industry. However, blaming environmentalists allows the companies to play a game of bait and switch between workers and environmentalists. The companies say the environmentalists are to blame for the loss of jobs while the environmentalists incite the workers by blockading them from earning a living, leaving

⁹⁴ Nelson, "Technology, Not Environmentalism," 99.

⁹⁵ M. Patricia Marchak, Scott L. Aycock, and Deborah M. Herbert, *Falldown: Forest Policy in British Columbia* (Vancouver: David Suzuki Foundation and Ecotrust Canada, 1999), 102.

⁹⁶ Marchak, Aycock, and Herbert, *Falldown*, 104-5. The raw employment data of Statistics Canada from which these statistics are derived is contained in Appendix C of *Falldown*, 197-99.

the companies relatively unscathed. This takes the focus off real issues, such as overproduction, technological changes, and capitalist imperatives to increase production and profits by cutting costs, especially labour.

The Wise Use movement, Share groups, and the Forest Alliance of BC worked hard to make their fight for corporations' right to exploit both labour and the environment appear as a battle for the "little guy." The industry front groups were positioning themselves as defenders of working-class interests while really defending their own interests in using public land for private gain. This is consistent with Russell's framework showing how "capitalist firms thwart solidarity between workers and environmentalists."⁹⁷ It is also consistent with how the Wise Use movement operated across North America. As James McCarthy wrote, "The Wise Use movement is first and foremost a vehicle and arena of political economic struggle with particular class orientations. In contrast to the complexity of its means, its ends are often brutally clear: it functions mainly to defend privileged elite and corporate access to resources, and it may also be a wedge in a larger neoliberal project."⁹⁸ It is as users of public land for corporate profit and as defenders of private enterprises' right to that land that Share B.C. and Forest Alliance of BC operated.

At the time of the debates over forestry issues in British Columbia, particularly when it was brought to worldwide attention over Clayoquot Sound, the industry front groups vehemently denied that they were indeed industry front groups. The mainstream media for the most part followed their script. However, at first, coverage of the Forest Alliance of BC did mention both their link to industry and that they were the brainchild of multinational public relations group Burson-Marsteller. The Forest Alliance went all the way to the top to complain about this early coverage, meeting with the *Vancouver Sun* editorial board to complain that the label of "lobby group [was] particularly unfair," even though this was exactly what it was.⁹⁹ Initially, the paper did not give in to the corporations and the reporter doubled down in the article reporting on the meeting, stating "while it is true the alliance is Burson-Marsteller's brainchild and is backed by B.C.'s biggest forest companies, Moore said the group has been set up as an

⁹⁷ Russell, "Resisting Divide and Conquer," 111.

⁹⁸ McCarthy, "Environmentalism, Wise Use," 128.

⁹⁹ Ben Parfitt, "B.C. Forest Alliance Complains about Media Coverage," *Vancouver Sun*, July 22, 1991.

independent body.”¹⁰⁰ However, the Forest Alliance kept up their pressure on the *Sun* and continued to meet with the editorial board and, according to one reporter, “Soon *Sun* journalists were feeling the heat. One was even asked into his editor’s office, where he was interrogated by a logging company official. Eventually the number of reporters covering BC’s natural resources industry was chopped from five down to two.”¹⁰¹ The *Vancouver Sun* appears to have been doing the industry’s bidding in that it shut down critical reporting of the industry.¹⁰² It’s worth noting that the *Sun* is a capitalist enterprise and dependent on pulp for newsprint.

During the time period of these so-called Wars in the Woods, Share groups denied their role as forest industry front groups and claimed to be grassroots workers organizations. This claim served to greatly deteriorate relations between workers and environmentalists. However, it was clear that despite corporations’, politicians’, and the medias’ denials, that Share B.C. was created and funded by forest companies and conservative politicians. As Winn, MacDonald, and Zietsma pointed out years later, “Forest companies also funded chapters of Share B.C., a ‘grass roots’ movement of forest workers and others dependent on, or supportive of, the industry. Its members protested and counter-blockaded the environmentalists, and were implicated in incidents of harassment, vandalism and threats to environmentalists.”¹⁰³ In the Canadian government’s parliamentary report on Share groups in British Columbia, the executive summary sets out the following conclusions: “With respect to B.C. Share Groups, the forest companies have provided these ‘local citizens coalitions’ with much of their organizational impetus and financial backing. Their apparent objective has been to pit labour against environmentalist and environmentally-oriented persons. Their effect has been to divide communities and create animosity in the very places where honest communication and consensus should be encouraged.”¹⁰⁴ Corporations, their front groups, and many in the mainstream media have perpetuated the animosity, referred to in the report, at every turn. Unfortunately, the environmental groups and unions have often played right into the hands of the corporations. In retrospect, it can be seen that

¹⁰⁰ Parfitt, “B.C. Forest Alliance Complains.”

¹⁰¹ Livesey, “PR Wars.”

¹⁰² Goldberg, “Axed,” 34-41.

¹⁰³ Winn, MacDonald, and Zietsma, “Managing Industry Reputation,” 35–55.

¹⁰⁴ Emery, *Share Groups in British Columbia*.

Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance were corporate front groups. However, this does not change the fact that they were largely successful in pitting workers against environmentalists. They were also effective in perpetuating the idea that workers and environmentalists were mutually exclusive categories. This idea is perhaps the most damaging as it has resonated far beyond the Clayoquot Sound debates and created a historically accepted truth that makes the idea, and the actuality, of the worker-environmentalist even more removed from mainstream discourse. The next chapter in this dissertation will examine historic examples of how labour and environmental groups have tried to overcome the challenges placed in the way of cooperation, how they have historically attempted to work together in common cause, and also how complicated these attempts can be.

Chapter 5.

Alliances both Lost and Found

There really is an interdependency that has to be recognized so we do have to give some thought to those jobs far away. But it has made it harder, it has meant that we're not working just at that community level, it's not me sitting down with my local logging community member and trying to sort this out. It's trying to deal with people that I don't know.¹

On February 3, 1989, leaders of the British Columbia labour movement, the environmental movement, and representatives from the Nuu-chah-nulth-aht Tribal Council (NTC) gathered to meet at Tin Wis, the NTC meeting space, in Tofino, British Columbia. The intention was to bring workers, environmentalists, and First Nations together to talk about their common interests. According to George Heyman, one of the labour representatives, “the goal was democratic control in our communities and regions, within the context of developing ecological sustainability.”² The participants represented a wide variety of activists from across the labour and environmental movement as well as the NTC and members of the NDP, who at the time were the opposition party in British Columbia. The informal coalition of workers, environmentalists, First Nations, and politicians first formed in 1988 to try to find solutions to environmental conflicts happening up and down Vancouver Island, but this was the first gathering that would attempt to put together a more formal alliance.

Earl J. Smith, the Chief Councillor of the Nuu-chah-nulth-aht Tribal Council provides an explanation of how the NTC got involved and why the First Nations in the area wanted to take control of the process and the narrative around logging that Smith felt they had unintentionally ceded to outside groups. It had started with the NTC beginning to work with Friends of Strathcona, a group that was trying to stop new mining

¹ Duncan Taylor and Jeremy Wilson, "Ending the Watershed Battles: B.C. Forest Communities Seek Peace through Local Control," *Environments* 22, no. 3 (January 1994): 96.

² George Heyman, "Keynote Address Notes" (Pacific Northwest Labor History Association Conference, May 2016), accessed, April 13, 2019, <https://pnlha.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/georgeheyman-keynoteaddressnotes-may212016.pdf>.

in Strathcona park.³ His explanation is worth quoting at length as it provides needed context to the Tin Wis Accord, the document that eventually emerged from the coalition.

In the Fall of 1989 newspapers carried an article condemning current logging practices, namely in the Kyuquot Sound area. This in itself was no problem. The problem was that it appeared that the native people had given the environmentalists and other organizations the right to speak on the native people's behalf and advance their cause and interests. Newspapers also gave the impression that native people were against logging, the forest industry and against any development. As representatives of our respective Tribes (Ehattesaht, Kyuquot and Mowachaht), we wished to correct this misconception. We met with the District Manager of Forests in Campbell River. We advised him of our concerns about the media depicting the native people as if we had given up our responsibility to represent our people on controversial issues. Bad logging or harvesting practices are some these issues. Our question was, "How can this be resolved?"⁴

The NTC recommended, Smith explained, "a process much the same as the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Committee. This would provide an opportunity for native people to present our own case on our terms and conditions based on our native principles and values and vision."⁵ This led to the formation of just such a group, called the Western Strathcona Local Advisory Council. The Council was comprised of representatives from the NTC as well as from unions, the environmentalist community, and the forestry and tourism industries.

The informal group was "first called the Coalition, then the Strathcona Coalition, and finally the Tin Wis Coalition."⁶ Frank Cox, a participant in the coalition, remembers the rationale for environmental groups getting involved in the process: "Early in 1988, in response to conflicts about the use of Strathcona Park land on Vancouver Island, an

³ For those unfamiliar with the geography, Strathcona Park is the oldest park in British Columbia and bordered what is called Clayoquot Sound. The park would be added to with the Megin-Talbot addition as part of the 1995 Clayoquot Sound Land-Use Decision. "Strathcona Provincial Park," BC Parks (website), accessed July 12, 2019, <http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/explore/parkpgs/strath/>.

⁴ Chief Councillor Earl J. Smith, "Western Strathcona Local Advisory Council...What is it and What Did It Accomplish?" *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, August 1, 1991.

⁵ Smith, "Western Strathcona."

⁶ John Dwyer, "Conflicts Over Wilderness: Strathcona Park, British Columbia," (master's thesis, Simon Fraser University 1993), 198. He lists Colleen McCrory (Valhalla Society), George Watt (Nuu-chah-nulth chairperson), Paul George (Western Canada Wilderness Committee), Joan Smallwood (NDP Environment Critic), and Simon Lucas (Chief of the Hesquiat Band) as participants, with Kel Kelly acting as chairperson.

alliance of native, labour and environmental organizations was formed. Because similar land use conflicts existed throughout B.C., often pitting environmentalists, natives and workers against each other, it was felt that a forum was necessary to facilitate discussion among us and to help to find what common ground could link us in the search for real alternatives to existing land use policies.”⁷

A background paper, entitled “Tin-Wis Congress: An Environmental Perspective,” was provided to all attendees prior to their arrival in order to serve as a guide to their discussions.⁸ The models discussed and advocated in these forums were worker-oriented solutions, meaning solutions that were about employment, safety, and sustainability, not company profits. Solutions based on the decentralization of forestry operations and community controls over the means of production were presented as an alternative to the existing structures.⁹ The coalition identified the source of the conflict around forestry in the province as an economic system that valued profit over workers and the environment. The Tin Wis participants committed themselves “to develop and implement the mechanisms for Native people, trade unionists, environmentalists, women, youth and others to work together on a regional basis to resolve resource development and environmental issues and conflicts and to further the process of developing a “peoples” alternative to the policies of the present government.”¹⁰ What had been an ad hoc coalition going into the meeting emerged as the Tin Wis Coalition, named after the NTC meeting place. Each membership group was responsible for going back to their constituencies to work on a further plan and to work on developing an alternative model of forest stewardship.

Another meeting of the coalition was held in Port Alberni in 1990. Out of the second meeting came an agreement to work on a new forest stewardship framework for

⁷ Frank Cox, “BC’s Green Accords,” *Canadian Dimension*, March 1992, 17. Dwyer also cites this quote from Frank Cox, “The Tin Wis Coalition: A Brief History,” *New Catalyst*, (Fall/Winter 1991-1992), 21.

⁸ “Tin-Wis Congress: An Environmental Perspective” (paper presented at For Our Children: Creating a Sustainable Future for British Columbia, Tin Wis Guest House, Tofino, BC, February 3-5, 1989.

⁹ Evelyn W. Pinkerton, “Co-Management Efforts as Social Movements: The Tin Wis Coalition and the Drive for Forest Practices Legislation in BC,” *Alternatives* 19, no. 3. See also Tin Wis Coalition, Forest Stewardship Act, Draft Model Legislation of the Forestry Working Group, Vancouver, BC, copy in the author’s personal collection.

¹⁰ Brian Kelcey, “From Common Resolutions ... to Conflict Resolution,” *Canadian Dimension*, March 1992, 18.

the province. One of the NTC representatives, Bill Green, reported back to the Tribal Council, “a number of changes have been suggested by the First Nations of B.C. to make the act more accountable for the First Nations and these changes have not been implemented yet. A motion was passed that the NTC through the Tin-Wis coalition participate in drafting and promoting the Forest Stewardship Act.”¹¹

The goals of the Tin Wis Coalition were nothing short of overturning the existing forest tenure system that had been in place since the Second World War. It is worth noting that there were no government or industry representatives in the coalition. As I outlined in chapter 4, industry was set on keeping workers and environmentalist apart. Tin Wis was a direct challenge to their divide-and-conquer strategies. As Patricia Marchak, an authority on the politics of forestry in British Columbia notes, it is difficult to separate corporate and government interests in British Columbia as “the relationship between forestry companies and governments is embedded in the policy of granting long-term logging rights (tenures) to companies that build mills and employ workers. Governments became dependent on the companies their policy favoured.”¹² The Tin Wis Accord, the final result of the meetings, challenged that relationship between government and corporation in favour of community control based on recognition of Aboriginal title and a shared goal of sustainability.

The final text of the Tin Wis Accord was concise and to the point:

The Tin Wis Accord

1. We commit ourselves to active support for the recognition, by all non-Native governments, of aboriginal title and rights; and for the immediate commencement of governmental and community processes to negotiate treaties between Native nations and non-Native governments. We recognize that these rights have not been and cannot be extinguished.
2. We further commit ourselves to develop and implement a process of learning and sharing within and between Native and non-Native communities and organizations, with a goal of developing trust and a shared vision about how we can justly and sustainably share in this

¹¹ “14th Annual Nuu-chah-nulth Assembly hosted by P.A. Friendship Center,” *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, December 24, 1991.

¹² Patricia Marchak, “Commentary” *BC Studies*, no. 119 (Autumn 1998): 73.

Earth. This includes a process of learning about the full meaning of terms like democracy, community, local control and ownership.

3. In accordance with the above, we further commit ourselves to develop and implement mechanisms for Native people, trade unionists, environmentalists, women, youth and others to work together on a regional basis to resolve resource development and environmental issues and conflicts and to further the process of developing a "people's" alternative to the policies of the present government.¹³

The list of groups endorsing the Accord—a cross section of workers, environmentalists, First Nations, and political parties in British Columbia—shows the success of the alliance.¹⁴

Unfortunately, even though NDP members had been part of the coalition, once the NDP replaced the Social Credit government in 1992, they did not implement the processes laid out by Tin Wis.¹⁵ The Harcourt NDP government would create the Committee on Resources and Environment (CORE) and notably would include forestry corporations in the deliberations.¹⁶ The Tin Wis Coalition fell apart when a blockade

¹³ Quoted in Kelcey, "From Common Resolutions," 18.

¹⁴ First Nations endorsers were the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council and the First Nations of South Island Unions. Workers were represented by the BC Council of the Confederation of Canadian Unions; the United Fishermen & Allied Workers Union Local 23; the BC Federation of Labour; the Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical and Allied Workers; and the Prince Rupert Amalgamated Shoreworkers and Clerks Union Local 1674 CLC. Environmental organizations included the Slocan Valley Watershed Alliance; the Arrowsmith Ecological Association; the Friends of Strathcona Park; the East Kootenay Environmental Society, Creston Valley Branch; the Valhalla Society; and Ecology Vancouver. The following political parties also signed: The New Democratic Party of BC; the Vancouver Chapter of the Canadian Greens; the Green Party of B.C.; and the Communist Party of Canada, BC Provincial Committee. Other groups also endorsed the accord, including Community Economic Options; Our Common Ground; Public Interest Research Group, SFU.; the School of Social Work, UBC; VOICES; and TREES.

¹⁵ According to Elaine Bernard, the New Democratic Party, through convention, initially endorsed the accord," but once in government they did not honour the convention's decision. Elaine Bernard, "Labour and the Environment: A Look at BC's War in the Woods," in *Getting on Track: Social Democratic Strategies for Ontario*, ed. Daniel Drache (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 209.

¹⁶ On the formation of CORE, see Robert Sheppard, "Caught Between a Tree and a Chainsaw," *Globe and Mail*, March 31, 1992. On the difficulties of the CORE process, see Stephen Hume, "In the B.C. Woods, Tomorrow is Here and it's Not Pretty," *Vancouver Sun*, February 16, 1994. On the failure of CORE, see "Learning the Lessons of the Commission on Resources & Environment (CORE) (Key Elements of the Cariboo-Chilcotin Deal and BC Organizations Dedicated to Community Development)," *New City Magazine*, Summer 1995, 34-38.

stopping logging in Tsitika Valley turned ugly, with confrontations between environmentalists and IWA members.¹⁷

Given the eventual outcome, the Tin Wis Coalition could be viewed as a failure. However, it does illustrate that even under the pressure of forestry companies and their front groups, as well as a government intent on preserving the status quo, workers, environmentalists, and First Nations do have shared interests. In the case of forestry companies and their front groups, it was not in their interest to discuss these alliances or give them credence.¹⁸ A coalition like Tin Wis represents a serious threat to the business-as-usual model that the forestry companies rely on. As one article puts it, “What is perhaps most significant in the Tin Wis position is a recognition that any meaningful pursuit of environmental sustainability must be linked to an analysis of current corporate control and political-economic decision-making.”¹⁹ This threat to the current model of corporate forestry is why coalition work is so important and why industry is often desperate to thwart it. However, coalitions are fragile, and a coalition’s aims and vision, as outlined in a document like the Tin Wis Accord, are only a real threat if implemented. A coalition with a radical vision, such as Tin Wis, cannot reasonably expect the state to enact such a vision without taking capital head-on. Coalitions between workers, environmentalists, and Indigenous groups would also have to seriously consider what they were willing to do to take on the power of capital and the state head-on, if and when their goals are dismissed or derailed. This is where it gets more complicated than coming to an agreement over a series of meetings.

The relationship between worker-environmentalists and environmental organizations is complicated. This chapter explores the history of alliances between workers and environmentalists both to illustrate how these alliances are examples of working-class environmentalism and also to explore the complications arising from such alliances. It also examines how alliances between workers and environmentalists have been portrayed in the media and by academics. This chapter maintains that alliances between workers and environmentalists are important and that alliances such as Tin Wis, however short lived, demonstrate that worker-environmentalists can and have

¹⁷ Dwyer, “Conflicts Over Wilderness,” 245-51.

¹⁸ Kelcey, “From Common Resolutions.”

¹⁹ Taylor and Wilson, “Ending the Watershed Battles,” 100.

successfully worked with a variety of new social movement groups in addition to First Nations.²⁰ This chapter helps to explain the dynamics of alliances at the same time as exploring the contradictions and conflicts that occur both within the labour movement itself and within labour and environmentalist alliances. The goal is to critically examine the limits of such alliances and the social and political context that makes alliances between the working class and environmentalists so fraught.

In British Columbia, there is a long history of workers and environmentalists forming alliances to work on particular issues. There is also a history of worker-initiated environmental committees within the labour movement. Gordon Hak notes in his book, *Capital and Labour*, that the BC Federation of Labour formed a Natural Resources Committee in 1969. The committee recommended that “union members join SPEC or other environmental groups, and offered support to the new pollution committees established by the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers (IBPSMW) locals in BC.”²¹ In the 1970s, the labour movement continued working on their concerns around environmental issues. Many of the alliances formed between workers and environmentalists were part of workers health and safety committees, where workers’ concerns overlapped with the concerns of environmentalists. Laurel Sefton MacDowell notes in her article “Greening the Canadian Workplace: Unions and the Environment” that throughout the 1970s and 1980s, as unions increasingly brought occupational health and safety matters to the bargaining table, the number of strikes over such issues increased, and unions allocated more staff, time, and money to reducing workplace hazards and disease.²² While health and safety work is not the focus of my dissertation, as noted in the introduction, health and safety committees are an important part of worker-environmentalist activism, but are not limited to it.

²⁰ A newer edited collection offers a good overview of different environmental/Indigenous alliances throughout North America; see Jonathan Clapperton and Liza Piper, eds., *Environmental Activism on the Ground: Small Green and Indigenous Organizing* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2019).

²¹ Gordon Hak, *Capital and Labour in the British Columbia Forest Industry 1934-74* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 183.

²² Laurel Sefton MacDowell, “Greening the Canadian Workplace: Unions and the Environment,” in *Sustainability the Challenge: People, Power and the Environment*, ed. L. Anders Sandberg and Sverker Sorlin (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1998), 168. Barry Culhane and Robin Harger, “Environment Vs. Jobs,” *Canadian Dimension*, October/November 1973, 49.

Just prior to the formation of the Tin Wis Coalition in 1988, the IWA national convention created a new department of Forestry and Environment to deal with “issues faced by IWA members in their dual role of forestry workers and citizens, designed to assist the officers in addressing forestry and environmental issues.”²³ A look at the *Lumber Worker* in this period illustrates the union prioritization of environmental issues and the impact of environmentally unsound practices on their members. For example, a piece by Phillip Legg noted the connection between log exports and jobs and that, as a result of this connection, “IWA Canada has renewed its call for a total ban on the export of raw logs from British Columbia.”²⁴ Another article detailed a workers’ protest against wood waste: “Protestors demanded that the company put a halt to high grading logging sites and exporting timber at the expense of their millworkers.”²⁵ One issue provided extensive coverage of the conflict over the Carmanah Valley, arguing that the media was ignoring issues that workers and environmentalists agreed upon, specifically, a call for remanufacturing as a way to increase employment and reduce environmental impact and a call for value-added production modelled on Sweden.²⁶

The *Lumber Worker* articles in the late 1980s illustrate how worker-environmentalists, by virtue of being at the site of production, were able to make the connections between unsound environmental practices and the class implications of these practices for workers at the same time as wanting to work with others to challenge these practices. The union called for a commission of inquiry into the creation of any new Tree Forest Licences, “along with community, environmental, and Native groups to reveal forest land mismanagement by current tree farm license holders.”²⁷ Noting the connection between log exports and jobs, Phillip Legg wrote, “With the announcement on February 17th 1989 that Fletcher Challenge Canada would be permanently closing one of its mills and downsizing some of its logging and operating facilities, IWA Canada

²³ “Forest and Environment Department Functioning,” *Lumber Worker* June 1989.

²⁴ Phillip Legg, “Layoffs Heat Up Log Export Debate” *Lumber Worker*, March 1989.

²⁵ “Wood Waste Protest,” *Lumber Worker*, March 1989.

²⁶ See “Decision on Carmanah Valley Put on Hold”; “Media Ignores Areas of Consensus on Carmanah”; “Task Force Fights for Better Forestry”; “Remanufacturing Studies Show Potential for Employment Growth”; “Forestry in Sweden: A Model for Canada,” all in *Lumber Worker*, September 1989.

²⁷ “Call for Commission of Inquiry,” *Lumber Worker*, March 1989.

has renewed its call for a total ban on the export of raw logs from British Columbia.”²⁸ In addition, Local I-80 submitted a brief outlining their position, and over three hundred members demonstrated in Parksville while the BC Minister of Forests was conducting public hearings.²⁹ The IWA was well positioned to comment on the forestry industry being both environmentally and economically unsustainable; the Fordist promise of companies being granted logging rights through Tree Farm Licences in exchange for providing jobs and building mills in the communities was falling apart and had been for some time.

The rhetoric around logging versus environmentalism was heating up by the early 1990s in British Columbia; most newspapers were heralding a “war in the woods,” and Share groups were doing their best to set workers against environmentalists. However, simultaneously, there was growing cooperation amongst workers, environmentalists, and First Nations, despite the obstacles put in their way, as the example of the Tin Wis Coalition demonstrates.

The Tin Wis Accord was followed by an equally ambitious cooperative effort, also on Vancouver Island, and many from the Tin Wis Coalition began to work on the South Island Forest Accord after Tin Wis collapsed. The South Island Forest Accord was an attempt to address mutual concerns about corporate logging practices and the impact that then current unsustainable logging practices would have on their community. IWA local 1-80 engaged in dialogue with five environmental organisations: the Carmanah Forestry Society, the Environmental Youth Alliance (South Vancouver Island), the Friends of Carmanah/Walbran, the Sierra Club of Western Canada, and the Western Canada Wilderness Committee. The result was the South Island Forest Accord (SIFA). Signed on September 6, 1991, the accord is another example of alliances between workers and environmentalists; unfortunately, it is also an example of the limits of those alliances. After the initial signing, the National IWA, the Village of Tofino on Vancouver Island, the Union of BC Municipalities, and the Arrowsmith Ecological Association endorsed the Accord.³⁰ The accord noted that “Wilderness preservation is not the greatest threat to forest industry jobs. However, preservation could worsen an already

²⁸ Legg, “Layoffs Heat Up.”

²⁹ “Call for Commission of Inquiry,” *Lumber Worker*, March 1989.

³⁰ Western Canada Wilderness Committee, *Education Report* 11, no.4 (Spring 1992).

bleak situation unless drastic changes are made now.” It went on to state that, “Consequently, IWA Canada Local 1-80 CLC, hereby publicly declare our common ground and unity of purpose in demanding the following changes in the management and stewardship of British Columbia's forest heritage.” The changes being called for are notable.

1. Some old growth forest ecosystems must be protected in perpetuity to maintain the health of the biosphere. In order to determine how much should be set aside in the South Vancouver Island, we urgently require:
 - a) A complete socio/biophysical inventory of all forest lands; and,
 - b) Job creation strategies which utilize the untapped possibilities within the forest industry to offset potential job loss arising from the protection of additional areas. When the foregoing conditions have been met, we can then jointly seek the protection of additional areas.
2. The purpose of harvesting the forest is to promote and enhance long term community stability through the creation of jobs. We must create more jobs per cubic meter of wood. New jobs can be created through better use of the forest resource. Better forest uses include: value added manufacturing; environmentally appropriate logging systems; commercial thinning; intensive silviculture; land and habitat restoration; old growth forest research and ecotourism. All exports of raw logs and cants must be immediately stopped.
3. Government forest policy must be changed to ensure that decisions are no longer made without the active and authoritative participation in all levels of planning by all concerned. Local control must be balanced with the provincial public interest. Informed communication and accountability by all concerned is essential. Decisions with negative impacts on workers and communities must be accompanied by economic development strategies to offset those impacts.
4. Some logging practices must be changed to protect all forest functions including in particular: wildlife and fisheries habitat; river systems; biodiversity and soil productivity. Such changes must ensure a safe working environment.
5. Outstanding Native land claims must be fairly and expeditiously resolved.

Executed this 6th day of September, 1991

The signing of the Accord was not without its critics. According to the magazine *Canadian Dimension*, “the media was immediately sceptical of the claim that the Accord

was 'historic.'³¹ The article explains that, "a closer look suggests that SIFA's words alone are not earthshattering, but the symbolism of a joint worker-environmentalist statement on common ground is."³² SIFA was largely symbolic. Which is not to say it was unimportant, for symbolism is important. However, with the failure of Tin Wis and, in quick succession, the limits of SIFA becoming apparent, it was clear that, despite their best efforts, coalitions between workers, environmentalists, and First Nations could not get their visions implemented by the state as long as the state was taking its cues from corporations rather than the large sections of the population represented by the coalitions. It is important to note that the South Island statement was a watered-down version of Tin Wis. It has weaker language on recognizing Aboriginal title and on community control of forestry. However, even with a somewhat less transformative vision, the cooperation of diverse groups outside of the state corporate framework were still unsuccessful.³³

These alliances were successful in the sense of the different groups cooperating with one another, and they illustrate that it is possible to link the struggle of loggers and environmentalists, and conflicts between the two are neither desirable nor inevitable. However, the alliances made between workers, environmentalists, political parties, and First Nations were not monolithic; there would be cracks, divisions, and disputes.

Disputes within the resource industries can range from serious to more symbolic. For example, the IWA demanded the Sunshine Coast School Board pull a book, *Maxine's Tree*, from its shelves, arguing that the book was "casting the logging industry

³¹ Kelcey, "From Common Resolutions," 18.

³² Kelcey, "From Common Resolutions," 18.

³³ On October 9, 1991, another similar alliance, modelled on the South Island Forest Accord, had reached fruition. Logging in the West Kootenays was threatening the watershed that served as the source of drinking water. An expansion of the Celgar pulp mill had just achieved environmental approval, which worried residents that logging would be greatly expanded, which would further jeopardize their water. The West Kootenay Forest Accord was an agreement between a diverse group of workers and environmentalists. The IWA-Canada local 1-405 was a signatory to the accord as was the B.C. Government Employees Union. Concerned residents in the West Kootenay Branch, Red Mountain Residents Association also signed on. The signatory environmental groups were the West Arm Watershed Alliance, the Lasca Action Group, the Valhalla Society, the West Arm Wilderness Group, and the Slocan Valley Watershed Alliance. See

Western Canada Wilderness Committee, "West Kootenay Watershed Protection," *Wilderness Report*, Fall/Winter 1991, accessed July 16, 2019, https://www.wildernesscommittee.org/sites/all/files/publications/1991%20Annual%20Report.pdf?_ga=2.89020115.991633426.1563297126-1305661203.1563297126.

in a dingy light when the reader is shown a clearcut at the end."³⁴ However, "the union later withdrew its censorship demand in exchange for the school board's promise to round up some pro-logging books."³⁵ The issue of workers and environmentalists targeting one another, as evidenced by the dispute over *Maxine's Tree*, despite the history of environmentalists and labour working together in successful alliances is a recurring problem.

Alliances are difficult to accomplish within the existing economic framework as no matter how much each side compromises they cannot control the actions of capital. In addition, unions are also bound by their legal obligations to their membership, and thus they must balance workers' interests in their workplace and their larger societal interests as citizens. For example, the IWA articulated their obligations as a union to both their members and larger environmental concerns, and thus the tension between those obligations, in their 1990 policy statement:

Our forests must be managed for long-term sustainability. That means we must constantly work to find a balance between our environmental, social and economic concerns. To achieve the balance we envision, forest management must take into account the full range of human concerns for our forests. These include environmental considerations such as biodiversity and our forests' role in the exchange of gases that makes life possible on the Earth. It includes a commitment to protect forest soils, waterways and life forms that depend on them. It includes economic factors such as employment creation, the generation of wealth and export earnings; it also includes social concerns, such as the health and safety of forest workers and the preservation of viable communities based on forestry.³⁶

That focus on both sustainability *and* employment creation, on biodiversity *and* preservation of forestry communities, is often where workers and environmentalists seem to disagree. This fundamental difference in interests and responsibilities will continually cause strain in any labour environmental alliance. Environmental

³⁴ Kim Goldberg, "Mac-Blo's Tree," *Canadian Dimension*, April 1992, 28.

³⁵ Goldberg, "Mac-Blo's Tree."

³⁶ United Steelworkers, *Securing our Children's World: Our Union and the Environment* (Pittsburgh, PA: United Steelworkers, 2006), 19-20, <http://assets.usw.org/resources/hse/Resources/securingourchildrensworld.pdf>. *Securing our Children's World* is an updated report developed by the USW's International Executive Board Environmental Task Force, which was presented to the IEB on February 28, 2006, in Pittsburgh, PA. As its title suggests, the report builds upon the landmark work of the original report, *Our Children's World*, which was adopted at the 25th Constitutional Convention of the USW in Toronto, Ontario on August 30, 1990.

organizations are free to develop goals and campaigns and change them according to their members' input, or not. They are not legally bound to any course of action. Conversely, unions have a legal duty to represent their members' interests in the workplace regarding wages, benefits, health and safety, collective bargaining, mediation, and a whole range of workplace issues.³⁷ Unions can act in the interests of the environment too, through committees, policy, and alliances, but they also have a completely different and often more complex set of responsibilities than an organization dedicated solely to environmental issues.

Environmentalists can also be uninterested in working with unions and their members. For example, in an article on local control of forests, an environmentalist and resident of Tofino stated,

I think part of what we're having trouble with here in Clayoquot Sound is that the loggers don't live here. The loggers may live in Ucluelet, some of them live in Port Alberni.... So suddenly it's a pulpmill worker in Port Alberni that I have to be thinking about and that's hard. That's been hard from the start and in fact right at the beginning we said "forget it, we're not going to worry about a pulpmill worker in Port Alberni, that's too far away basically for it to be considered part of our community, part of the community of decisions." But there really is an interdependency that has to be recognized so we do have to give some thought to those jobs far away. But it has made it harder, it has meant that we're not working just at that community level, it's not me sitting down with my local logging community member and trying to sort this out. It's trying to deal with people that I don't know.³⁸

This quote is important as it illustrates that what may seem like an obvious alliance from a theoretical perspective is much harder to achieve on the ground.

Unfortunately, the criticism of the labour movement's inadequacies as a coalition partner is a reoccurring theme. For example, historian Kevin MacKay put the blame on animosity between the labour movement and new social movement groups squarely on labour in an article on the antiglobalization protests during the Quebec City Summit. MacKay argued, "much of the conflict between labour and newer social movements

³⁷ For an overview of the responsibilities of unions in Canada, see Stephanie Ross, Larry Savage, Errol Black, and Jim Silver, *Building a Better World: An Introduction to the Labour Movement in Canada*, 3rd ed. (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015).

³⁸ Taylor and Wilson, "Ending the Watershed Battles," 96.

groups can be attributed to the conservative, bureaucratized structure of unions.”³⁹ There are several problems with this type of criticism. First, it is rooted in wanting organized labour to be something it is not, specifically, an issue-oriented new social movement group. Second, these criticisms also uncritically accept environmental groups as inherently progressive and conversely the unions as regressive. Third, there is a clear lack of understanding of the purpose of unions and the legal responsibilities to their membership. All of these problems lead to a faulty conclusion that unions are not capable of being part a counter hegemonic bloc.

It has become almost axiomatic in the analysis of coalition protests to lay the blame of any failures, perceived or real, on organized labour.⁴⁰ Union bureaucracy, and the inertia it can cause within the scope of activism and protest, is important and it is an area of study much debated within labour history. However, it is too easy to simply blame organized labour and its bureaucracy for the tensions between itself and other social movements.⁴¹ Often, only organized labour’s faults and the problems of working-class organizations have been examined while new social movements have escaped a critical eye. Prominent sociologist John Bellamy Foster does look at both environmentalists and workers in his contention that it is both “the narrow conservationist thrust of most environmentalism in the United States” and the “unimaginative business union response of organized labour” that is the problem when attempting to form coalitions.⁴² While business unionism, or social unionism for that matter, is not above

³⁹ Kevin MacKay, “Solidarity and Symbolic Protest: Lessons for Labour from the Quebec City Summit of the Americas,” *Labour/Le Travail* 50 (Fall 2002): 22.

⁴⁰ For more on this, see William K. Carroll and R. S. Ratner, “Old Unions and New Social Movements,” *Labour/Le Travail* 35 (Spring 1995): 195, who note that, “in the social scientific literature of recent years, unions have often been interpreted as social organizations bereft of transformative potential.”

⁴¹ On labour bureaucracy, see Mark Leier, *Red Flags and Red Tape: The Making of a Labour Bureaucracy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). On how labour bureaucracy operates and the consequences, see Paul Buhle, *Taking Care of Business: Samuel Gompers, George Meany, Lane Kirkland, and the Tragedy of American Labor* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1999). For a slightly different but related debate on labour aristocracy, see Michael Piva, “The Aristocracy of the English Working Class: Help for an Historical Debate in Difficulties,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 7, no. 14 (1974); Eric Hobsbawm “Debating the Labour Aristocracy” and “The Aristocracy of Labour Reconsidered,” both in *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984); and Richard Price, “The Segmentation of Work and the Labour Aristocracy,” *Labour/Le Travail* 17 (Spring 1986): 267-72.

⁴² John Bellamy Foster, “The Limits of Environmentalism without Class: Lessons from the Ancient Forest Struggle in the Pacific Northwest,” in *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy*:

reproach, a more critical lens also must be used to examine the environmental movement and the tactics used by capital to divide workers and environmentalists.

Workers themselves are not ignorant of anti-worker, anti-union attitudes that exist within the environmental movement and the cost this has to potential alliances and the work of sustainability. The Steelworkers-IWA noted the divide between workers and the environmental movement at their National Convention in 2007 while recommitting to continuing to work with environmentalists.⁴³ “We have repeatedly encountered serious problems in finding common ground with some environmental organizations. We know we cannot simply wish away the resulting conflicts.”⁴⁴ The Steelworkers-IWA identified their primary concern when working with environmental groups was the history of disregard for workers’ issues exhibited by environmental organizations. The union stated, “Often in the past these groups have pursued their own campaigns or fund-raising objectives, without adequately considering the needs of workers, their families and their communities. Green preservationist groups have ignored workers, discounted our concerns about employment or safety and generally disrespected our members and our union.”⁴⁵ Despite the problems, sustainable environmental policy cannot be divorced from a sustainable economy; it is difficult, if not impossible, to have one without the other. Workers stand to lose when technologies for faster, more profitable, and less environmentally sound logging practices are implemented, and, of course, they lose when the environment collapses.

The focus of criticism on labour is further complicated by the fact that workers and their organizations are often excluded from negotiations where the three parties are often environmental groups, First Nations, and corporations, with the state serving as a supposed neutral, but actually very biased, arbiter. In these negotiations, corporate interests are seen to speak for their workers as well as their company. A prime example is the recent Great Bear Rainforest Accord. The groups involved were the BC

Environmental Justice Movements in the United States, ed. Daniel Faber (New York: The Guilford Press 1998), 189.

⁴³ The IWA merged with the Steelworkers in 2004 to become Steelworkers-IWA. See Steelworkers, “IWA-Steelworkers Merger Ratified: Tentative Vote Results - IWA Members Solidly Behind Merger,” August 27, 2004, <http://www.1976usw.ca/iwauswamerger.htm>; and CBC news, “IWA, Steelworkers Vote to Merge,” Tuesday, August 31, 2004.

⁴⁴ United Steelworkers, *50th National Policy Conference* (Ottawa, 2007) 4.

⁴⁵ United Steelworkers, *50th National Policy Conference*, 4.

government, five forestry companies, twenty-six Aboriginal groups, and three environmental organizations. The deal had been in negotiation since 2001 by the Joint Solutions Project.⁴⁶ Two one-time rivals Ric Slaco and Valerie Langer write about the process of coming to the agreement: “The first time we met—on a blockade at Clayoquot Sound in 1988—we had a vigorous discussion about old growth forests, wrote about the cooperation between corporations and environmentalists. Very vigorous. Valerie was a young literacy teacher blocking a logging road. Ric was a young professional forester for a major forest company in Clayoquot Sound.”⁴⁷ The two relate how the process worked: “The Companies created the Coast Forest Conservation Initiative, which has five members today—BC Timber Sales, Catalyst Paper, Howe Sound Pulp and Paper, Interfor and Western Forest Products. ForestEthics Solutions, Greenpeace and Sierra Club BC also formed a coalition to engage in this endeavour. The two alliances formed the Joint Solutions Project—agreeing to work collaboratively to find new ways to achieve conservation and management objectives in the Great Bear Rainforest. And we, as stakeholders, developed conservation and management recommendations for First Nation and provincial government decision makers.”⁴⁸ The problem with Joint Solutions Project is that one key stakeholder was left out—workers. Ellen Russell’s framework for studying the capitalist dynamics that inhibit worker/environmental alliances identifies this type of coalition as “a somewhat more complex divide and conquer strategy involv[ing] the creation of temporary (and sometimes alternating) alliances in which the capitalist firm seeks to make common cause with either workers or environmentalists to the detriment of the remaining actor.”⁴⁹ This type of intervention by capital raises the question of how successful counterhegemonic coalitions can be made within the framework of capitalism.

Historian Erik Loomis sees coalitions between capital and environmentalists as evidence of a growing rift between workers and environmentalists. He argues, “Environmentalists have failed to articulate a vision for working-class economy in a post-industrial, multicultural United States. Environmentalism has developed a cozier

⁴⁶ “Rainforest Deal Proves Agreement is Possible,” editorial, *Vancouver Sun*, February 5, 2016.

⁴⁷ Ric Slaco and Valerie Langer, “Common Ground found in Great Bear,” *Vancouver Sun*, February 4, 2016.

⁴⁸ Slaco and Langer, “Common Ground.”

⁴⁹ Ellen D. Russell, “Resisting Divide and Conquer: Worker/Environmental Alliances and the Problem of Economic Growth,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 29, no. 4 (October 2, 2018): 114.

relationship with green capitalists than with everyday employees. A green energy capitalist is still a capitalist and desires to limit labor costs to increase profit.”⁵⁰ This is most definitely a serious consideration. However, coalitions like Tin Wis do suggest that workers, environmentalists, and First Nations, can work together. It is just not within the framework of capitalism that they can implement their accords. Russell makes this exact point when stating, “Systemic questions might be entertained regarding both the viability of our current conceptions of economic growth and whether capitalism is inimical to the rethinking of production and consumption to respond to environmental and worker concerns.”⁵¹ I would suggest that all the evidence in this dissertation points to yes.

In an article on coalitions in the United States, Kenneth Gould, Tammy Lewis, and J. Timmons Roberts argue, much like this dissertation does, that new social movement theorists are wrong to believe that movements “such as the peace, feminist, and ecology movements are beyond class and that people relate to and bond on the basis of identity and shared values.”⁵² They argue that new social movements “are class-based movements that have shielded the class differences with ‘identity and culture.’ What the new social movement theorists consider unifying to individuals based on ‘identity’ needs to be examined as a ‘class-based’ identity.”⁵³ Their overarching point is that the professional managerial class base of mainstream environmentalism is largely incompatible with working-class alliances. Instead, they suggest that the environmental justice and anti-toxic grassroots movements are better partners because “these groups share similar structural positions in the political economy” and “similar analyses of power.”⁵⁴ These critiques are more consistent with what the Tin Wis Coalition came up with than with the Great Bear Rainforest compromise. For example, the third point in the Tin Wis Accord challenges prevailing economic structures in favour of “developing a ‘people’s’ alternative to the policies of the present government.”⁵⁵ Perhaps it is stating the obvious, but Russell notes that, “without capitalist firms as the focal point of

⁵⁰ Erik Loomis, “The Growing Rift Between Workers and Environmentalists,” *Modern American History* 1, no. 3 (November 2018): 379.

⁵¹ Russell, “Resisting Divide and Conquer,” 126.

⁵² Kenneth A. Gould, Tammy L. Lewis, and J. Timmons Roberts, “Blue-Green Coalitions: Constraints and Possibilities in the Post 9-11 Political Environment,” *Journal of World-Systems Research* 10, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 102-3.

⁵³ Gould et al., “Blue-Green Coalitions,” 102-3.

⁵⁴ Gould et al., “Blue-Green Coalitions,” 104.

⁵⁵ Kelcey, “From Common Resolutions,” 18.

economic life, the terrain on which to consider these issues would be profoundly transformed.”⁵⁶ In many ways, Tin Wis, South Island Forest Accord, and even the West Kooteney attempts at community-based solutions did operate without capitalism as the focal point, but without government and forestry corporations at the table, these visions could not be realized without a revolutionary change in the dominant political and economic structures.

This dissertation has illustrated that workers have presented challenges to the dominant hegemonic bloc, as have coalitions, however fleeting, but simultaneously the state and corporations have used divide-and-conquer tactics to thwart them—be it in the form of corporate front groups, as I examined in chapter 4, or divide-and-conquer coalitions, as in this chapter.

For a truly counterhegemonic bloc to be successful, this will have to change. Despite the examples of working-class environmentalists; worker, environmentalist, and First Nations coalitions; and resistance to dominant narratives that these alliances have mounted, these accomplishments are largely obscured by the mainstream environmentalist discourses and the more general ignorance of working-class history as a whole. In the next chapter, I will examine how the lacuna of knowledge about the history of working-class struggle and resistance makes both modern-day coalition building between workers and environmentalists that much more difficult and occludes conceptions of a worker-environmentalist from mainstream narratives.

⁵⁶ Russell, “Resisting Divide and Conquer,” 126.

Chapter 6.

Workers, the Environment, and Historical Memory

*In reality, a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end—initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes.*¹
– Antonio Gramsci

In the late 1990s, Lynton “Red” Wilson—as successful a Canadian capitalist as any and then the chairperson of BCE, otherwise known as Bell Canada—delivered a speech at York University in Toronto, Ontario.² As *Maclean’s* noted, “If corporate Canada has a face, it arguably belongs to Red Wilson.”³ Wilson was being paid \$1,543,583.00 per year while near the end of his time at BCE.⁴ In and of itself, a successful businessperson giving the commencement speech to a graduating group of business students is not unusual. What was unusual was the topic. Wilson’s speech lamented the lack of knowledge Canadians had of their own history. Thomas Axworthy, then an executive director of the Charles R. Bronfman Foundation (CRB Foundation), recalls that,

Just by luck, serendipity really, there was a reporter in the audience, Gordon Pitts from the *Globe and Mail*. He thought the stuff about history was interesting because it wasn’t what you’d normally expect in a convocation speech from a business leader. So he wrote a little story about it in *Report on Business*. I read the article and called up Charles Bronfman, who I worked for, and said, ‘Red Wilson has made a very

¹ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (1971; New York: International Publishers, 2018), 258.

² Ross Laver, “Lynton (Red) Wilson,” *Maclean’s*, December 13, 1999. Wilson had greatly increased the profitability of BCE in recent years and had been listed in the top 25 most powerful CEOs in Canada. David Olive, “The Top 1000, 25 Most Powerful CEOs, Vigilant Cost-Cutting and Soaring Revenues are Paying Off in Fatter Profits for CEOs of Canada’s Biggest Firms, Lynton (RED) Wilson,” *Report on Business Magazine*, July 1997, 67. For a description of Wilson’s business history in his own words, see Ian Austen, “Red Wilson: ‘If You’re Succeeding in the Public Service, There’s no Reason You Can’t Be a Good Business Guy,’” *Canadian Business*, February 3, 2003. He also describes taking over as head of Nortel in 2001 when its share prices tanked.

³ Laver, “Lynton (Red) Wilson.”

⁴ Susan Mohammad, “Cashing in: Canada’s CEO salary surge,” *Maclean’s* accessed September 9, 2019. <https://www.macleans.ca/economy/business/the-rising-salaries-of-canadas-top-50-ceos/>

interesting speech about history and maybe we should get you two together to see whether you can combine forces.⁵

Bronfman, whose CRB Foundation was also interested in history, offered to match any funds Wilson could raise for a joint historical venture. According to *This Magazine*, what happened next was an outpouring of support from corporate Canada. Three major Canadian Banks, Toronto-Dominion, Royal, and the Bank of Nova Scotia, a publishing giant in Canada, McClelland & Stewart, and two of the wealthiest families in Canada, McCain and Weston contributed another \$10 million combined.⁶ The Weston family represents over \$13 billion in wealth and their holdings include George Weston, Associated British Foods, Loblaw Cos., Selfridges, and Holt Renfrew. The Weston family, whose biggest holdings are Maple Leaf Foods and McCain Foods have \$4.5 billion in wealth.⁷ Combined with the matching funds from the CRB Foundation, a new private history foundation named the Historica Foundation of Canada was born. The

⁵ Nicole Zummach, "Funder Focus: Thomas Axworthy and the Heritage Foundation," *Charity Village Newsweek*, January 5, 2004, accessed April 11, 2011, <http://www.charityvillage.com/cv/archive/afund/afund04/afund0401.html>. The original link is dead, but the page can be viewed through the Internet Archive at <https://web.archive.org/web/20101116095948/http://www.charityvillage.com/cv/archive/afund/afund04/afund0401.html>. Thomas Axworthy is a distinguished fellow at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy and Chair of Public Policy at Massey College, University of Toronto. According to his biography on the University of Toronto website:

Axworthy has had a distinguished career in government, academia, and philanthropy. He served as the Principal Secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, and he was a key strategist on repatriation of the Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms....

In 1984, Dr. Axworthy went to Harvard University, teaching at the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. In 2003, he left Harvard and was appointed Chair of the Centre for the Study of Democracy, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University....

His career in philanthropy began in 1986 with his appointment to the CRB Foundation where he initiated the Heritage Minutes and the National Heritage Fairs Programs. He continued that work from 1999 to 2005 at the Historica Foundation of Canada.... Dr. Axworthy was invested as an Officer of the Order of Canada in 2002....

He is the author of numerous books and articles of which the best known is *Towards a Just Society*, co-authored with Pierre Trudeau.

"Thomas Axworthy," University of Toronto (website), accessed July 29, 2019, <https://munkschool.utoronto.ca/profile/axworthy-thomas/>.

⁶ Paul Webster, "Who Stole Canadian History? Just Why are Canada's Corporate Giants Pouring Money into Foundations and Projects the Subject?" *This Magazine*, March/April 2000, 28.

⁷ "Canada's Richest People 2018: The 25 Richest Canadians" *Canadian Business* accessed September 6, 2019. <https://www.canadianbusiness.com/lists-and-rankings/richest-people/top-25-richest-canadians-2018/#gallery/canadas-richest-people-2018-the-top-25/slide-24>

foundation was announced at the Four Seasons Hotel in the posh Yorkville neighbourhood of Toronto and Axworthy would leave the CRB Foundation and join Historica.⁸ The vision for Historica was still a bit general, with Wilson stating it would create "a truly Canadian community on the Internet ... providing multi-layered information on Canadian historical events and placing them in a pan-Canadian, chronological context.... Celebrating the future of our past, Historica is a lasting gift to Canadians."⁹ The fact that Wilson and Bronfman were both interested in Canadian history is a bit unusual. However, in addition to being wealthy, Wilson is a philanthropist who is responsible for the creation of the Wilson Institute in Canadian History located at McMaster University.¹⁰ Combined with the involvement of Charles Bronfman, also a good candidate for the face of corporate Canada as billionaire heir to the Seagram fortune, the birth of what would become the largest private history organization in Canada resembled a corporate merger more than an academic endeavour.¹¹ Before examining the ramifications of the corporate nature of Historica, I will explain what exactly Historica became after its founding.

Historica would become familiar to most Canadians through *Heritage Minutes*, one-minute historical vignettes that played during advertisement spots in prime time on both public and private television broadcasts in Canada and, in the 1990s, in movie theatres across the nation.¹² The CRB Foundation first produced the *Heritage Minutes*, and Historica carried on with them as well as other Canadian historical work previously produced by the CRB Foundation.¹³ The Historica-Dominion Institute (H-DI) was created

⁸ Zummach, "Funder Focus."

⁹ Webster, "Who Stole Canadian History?"

¹⁰ "About" *Wilson Institute for Canadian History* accessed September 6, 2019 <https://wilson.humanities.mcmaster.ca/about-the-wilson-institute/> William K. Carroll and J.P. Sapinski argue that, "universities are key locations for the exercise of corporate hegemony." William K. Carroll and J.P. Sapinski, *Organizing the 1%: How Corporate Power Works* (Halifax & Winnipeg, Fernwood Publishing, 2018), 106.

¹¹ Charles Bronfman's net worth is noted by *Forbes* as 2.3 billion dollars. "Charles Bronfman," *Forbes* (website), accessed July 19, 2019, <https://www.forbes.com/profile/charles-bronfman/#e0decfa55429>.

¹² The one-minute vignettes were called *Heritage Minutes* from the beginning but have alternatively been referred to as *Historica Minutes*. I refer to them as *Heritage Minutes*.

¹³ A number of academics have detailed the beginnings of the *Minutes*. See Nuala Lawlor, "The Heritage Minutes: The Charles R. Bronfman Foundation's Construction of the Canadian Identity" (master's thesis, McGill University, 1999); Erin Peters, "The 'Heritage Minutes' and Canadian Collective Memory: An Analysis of the Use of Nostalgia and Nationalism to Build a Unifying

in 2009 when the Historica Foundation of Canada merged with the Dominion Institute. While the Historica Foundation had been producing the television vignettes and other historical material for the classroom since 1999, the Dominion Institute had formed in 1997 out of concern “about the erosion of a common memory and civic identity in Canada.”¹⁴ As a combined entity, “The Historica-Dominion Institute's mandate is to build active and informed citizens through a greater knowledge and appreciation of the history, heritage and stories of Canada.”¹⁵ The Historica-Dominion Institute changed its name to Historica Canada in 2013.¹⁶

The reach of the *Heritage Minutes* should not be underestimated. By 1999, their distribution was widespread, airing on prime-time television across Canada as well as being included on Universal Home Video releases. More than twenty-three million Canadians per year saw at least one of the *Heritage Minutes*.¹⁷ At that point, there were sixty different *Minutes*. From 1999 to 2005, the H-DI produced fourteen more *Minutes*, and although they stopped producing them in 2005, production of new *Minutes* resumed in 2012.¹⁸ Television broadcasts of *Heritage Minutes* became more limited as H-DI moved to classroom distribution for Canadian K-12 schools, and every *Minute* was made available online along with resource packages for teachers. With the resumption of the production of new *Minutes* in 2012, additional viewers are likely, according to the Historica Canada website (which links to the Canadian Encyclopedia, which Historica owns), and as of 2013, *Heritage Minutes* are being shown on Via Rail trains within the

Cultural Memory” (master’s thesis, University of London, 2009). The CRB Foundation continued to help fund the Historica Foundation of Canada and later the Historica-Dominion Institute.

¹⁴ “About,” Historica-Dominion Institute (website), accessed April 11, 2011, <http://www.historica-dominion.ca/en/about>. The original link is dead, but the page can be viewed through the Internet Archive at <https://web.archive.org/web/20111129065101/http://www.historica-dominion.ca/en/about>. See also, “Landmark Merger Creates The Historica-Dominion Institute,” Historica Canada (website), Press Release, September 8, 2009, accessed July 29, 2019, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/landmark-merger-creates-historica-dominion-institute-canadas-largest-history-and-citizenship>.

¹⁵ “About,” Historica-Dominion Institute (website).

¹⁶ “Historica-Dominion Institute Renamed Historica Canada,” Historica Canada (website), Press Release, July 2, 2013, accessed July 23, 2019, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/node/3216>.

¹⁷ Lawlor, “The Heritage Minutes,” 39.

¹⁸ The minutes produced up until 2005 are referred to as classic *Minutes* and the ones produced after 2012 as second-generation *Minutes*. Please see Appendix A for a complete list of all the *Heritage Minutes* produced and the year they were released.

Quebec City–Windsor corridor.¹⁹ I have chosen to examine the *Heritage Minutes* as a case study because millions of Canadians have viewed the *Minutes* over a more than twenty-year period, it has a wide reach into classrooms across Canada, it is easily available, and it is free. All of which make the *Heritage Minutes* one of the most popular Canadian history “texts” ever produced.²⁰

This chapter expands my inquiry into how hegemony is maintained and working-class environmentalism ignored by looking at Historica Canada and their *Heritage Minutes*. This chapter will examine how a collective memory of working-class environmentalist history is impeded by the lack of popular or mainstream working-class historical narratives. By mainstream, I mean accessible and widely promoted in a variety of mediums, including online texts, popular cultural products—such as film and television—and popular history produced for consumption by students and the general public. Through a case study of the *Heritage Minutes* and Historica Canada, I will argue that the history of the working class and thus the history of working-class environmentalism has been occluded from our collective memory as part of the hegemonic project of capitalism. This makes the idea of working-class environmentalism entering the popular imagination or historical memory even more difficult. Taking *Heritage Minutes* seriously as historical texts allows for an understanding of how popular historical sources play a role in maintaining dominant historical discourses, discourses that occlude the worker-environmentalist.

The struggle for the worker-environmentalist is not simply a struggle for positive changes at sites of production or beyond the workplace that benefit the environment. It is a struggle for inclusion, rather than occlusion, in the history of Canada. As historical educators Sam Wineburg, Susan Mosborg, Dan Porat, and Ariel Duncan argue,

¹⁹ *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Heritage Minutes,” accessed July 7, 2017, <http://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/heritage-minutes/>. The Historica Canada website frequently links to the *Canadian Encyclopedia*. Ownership of the *Canadian Encyclopedia* was transferred from McClelland & Stewart to the Historica Foundation by McClelland & Stewart owner Avie Bennett in 2000. It went completely online in 2001. Avie Bennett was the Chairperson of the Historica Foundation from 2003-2011. See “The Canadian Encyclopedia: The Story of the Canadian Encyclopedia,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed July 7, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/about/>

²⁰ In addition to the *Heritage Minutes*, Historica Canada and its predecessors also produced one-minute television episodes focused on Canadian sports (*Footprints*) and actors (*Screen Legends*). Neither had the reach of the *Heritage Minutes*. *Radio Minutes* are the radio versions of the three television series. All the *Heritage Minutes* are available and searchable on the Historica Canada website, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/heritageminutes>.

“Occlusion stands opposed to collective memory. It speaks to that which is no longer ‘common knowledge,’ no longer easily retrieved or taken for granted.” The results of this occlusion are “stories, images, and cultural codes that have become muted in the transmission from one generation to the next.”²¹ The struggle for both the idea and the actuality of the worker-environmentalist is the struggle against becoming lost to history. It is a struggle over public memory. Framing workers as anti-environmentalist is made easier because of pre-existing ideas about both the working class *and* environmentalists. The absence of a collective memory of working-class action generally, and worker environmentalism specifically, has an impact on how we understand and make sense of current working-class and environmental movements.

There have been a number of academic studies of *Heritage Minutes*, mostly written by communications scholars in the early twenty-first century, after the first wave of *Minutes*. Erin Peters’s analysis is concerned with how the *Minutes* used nostalgia and memory to create a unified national narrative, and she views the *Minutes* as a national memory project, or *lieux de memoire*.²² While Peters’s work is useful in terms of how national memory is constructed, her analysis is uncritical of the motives of the *Minutes*, stating that judgement was not the purpose of her study.²³

Nuala Lawlor’s study of the *Heritage Minutes* has a generally positive view of the *Minutes* and examines how they “construct a ‘common set of meanings’ seen by over 23 million Canadians a year.”²⁴ Lawlor notes that “this version of the Canadian nation, with its patterns of survivalism, comical anti-Americanism, and blatant support for the underdog, embodies the thematic patterns associated with Canadian historical scholarship and constructs a meta-narrative for self-definition.” She goes on to give a

²¹ Sam Wineburg et al., “Common Belief and the Cultural Curriculum: An Intergenerational Study of Historical Consciousness,” *American Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 1 (March 2007): 40-76.

²² Peters cites French historian Pierre Nora, who coined the term *lieux de memoire* (sites of memory). Nora argues that these are artificial and deliberately constructed sites where “memory crystallizes and secretes itself” and that they are exclusively an occurrence of our modern time, a replacement for “real” memory which no longer exists. Nora observes that *lieux de memoire* “originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives ... because such activities no longer occur naturally.” Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), 7, 12-19, cited in Peters, “Heritage Minutes,” 1n1.

²³ Peters, “Heritage Minutes,” 21-22.

²⁴ Lawlor, “The Heritage Minutes,” 87.

positive evaluation of the narrative being constructed, asking, “Is this meta-narrative, in the words of Watson, ‘corny?’ Of course, it is. Nevertheless, the *Minutes* also resonate emotionally with many Canadians because they frame our weaknesses and strengths in a series of binary oppositions which indicate that our Canadian identity is human and imperfect.”²⁵ Although Lawlor’s focus is not the minimal presence of working-class *Minutes*, her work is particularly useful as she interviewed John Herd Thompson, one of the historians charged with working on the *Minutes*. While her own analysis does not provide an in-depth examination of issues of class within the *Minutes*, her interviews with Thompson help reveal that the dearth of working-class-based minutes was not accidental. Neither Lawlor’s nor Peters’s analyses examine how the *Minutes* function politically as myth to erase the working class from the Canadian historical narrative.²⁶

The analysis of the *Minutes* as a means of creating a unified Canadian identity is useful in understanding how the *Heritage Minutes* construct a very particular sort of collective memory about Canada’s past. Emily West cites Barry Schwartz, a collective memory expert, in her article “Selling Canada to Canadians: Collective Memory, National Identity, and Popular Culture.” “Recollection of the past,” she writes, “is an active, constructive process, not a simple matter of retrieving information. To remember is to place a part of the past in the service of conceptions and needs of the present.”²⁷ This chapter examines exactly what sort of history the *Heritage Minutes* construct to serve the present. West suggests that the *Heritage Minutes* are inclusive: “these programs admirably provide a diverse and multi-perspectival representation of the past, and [do] not shy away from depicting many of the dissenters and rebels of Canadian history.”²⁸ I argue that the *Heritage Minutes* do shy away from showing both working-class and environmentalist dissenters as rebels of Canadian history. For the most part, there are very few depictions of working-class history and an almost complete absence of the history of class struggle. By this I mean an absence of the history of working-class people organizing to assert their rights and set their class interests against the interests

²⁵ Lawlor, “The Heritage Minutes,” 87.

²⁶ Emily West, “Selling Canada to Canadians: Collective Memory, National Identity, and Popular Culture,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19, no. 2 (2002): 212-29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393180216556>.

²⁷ West, “Selling Canada to Canadians,” 214. Another article that takes a different look at the *Heritage Minutes* is Katarzyna Rukzto, “The Other Heritage Minutes: Satirical Reactions to Canadian Nationalism,” *Topia: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 14 (Fall 2005): 73-91.

²⁸ West, “Selling Canada to Canadians,” 227.

of the capitalist class, for example, in the struggle for union recognition; the struggle for the nine-hour and then the eight-hour workday; the end to child labour; the fight for free speech; and the right to safe working conditions.²⁹ This absence, in turn, constructs a collective memory that occludes working-class environmentalism to serve the needs of the present by silencing the dissent of class-based critiques of current environmental policies and actions.

When looking at cultural texts, it is important to look at what is excluded as well as what is included. Althusser called this a symptomatic reading, arguing that a text is structured as much by what is absent as by what is present.³⁰ Peter Hodgins takes this approach in his dissertation “The Canadian Dream-Work: History, Myth and Nostalgia in the Heritage Minutes,” noting how the *Minutes*, when viewed as a whole, both skip over many aspects of Quebec’s history and occlude coverage of the more radical aspects of women’s history.³¹ While Hodgins does not examine the absence of class, he is one of the only academics to discuss the *Heritage Minutes* as a hegemonic project, arguing that the *Minutes* “represent an attempt by Central Canadian elites to protect and legitimate the existing social, political, and economic order of things.”³² Essential to protecting the existing order of things is limiting working-class consciousness. This is a difficult thing to measure, but one must look at what is missing from the *Minutes*, the silences and omissions, in order to understand how they function politically.

Following the work of West, Cameron, Neatby, and Hodgins, I examine the role of the *Heritage Minutes* in the production of history as myth and the construction of a Canadian national narrative. However, unlike the other histories of *Heritage Minutes*, I also examine the organization of the different incarnations of Historica, from the Historica Foundation and to H-DI to Historica Canada, its board of directors’ links to government and business, and how it functions as part of the ideological state apparatus. Gramsci argued that one of the key components of creating and maintaining

²⁹ One of the best overviews of Canadian working-class struggles is Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992). For a more recent survey of Canadian labour history, see Craig Heron, *The Canadian Labour Movement: A Short History*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 2012).

³⁰ Louis Althusser, *For Marx* (London: Allen Lane, 1969), 67.

³¹ Peter Hodgins, “The Canadian Dream-Work: History, Myth and Nostalgia in the Heritage Minutes” (PhD diss., Carleton University, 2003).

³² Hodgins, “The Canadian Dream-Work,” 203.

hegemony was establishing cultural hegemony, to culturally produce and reproduce consent through social relations and control not just of the means of production but ideas. Controlling social institutions is an important part of maintaining hegemony. Gramsci argued that presenting dominant class interests as common sense and capitalist values as universal helped maintain the hegemonic order.³³ Historica is an important part of this cultural articulation in that it reaches so many people and functions to make the dominant social order appear as natural and inevitable.

Before examining the *Minutes* themselves, it is important to examine who is behind their production, as they have a role in constructing official memories and a stake in what type of official memory is being constructed. Those involved with Historica Canada acknowledge their role in the construction of historical memory. Rudyard Griffiths, the executive director of the Dominion Institute prior to its merger with Historica, stated, “In our popular culture, we are increasingly bombarded by American history, American myths, American narratives. All our surveys show that, as a result, we are a country that is labouring under an historical amnesia that has profound implications for our public discourses.”³⁴ I share Griffiths’s concern about historical amnesia and his contention that it has profound implications for public discourse but disagree on the ways to change the discourse and to what end. Organizations like Historica Canada are integral to Gramsci’s ideas of how hegemony operates. Gramsci noted that outside entities—those not directly state institutions—were integral to the creation and maintenance of consent, stating, “in reality, a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end—initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes.”³⁵ As such, the Historica board functions as part of the hegemonic project. The CRB Foundation and, in turn, the Historica Foundation, and then H-DI, and now Historica Canada have always been controlled by capitalists. The board of directors of Historica is a quintessential example of the overlap between political and civil spheres. Gramsci argued that civil society was the link between the economic base and the ideological superstructure of any given society. This makes the study of Historica as part of the hegemonic project of

³³ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 247.

³⁴ Penney Clark, “Engaging the Field: A Conversation with Rudyard Griffiths,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37, no. 1 (Fall 2002): https://canadian-social-studies-journal.educ.ualberta.ca/content/articles-2000-2010#ARrudyard_griffiths103.

³⁵ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 258.

the Canadian capitalist state relevant to understanding the exclusion of working-class and environmental history in their *Minutes*. Examining the list of board members along with the funding of Historica shows the crossover between the board of directors, corporations, and the state in the funding provided and establishes Historica firmly within the capitalist state in Canada. This section examines the composition of the board of directors of Historica Canada through all its incarnations, from the Historica Foundation (1999-2009) to H-DI (2009-2012) through to its present incarnation as Historica Canada (2012-2019).

The board members of Historica are connected financially as well as politically. Corporate directors, chief executive officers (CEO) and chief financial officers (CFO) for some of the largest Canadian and international corporations, in addition to conservative politicians, have dominated Historica's boards of directors.³⁶ Lynton R. Wilson, a key figure in the formation of the Historica Foundation, as discussed above, was chair of BCE at the time. The H-DI board included: Charles R. Bronfman, the former co-chairman of The Seagram Company Ltd.; L. Yves Fortier, the chairman emeritus of Ogilvy Renault and listed as the former governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and a director of Rio Tinto; and Brandt C. Louie, the president & CEO of H.Y. Louie Co. Limited and the chairman of London Drugs Limited.³⁷ Former board member Donna Soble Kaufman, a professional corporate director, had many connections with other Historica board members, including a direct link to Wilson and BCE.³⁸ Kaufman also had ties to Fortier in

³⁶ The composition of board has changed little from the time of the Historica Foundations' merger with the Dominion Institute in 2012.

³⁷ Macleod Dixon LLP (website), accessed June 13, 2011, <http://www.macleoddixon.com/>. Macleod Dixon merged with Norton Rose on January 1, 2012; see Gail J. Cohen, "MacLeod Dixon to Merge with Norton Rose," *Canadian Lawyer*, October 4, 2011, accessed July 21, 2019, <https://www.canadianlawyermag.com/legalfeeds/author/gail-j-cohen/macleod-dixon-to-merge-with-norton-rose-4165/>.

³⁸ Her time on the board of BCE overlaps with Lynton R. Wilson, who served in many positions: Wilson was president of BCE between 1990 and 1996; chairman and CEO, 1996-98; and finally, chairman of the board, 1998-2000. Kaufman was a director and member of the Corporate Governance Committee for BCE, 1998-2011. See "Profile of Donna Soble Kaufman," *Bloomberg Business Week* (website), accessed August 1, 2019, <http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/people/person.asp?personId=776796&ticker=TA:CN&previousCapId=170260&previousTitle=BCE%20INC>. See also, "Donna Soble Kaufman," *Bell Canada Enterprises* (website), accessed February 28, 2012, <http://www.bce.ca/en/governance/boardcommittee/boardmembers/kaufman/>. The original link is dead, but the page can be viewed through the Internet Archive at <https://web.archive.org/web/20110130094810/http://www.bce.ca/en/governance/boardcommittee/boardmembers/kaufman/>.

her role as a director of the Hudson's Bay Company. Stephen Smith, current chairman of Historica and formerly H-DI, who is listed as the president and co-founder of First National Financial LP, is also connected to several other current and former board members. H-DI board member Duncan Jackman, for instance, sits on the board of directors of First National with Smith.³⁹ In addition, Smith is a member of the board of directors of the Dominion of Canada General Insurance Company and a former board member for the Empire Life Insurance Company, two companies that Jackman is the chairman of. Another H-DI board member, Richard Rooney, was also a director of the Empire Life Insurance Company.⁴⁰ The interconnections between members of Historica's directors both shows the corporate interests of the board and illustrates the extent of corporate dominance on Canada's "largest independent organization devoted to enhancing awareness of Canadian history and citizenship."⁴¹

The connections between members of Historica's board extend beyond the world of finance and into government, showing the link between the corporate heads and the government, what Gramsci referred to as the corporate state. Another facet of illustrating the role of Historica as part of the corporate state is the influence government has on Historica and, likewise, the influence board members of Historica have on government. The presence of a sitting member of parliament on the current board—Michael Chong, the Progressive Conservative Party member of Parliament for Wellington-Halton Hills—is the most obvious example of Historica's relationship to the corporate state.⁴² Other

³⁹ "Profile of Stephen Smith," Bloomberg Business Week (website), accessed August 1, 2019, <http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/people/relationship.asp?personId=27226293>. See also "Board of Directors," First National Financial LP (website), accessed August 8, 2019, <https://www.firstnational.ca/about/corporate-governance/board-of-directors>.

⁴⁰ One document showing Jackman, Smith, and Rooney's roles with Empire Life Insurance Company in 2017 can be found at "Notice of Annual Meeting of Shareholders," accessed August 9, 2019, <https://www.empire.ca/sites/default/files/2017-05/2017ManagementInfoCircular-EN-web.pdf>.

⁴¹ "About Historica Canada," Historica Canada (website), accessed April 11, 2016, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/history>. The original link is dead, but the page can be viewed through the Internet Archive at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160402162544/https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/history>.

⁴² Many Historica board members have contributed to Chong's political campaigns. Rudyard Griffiths, Duncan Jackman, Malcolm Jolley, and Richard Rooney all contributed to Chong's campaign in the 39th general election in 2006, and Avie Bennet contributed to Chong's campaign in the 41st general election in 2011. See Michael Chong, Conservative Party of Canada/Wellington—Halton Hills Candidates Electoral Campaign Return: Candidates' Details – Statement of Contributions Received (part 2a) 39th general election; and Michael Chong, Conservative Party of Canada/Wellington—Halton Hills Candidates Electoral Campaign Return:

board members have been appointed to government advisory positions. For example, Duncan Jackman was named to the federal government's Economic Advisory Council. The Conservative government created the Council in 2008, with the rationale that it would allow Canadian business and academic leaders to provide advice on fiscal, economic, and financial issues.⁴³ Further, Lynton R. Wilson was a member of the Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on the Public Service, a committee established in 2006 to give advice to the prime minister and the clerk of the privy council on the renewal of the public service. The objective was to "help shape the Public Service into an institution geared to excellence, distinguished by highly-engaged and highly-skilled people performing critical tasks with professionalism and efficiency."⁴⁴ Donna Soble Kaufman would join Wilson on the Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on the Public Service in 2010.⁴⁵

Many of Historica's board members have moved back-and-forth between being corporate CEOs and working for government. Wilson has continually moved between his corporate undertakings and government business.⁴⁶ His influence on government did not

Candidates' Details – Statement of Contributions Received (part 2a) 41st general election May 02, 2011, both at Elections Canada Searchable Database for Financial Returns, <https://www.elections.ca/WPAPPS/WPF/EN/Home/Index>.

⁴³ "Minister of Finance Announces New Membership of the Economic Advisory Council," Department of Finance Canada (website), June 29, 2010, accessed February 8, 2012, <http://www.fin.gc.ca/n10/10-061-eng.asp>.

⁴⁴ "Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on the Public Service," Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (website), accessed February 8, 2012, <http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/ren/cpmc/menu-eng.asp>.

⁴⁵ Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on the Public Service, *Fourth Report to the Prime Minister: A Relevant and Connected Public Service* (Ottawa, ON: Government of Canada, February 2010), 14.

⁴⁶ He was with Canada's Department of Trade and Commerce from 1962 to 1968, before becoming the corporate economist and director of economic research for John Labatt Limited, 1969-71. Then he moved from business back to government as coordinator, industrial R & D policy for the Ministry of State, Science & Technology in 1972. He then moved back to corporate capital planning as the strategic planning and development officer for MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., 1973-74, and vice president & director of MacMillan Bloedel Enterprises Inc., 1974-77. After MacBlo, Mr. Wilson was appointed executive director, policy & priorities, Ministry of Industry & Tourism, Government of Ontario, 1977-1978; deputy minister of Industry & Tourism 1978-81. He was president and CEO of Redpath Industries Limited 1981-1988; managing director, North America, Tate & Lyle PLC, 1986-89; chairman of the board, Redpath Industries Limited 1988-89; vice chairman, The Bank of Nova Scotia, Toronto, 1989-90. Finally, he moved to his position as president & chief operating officer, BCE Inc., 1990-92; president and CEO, BCE Inc., 1992-93; chairman, president & CEO, BCE Inc., 1993-96; chairman and CEO, BCE Inc., 1996-98; and chairman of the board, BCE Inc., 1998-2000. See "Lynton R. Wilson," Historica Canada (website), accessed July 17, 2019, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/lynton-r-red-wilson-oc>.

cease, as he was chairman of the Government of Canada's Competition Policy Review Panel (2007-2008). Longtime Historica board member L. Yves Fortier also moved frequently between government and corporate life. Fortier took leave from his law practice to take up an appointment as Canada's ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations in New York.⁴⁷ Other Historica board members have been prominent members of government. For example, Myra A. Freeman is a former lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia.⁴⁸ Gary Doer was an MLA in Manitoba; first elected in 1986, he went on to become premier of Manitoba from 1999 to 2009. Post political life, Doer was appointed ambassador to the United States by Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper and served in that role from 2009 to 2016. Doer is currently on a number of corporate boards, including those of Air Canada, IGM Financial, Great-West Lifeco, and Power Financial Corporation.⁴⁹

The political partisanship and ideology of board members is revealed not just in their contributions to the Conservative Party or their participation on government-appointed committees but also in their participation in right-wing think tanks. Both Brandt

⁴⁷ Fortier was the chairman emeritus of Ogilvy Renault and a former governor of the Hudson's Bay Company as well as a director of Rio Tinto from July 1988 until January 1992. During his term at the United Nations, Fortier was Canada's chief delegate to the 43rd, 44th, 45th, and 46th Sessions of the UN General Assembly. In September 1990, he was elected vice-president of the 45th General Assembly. From January 1989 to December 1990, Fortier served as Canada's representative on the Security Council of the United Nations and in 1989 he was president of the council. In addition to Rio Tinto, Fortier has served as a Director on the corporate boards of the Royal Bank of Canada, Trans Canada Pipelines Limited, Dupont Canada Inc., Westinghouse Canada Inc., Manufacturers Life Insurance Company, Westroc Inc., Nortel Networks Inc., and Patino Mining Corp.

For an extensive biography, see "The Honorable L. Yves Fortier," *Cabinet Yves Fortier* (website), accessed July 17, 2019, <https://yfortier.ca/l-yves-fortier/>.

⁴⁸ Myra A. Freeman, C.M., O.N.S., former lieutenant governor of the Province of Nova Scotia (2000-2006), is a member of the Order of Canada, a recipient of the Order of Nova Scotia and the first Chancellor of the Order of Nova Scotia. Appointed by the Government of Canada in 2003 and reappointed in 2010, she continues to serve as honorary captain (Navy) to Maritime Forces Atlantic, as chair of the Community Leadership Advisory Council to Maritime Forces Atlantic, as National Council Chair of the Canadian Naval Memorial Trust, and as a director of the Canadian Forces Liason Council, the RCMP Foundation, the Duke of Edinburgh Awards, the Canadian Friends of the Israel Museum, the Frank H. Sobey Awards for Excellence in Business Studies, the Advisory Board of the Coady International Institute, and the Chairperson's Advisory Group to the Canadian Judicial Council. See "Myra A. Freeman," *Historica Canada* (website), accessed August 1, 2019, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/myra-freeman-cm-ons>.

⁴⁹ For his biography see, "Air Canada Board of Directors," *Air Canada* (website), accessed July 23, 2019, <https://www.aircanada.com/ca/en/aco/home/about/corporate-governance/board-of-directors.html#!/director@Gary-Doer>; and "Gary Doer," *Historica Canada* (website), accessed July 23, 2019, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/gary-doer>.

Louie and Arni C. Thorsteinson, in addition to sitting as board members of H-DI, were directors of the Fraser Institute.⁵⁰ The Fraser Institute is a conservative think tank that promotes free markets and neoliberal policy. The Institute was founded in 1974 with five million dollars in seed money from Peter Munk, a capitalist that made his money in mining.⁵¹ The significance of Historica board members serving time on government boards, crown corporations, and right-wing think tanks is that it illustrates Historica's influence on government. It also shows that they are ideologically and securely part of an economic and political elite.⁵² For the term elite, I am using sociological definition. In particular, I am referring to how many of the board members of H-DI are indeed elite and as directors of multiple corporations have what Carroll and Sapinski refer to as strategic power in the Canadian economy. They note, "through the cross-appointment of directors, the boards of major corporations overlap with each other. Such interlocks draw directorate into an inter-corporate network, while also drawing directors into a socially integrated corporate elite."⁵³

The influence on government policy direction extends beyond one or two individual Historica board members; the government also included the H-DI, and later Historica Canada, in previewing and commenting on official government policy documents. While announcing the publication of the most recent citizenship study guide, "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship," Jason Kenny, the Conservative minister of citizenship, immigration and multiculturalism at the time, noted the publication had been reviewed by the Historica-Dominion Institute, amongst other groups. The guide is "part of CIC's Citizenship Action Plan that aims to strengthen the

⁵⁰ Brandt Louie was CEO of H.Y. Louie Co. Limited as well as the chairman and CEO of London Drugs Limited. Louie was also chancellor of Simon Fraser University and has served on a number of other boards, including those of the Vancouver Board of Trade/World Trade Centre, the Royal Bank of Canada, the B.C. Business Council and the Canfor Corporation. For an extensive biography, see "Brandt Louie," Business Laureates of BC Hall of Fame (website), accessed July 21, 2019, <https://www.businesslaureatesbc.org/laureate/brandt-louie/>. For the list of Fraser Institute directors, see "Board of Directors," Fraser Institute (website), accessed July 21, 2019, <https://www.fraserinstitute.org/about/directors>.

⁵¹ On the funding of the Fraser Institute see, Carroll and J.P. Sapinski, *Organizing the 1%*, 104.

⁵² For the term elite, I am using the colloquial usage of elite as being "a group of persons who by virtue of position or education exercise much power or influence." *Meriam-Webster*, s.v. "elite," accessed July 17, 2017, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/elite>. I recognize that conceptions of elite are much more complex than the dictionary definition implies. However, many of the board members of H-DI are indeed elite by both the dictionary and the more complex sociological definitions.

⁵³ Carroll and J.P. Sapinski, *Organizing the 1%*, 50.

value of Canadian citizenship, including combating residency and citizenship fraud, clarifying the language requirement for citizenship, and ongoing measures to strengthen the integrity of the citizenship knowledge test.”⁵⁴ While advising on government policy is not considered a conflict of interest, it is further evidence of the influence that Historica board members have on government policy.

Perhaps more importantly, it appears that the government directly influences the focus of the Historica. For example, when the government of Canada decided that Canadians did not think enough about John A. Macdonald’s importance, James Moore, then Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages, “invited all Canadians to reflect on Sir John A. Macdonald’s life and accomplishments, in honour of the 197th anniversary of his birth.”⁵⁵ The government created an event with the Historica-Dominion Institute at an elementary school in West Vancouver. The stated goal of the event was “to showcase how classrooms across Canada can celebrate the birth of Canada’s first Prime Minister.”⁵⁶ The H-DI was part of the event and quoted in the government’s official press release: “We are thrilled to be in Vancouver to celebrate Sir John A. Macdonald Day with schools in British Columbia and across Canada,” said Jeremy Diamond, director at the Historica-Dominion Institute. “The life and times of Canada’s first Prime Minister, and founding father, teach us a great deal about the origins of our country and how that history may live on in the present.”⁵⁷ That the H-DI was encouraging celebration of a prime minister of dubious repute is not the issue; that it indicates that the H-DI is being used as a propaganda arm of the federal government’s policy initiatives is. H-DI launched a campaign that fit right into the heritage minister’s agenda: “Thanks to an investment by the Government of Canada, the Historica-Dominion Institute launched a major educational campaign during the 2010-2011 and 2011-2012 school years, to encourage schools across Canada to organize their own Sir John A. Macdonald Day

⁵⁴ “Updated Discover Canada Citizenship Study Guide Now Available,” News Release, March 14, 2011, Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (website), accessed July 17, 2019, <https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/03/updated-discover-canada-citizenship-study-guide-now-available.html>.

⁵⁵ Canadian Heritage, “Harper Government Celebrates the Birth of Canada’s First Prime Minister,” Cision (website), January 11, 2012, accessed July 17, 2019, , <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/harper-government-celebrates-the-birth-of-canadas-first-prime-minister-509430451.html>.

⁵⁶ Canadian Heritage, “Harper Government Celebrates.”

⁵⁷ Canadian Heritage, “Harper Government Celebrates.”

celebrations on January 11."⁵⁸ The Government of Canada provided \$263,250 to H-DI to promote this campaign.⁵⁹ The line between the Historica as a charitable entity interested in preserving the history of Canada becomes blurred with Historica as an arm of government historical revisionism.

The next year, Moore announced another partnership with H-DI related to John A. Macdonald, stating, "the Historica-Dominion Institute will receive support to create two new Heritage Minute videos featuring Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George-Étienne Cartier."⁶⁰ Anthony Wilson-Smith, then president of H-DI, stated, "Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George-Étienne Cartier are two of the greatest Fathers of Confederation. We're proud and grateful that we'll be able to use our Heritage Minutes format to tell stories about their roles in the making of Canada."⁶¹ The government provided \$360,000 to the Historica-Dominion Institute (2012-2014) from the Department of Canadian Heritage, more specifically from the Celebration and Commemoration Program's Commemorate Canada component.

John A Macdonald Day is not an isolated example. Veteran Affairs Canada has also used its relationship with Historica to influence Historica's programming choices since the time it was the Historica Foundation. According to the minutes of the Standing Committee on Veterans Affairs, the ministry had been providing funding for the Memory Project, a program designed to honour Canada's veterans, for over a decade. Jeremy Diamond, managing director, National Office, Historica-Dominion Institute) noted, "The program has been funded over the years by Veterans Affairs Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage, and recently we've had some excellent, high-profile events with Prime Minister Harper and Minister Thompson, and with some of you on the Standing Committee on Veterans Affairs earlier this year."⁶² Linda Brunet (Director General, Encounters with Canada, Historica-Dominion Institute) elaborated: "We also

⁵⁸ Canadian Heritage, "Harper Government Celebrates."

⁵⁹ Canadian Heritage, "Harper Government Celebrates."

⁶⁰ Canadian Heritage, "Harper Government Commemorates Sir John A. Macdonald Bicentennial," Cision (website), January 11, 2013, accessed June 1, 2018, <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/harper-government-commemorates-sir-john-a-macdonald-bicentennial-511822711.html>.

⁶¹ Canadian Heritage, "Harper Government Commemorates."

⁶² Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Standing Committee on Veteran Affairs, Evidence, 40th Parl, 2nd Sess., No 28 (October 22, 2009), accessed July 24, 2019, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/40-2/ACVA/meeting-28/evidence>.

have Canada Remembers week. Since 2002, we have partnered with Veterans Affairs and this week is funded by them. This year it's from November 8 to November 14.”⁶³ In addition, regarding the *Heritage Minutes*, Brunet stated, “The 2005 Military Minutes were made possible through the support of the Department of Veterans Affairs, to mark the Year of the Veteran.”⁶⁴ More recently, in 2011, the government contributed money to the H-DI with very specific intentions. Veterans Affairs Canada contributed \$300,000 and the Department of Canadian Heritage \$375,000 “to assist with the eligible costs of the delivery of The Historica-Dominion Institute's Memory Project Speakers' Bureau from April 1, 2011 to March 31, 2014. The contribution also assists with the production and distribution of The Memory Project Speakers' Bureau Educational DVD in fiscal year 2011-2012.”⁶⁵ These examples further illustrate Gramsci's concept of the corporate state having influence on the culture of a country. From the Memory Project to the military focused *Heritage Minutes*, the government of Canada was directly funding Historica to memorialize and valorize the state's military exploits.

The government funding of Historica is complicated to track if just examining news releases and government announcements, as it accesses funding from many different ministries and often it is overlapping between different ministries at the same time. However, there is a searchable database that I used to produce a chart (Table 6.1) of all the government funding of the Historica Foundation, H-DI, and Historica Canada. The table below lists the department of the Canadian government making the donation, the program it is targeted to, the amount, and the date of the donation. The resulting chart is long but very revealing for it shows Historica has received over \$88 million from the Canadian government over the past fourteen years.⁶⁶

⁶³ Standing Committee on Veteran Affairs, Evidence, October 22. 2009.

⁶⁴ Standing Committee on Veteran Affairs, Evidence, October 22. 2009.

⁶⁵ “Government Grants and Contributions,” Reference number: GC-2011-Q2-00010, Government of Canada (website), accessed July 24, 2019, <https://open.canada.ca/en/search/grants/reference/vac-acc%7CGC-2011-Q2-00010>. The contribution also notes, “Funding is from Veterans Affairs Canada in the amount of \$300,000 and from the Department of Canadian Heritage in the amount of \$375,000.”

⁶⁶ “Disclosure of Grant and Contribution Awards Over \$25,000,” Government of Canada (website), accessed July 23, 2019, <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/transparency/proactive-disclosure/grants-over-25000.html>. The database was created as part of the government's Management Improvement Agenda. The site states, “On 21 October 2005, the Government announced its commitment to proactively disclose the

Table 1. Canadian Government Donations to Historica Canada, 2006-2020

Government Department	Historica Program	Amount	Agreement Start Date
Canadian Heritage	Heritage Minutes	\$1,885,000.00	2020-04-01
Canadian Heritage	Canadian Encyclopedia	\$1,110,000.00	2020-04-01
Canadian Heritage	The Memory Project	\$945,806.00	2020-04-01
Canadian Heritage	Citizenship Challenge	\$225,000.00	2019-04-01
Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada	Citizenship Challenge	\$336,897.10	2019-01-11
Canadian Heritage	Official Languages Act Education Campaign	\$328,886.00	2018-09-01
Canadian Heritage	Citizenship Challenge	\$75,000.00	2018-08-15
Canadian Heritage	Think Like a Historian: WWI	\$75,000.00	2018-06-01
Canadian Heritage	Indigenous Perspectives Education Guide and Timeline	\$17,800.00	2018-06-01
Canadian Heritage	Encounters with Canada - Rencontres du Canada	\$100,000.00	2018-04-01
Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada	1819-HQ-000155	\$73,700.00	2018-04-01
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$10,800,000.00	2018-03-27
Canadian Heritage	Commemoration Canada - Other commemorations	\$341,408.00	2017-10-06
Canadian Heritage	Canada Book Fund - Support for Organizations - Marketing	\$75,000.00	2017-09-15
Canadian Heritage	Road to 2017	\$74,000.00	2017-06-28
Canadian Heritage	Canada History Fund - Strategic Initiatives	\$1,550,000.00	2017-06-27
Canadian Heritage	Canada History Fund - Strategic Initiatives	\$1,050,000.00	2017-06-27
Canadian Heritage	Canada History Fund - Strategic Initiatives	\$900,000.00	2017-06-27
Canadian Heritage	Canada 150 - Signature Initiative - Commemoration Canada	\$19,600.00	2017-05-16
Canadian Heritage	Canada 150 - Signature Initiative - Commemoration Canada	\$2,500,000.00	2017-03-14
Canadian Heritage	World Wars	\$71,300.00	2017-01-12
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$100,000.00	2016-11-23
Canadian Heritage	Road to 2017	\$402,760.00	2016-05-26
Canadian Heritage	Canada 150 - Signature Initiative - Commemoration Canada	\$600,000.00	2016-05-20
Canadian Heritage	Canada History Fund - Strategic Initiatives	\$300,000.00	2016-03-08
Veteran Affairs Canada	Canada Remembers Theme Week	\$150,000.00	2015-05-13
Canadian Heritage	CHF - Strategic Initiatives	\$300,000.00	2014-12-23
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$175,000.00	2014-12-19

awarding of grants and contributions over \$25,000 as part of its Management Improvement Agenda.”

Government Department	Historica Program	Amount	Agreement Start Date
Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada	Multiculturalism awareness campaign within schools and communities	\$540,000.00	2014-11-14
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$400,000.00	2014-11-07
Veteran Affairs Canada	Memory Project Speakers Bureau	\$300,000.00	2014-10-17
Canadian Heritage	CHF - Strategic Initiatives	\$1,050,000.00	2014-10-08
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$13,222,428.00	2014-07-17
Canadian Heritage	CHF - Strategic Initiatives	\$520,833.00	2014-07-11
Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada	Delivery of the Citizenship Challenge which engages Canadian's to take mock citizenship tests to test and improve their knowledge of Canada.	\$620,000.00	2014-06-01
Canadian Heritage	CHF - Strategic Initiatives	\$1,200,000.00	2014-03-12
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$166,200.00	2014-01-24
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$350,000.00	2013-03-18
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$96,210.00	2013-03-05
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$360,000.00	2012-12-20
Veteran Affairs Canada	Weekly bilingual Peace Module from June 1, 2012 to August 31, 2015, at the Terry Fox Canadian Youth Centre in Ottawa, Ontario.	\$150,000.00	2012-09-14
Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada	Creation of a youth wing of speakers under the age of 40; increasing the profile of the program by creating regional speakers' bureaus with new volunteers....	\$360,065.00	2012-05-22
Veterans Affairs Canada	Educational program entitled "Canada Remembers Theme Week" during Veterans' Week in November 2012, 2013 and 2014.	\$150,000.00	2012-05-17
Canadian Heritage	Strategic Initiatives	\$719,235.00	2012-03-09
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$200,000.00	2012-02-08
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$150,000.00	2011-12-20
Veteran Affairs Canada	The Historica-Dominion Institute's Memory Project Speakers' Bureau from April 1, 2011 to March 31, 2014.	\$300,000.00	2011-09-09
Canadian Heritage	Strategic Initiatives	\$3,750,000.00	2011-07-11
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$10,125,000.00	2011-06-30
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$938,850.00	2011-03-18
Canadian Heritage	Strategic Initiatives	\$75,000.00	2011-03-15
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$385,000.00	2011-02-10
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$263,250.00	2010-12-31
Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada	Multiculturalism program	\$525,171.30	2010-06-18
Canadian Heritage	Strategic Initiatives	\$151,500.00	2010-01-14
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$385,516.00	2010-01-13
Immigration, Refugees and	Welcoming Communities Initiative	\$351,556.00	2009-11-19

Government Department	Historica Program	Amount	Agreement Start Date
Citizenship Canada			
Veteran Affairs Canada	Encounters with Canada Peace Module	\$150,000.00	2009-10-27
Veteran Affairs Canada	English and French battlefield study tours Europe summer of 2009, 2010 and 2011.	\$105,000.00	2009-07-30
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$2,620,450.00	2009-06-25
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$135,000.00	2009-06-22
Canadian Heritage	Canadian Studies Program	\$288,900.00	2009-03-23
Canadian Heritage	Canadian Studies Program	\$31,875.00	2009-03-20
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$372,820.00	2009-02-17
Veteran Affairs Canada	French Battlefield Study Tour from July 29 to August 9, 2008	\$35,000.00	2008-07-28
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$280,145.00	2008-07-03
Canadian Heritage	Canadian Studies Program	\$140,000.00	2008-06-12
Canadian Heritage	Canadian Studies Program	\$29,220.00	2008-03-27
Canadian Heritage	Canadian Studies Program	\$39,000.00	2008-03-04
Canadian Heritage	Commemorate Canada	\$82,500.00	2007-11-29
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$63,000.00	2007-03-05
Canadian Heritage	Canadian Studies Program	\$38,250.00	2007-03-05
Canadian Heritage	Canadian Studies Program	\$62,746.00	2007-02-28
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$17,105,000.00	2006-12-08
Canadian Heritage	Human Rights Program	\$30,000.00	2006-12-01
Canadian Heritage	Access and Content	\$500,000.00	2006-03-16
Canadian Heritage	Youth Forums Canada	\$70,000.00	2006-03-08

* Chart compiled by the author from "Search Government Grants and Contributions," Government of Canada (website), accessed July 23, 2019, https://open.canada.ca/en/search/grants?search_api_fulltext=Historica&sort_by=date_clean&page=7. The url contains the search term I used, "Historica."

** From 2018 to 2019 the Government Grant form included headings for program name, program purpose, and agreement title. For these grants from these years I have used the agreement title in the second column. From March 8, 2006 to 2018, only the program purpose was listed. For grants during this period, I have used the program purpose as the descriptor in the second column. The Recipient Legal Name for the grants change as Historica changes its name; all contributions were made to either Historica Canada, the Historica-Dominion Institute, or the Historica Foundation, depending on the then-current official name of Historica at the time of the contribution.

It bears repeating that this table shows the Government of Canada granting Historica Canada and its predecessors \$88 million over a fourteen-year period. This averages \$6.3 million per year. It is clear that Historica was a favourite of the government, the Canada Heritage Department in particular, in terms of funding. The chart helps to illustrate how integral the Government of Canada has been to funding Historica from the beginning and how integral Historica is to the government, in particular to the Department of Canadian Heritage. It also brings into question the independence of what Historica produces. As noted in this chapter, some of the funding was specifically targeted for such programs as John A. Macdonald Day or for *Heritage Minutes* created

specifically for the Department of Veteran Affairs. The chart shows the magnitude of Historica’s reliance on government money and suggests a lack of independence on the part of Historica to determine how it spends a majority of its budget.

In a strange twist, Historica has been responsible for giving advice on what to fund to the very agencies that fund them. For example, the Canadian Studies Program (CSP) of the Ministry of Canadian Heritage used the Historica Foundation to help identify funding priorities. The Evaluation of the CSP report noted, “The Program, based on consultations with stakeholders and on a 2004 report by the Historica Foundation of Canada, which explored gaps in resources available to deliver history and social studies curricula in Canada, identifies priority areas for new learning materials supported under the Funding Competition.”⁶⁷ It then states later in the report that the Historica Foundation was one of the key recipients of its funding: “National history organizations that have been frequent recipients of Strategic Initiative support include the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS), the Dominion Institute, the Historica Foundation of Canada, and Canada’s National History Society.”⁶⁸ The report notes that Historica received funding for five projects between 2004 and 2009, totalling \$492,613 and the Dominion Institute received funding for one project, totalling \$29,220.⁶⁹

Looking at the list of corporate donors (Table 6.2) is another piece of the puzzle.

Table 2. Corporate and Foundation Donors to Historica Canada, 2016

Corporation/Foundation	Donor Level
Toronto Dominion Bank	Platinum
Enbridge	Gold
Vale	Gold
The Vimy Foundation	Gold
IBM	Gold
Interac	Silver
Ontario Trillium Foundation	Silver
Gluskin Sheff	Silver
Pfizer	Silver
The Dominion Insurance	Silver

⁶⁷ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, Evaluation Services Directorate, “Evaluation of the Canadian Studies Program” (Government of Canada, July 2010), 10.

⁶⁸ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, “Evaluation of the Canadian Studies Program,” 11. Note that this must refer only to government funding labeled Canadian Studies as Historica received much more money over this same period than this report states.

⁶⁹ Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, “Evaluation of the Canadian Studies Program”, 41.

Corporation/Foundation	Donor Level
United Corporations Limited	Silver
Former Parliamentarians Association	Silver
Canada's History	Silver
Aurea Foundation	Bronze
Canadian Council for the Arts	Bronze
Canadian Parents for French (Ontario)	Bronze
Canadian Parents for French (Nova Scotia)	Bronze
Canadian Teachers Federation	Bronze
CH Ivey Foundation	Bronze
Esso: Imperial Oil Foundation	Bronze
London Drugs	Bronze
Shelter Canadian Properties Limited	Bronze
Great West Life Assurance Company	Bronze

* List of corporate and foundation donors as of 2016, compiled by the author from "Donors," Historica Canada (website), accessed July 30, 2019, archived at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160817155337/https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/donors>.

Many of the companies donating to Historica are run by Historica board members, including London Drugs, Shelter Canadian Properties, Great West Life Assurance, and Dominion Insurance. Historica directors donate their own money as well that of the corporations they represent.

Table 3. Individual Donors to Historica Canada, 2016

Individual	Donor Level
Avie Bennett	Gold
Richard E. Rooney	Gold
Lynton R. Wilson	Silver
Ann Dadson	Bronze
Donna Kaufman	Bronze
Rick Mercer	Bronze
Erik Penz	Bronze
Deon Ramgoolam	Bronze

* List of individual donors as of 2016, compiled by the author from "Donors," Historica Canada (website), accessed July 30, 2019, archived at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160817155337/https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/donors>.

All the individual donors listed on Historica Canada's website were H-DI board members, and some are still Historica Canada board members. All are still listed on the current donors page as of 2019 and they are all also noted as Lifetime donors in an extra category explained as, "those whose regular annual donations since September 2009 have allowed us to strategically enhance the programs at Historica Canada, Canada's largest charitable organization dedicated to the preservation and celebration of

Canadian history, identity and citizenship.”⁷⁰ The most current list of donors has not changed much since 2016. However, the designations of gold, silver, and bronze have been eliminated.

The capitalist dominance of the board is consistent with the story of Canada that Historica is telling. In the *Heritage Minutes*, capitalists are credited with the building of Canada. Capitalism, colonialism, and militarism are all highlighted positively in the *Minutes*. The story of Canada being told by Historica is consistent with the makeup of the board. It is a mainstream, hegemonic discourse of Canadian history as are the appointments to the board. The problem is that under the direction of such a board, Historica is creating and promoting history that occludes the working class and does little to promote critical thinking about class and class relations or environmentalism.

Corporate interconnectedness, coupled with the previously outlined links to government, begins to paint the picture of Historica as part of the corporate state. The Historica board is a cross section, not of working-class Canadians, but of the corporate and political elite. The board is completely unrepresentative of Canadian society, but it is consistent with the type of narrative created by the *Heritage Minutes*. Capitalism and the logic of capitalism is not questioned in the minutes, and they are clearly championed by the board. This is of concern as it portrays itself and Historica as, in its own words, “the country’s largest independent advocate of history and citizenship.”⁷¹ Through analyzing Historica we can begin to understand how the occlusion of working-class history and identity occurs in Canada.

So, what does government- and corporate-funded Canadian history produce? Originally, as presented online, the *Heritage Minutes* were divided into thirteen categories: The Arts, Building Democracy, Canada and the World, Canadian Symbols, Commerce, Exploration, First Nations, Heroes, Innovators, Military, Settling Canada, Sports, and Women.⁷² The categories have since been changed, and as of 2017 they

⁷⁰ Donors,” Historica Canada (website), accessed July 30, 2019, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/donors>.

⁷¹ “Landmark Merger.”

⁷² “Minutes,” Historica-Dominion Institute (website), accessed April 11, 2014, <http://www.histori.ca/minutes/default.do?page=.index>. The original link is dead, but the list of thirteen categories can viewed through the Internet Archive at

are: Pre-Confederation, Women, Arts and Culture, Heroes, Human Rights, Military, Sports, Science/Innovation, and Indigenous History.⁷³ In all, there are now ninety *Heritage* minutes.⁷⁴ In these ninety *Minutes*, the working class is virtually invisible. Lawlor notes that, “despite entreaties from each of the consultant-historians there are almost no *Minutes* which represent the role of the working class or labour issues in Canadian History.”⁷⁵ Lawlor cites John Herd Thompson regarding the vision of the minutes as top-down history and how historians tried to subvert it: “I mean they did have a vision. And sometimes some of us worked as best we could to subvert it. And sometimes we were called to task on it and couldn’t subvert it. You’ll notice for instance, there are no real *Minutes* about the working class.”⁷⁶ Thompson explained that it was not for lack of trying: “The two that I thought were the cleverest of the working class *Minutes* that we never got to make were as follows: Jean Claude [Robert] and I wanted to make one that featured Madeline Deront [sic] and Kent Rally [sic] who were Communist labour organizers and the second one had to do with the Valleyfield textile strike ... we didn’t get far with that one.”⁷⁷ The lack of class analysis has largely been accepted or, at the least, ignored. To her credit, of all the historians and communications experts who have examined the *Minutes*, Lawlor draws attention to the lack of working-class *Minutes*, but she does not investigate it further. It is her interviews with Thompson that highlight the CRB Foundation’s initial control over the content of the *Minutes* and how working-class *Minutes* were shut down, but it is not the focus of her thesis and the implications of this working-class exclusion remains largely unexplored. Thus, the question is not only how

<https://web.archive.org/web/20101229081340/http://www.histori.ca/minutes/section.do?className=ca.histori.minutes.entity.ClassicMinute>.

⁷³ In the midst of writing this dissertation, new *Minutes* were being produced and the Historica website renamed the categories. Historica refers to the *Minutes* produced prior to 2012 as classic *Minutes* and those produced after 2012 as second-generation *Minutes*. I will do the same to aid understanding of what *Minute* I am discussing. I also refer to some of the earlier category names in order to aid understanding of how history was being framed in the *Minutes* prior to 2012. Descriptions of the *Minutes* are on the Historica Canada website, which links to the *Canadian Encyclopedia* entry on Heritage Minutes, accessed July 30, 2019, <http://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/heritage-minutes/>.

⁷⁴ The classic *Minutes* numbered sixty at the end of the initial production of the *Minutes* in 2005.

⁷⁵ Lawlor, “The Heritage Minutes,” 37.

⁷⁶ Lawlor, “The Heritage Minutes,” 62n6, quoting from her interview with Thompson, March 23, 1999.

⁷⁷ Lawlor, “The Heritage Minutes,” 38, quoting from her interview with Thompson. The quote is reprinted as it appears in the original texts but the names of the Communist organizers are incorrect. The correct names of the organisers are Madeline Parent and Kent Rawley. I am going to attribute it to a typo in the transcription and not an example of the lack of care given to working class subjects in history.

do the *Heritage Minutes* frame the working class but also rather why is the history of working-class organization and activism virtually excluded from the minutes?

While images of the working class are few and far between in the *Minutes*, particularly in comparison to most other social groups, there is some working-class representation. For example, the “Baldwin & Lafontaine” *Minute* (1992) depicts a part of the struggle for responsible government in 1841 and the mob attempting to vote in the likely contains members of the working class. The “Maurice ‘Rocket’ Richard” *Minute* (1993) establishes him as a regular working-class guy. This is true as “the Rocket” was a Quebecois working class hero who grew up through the depression and made it to the NHL. He played 18 seasons for the Montreal Canadian from 1942 – 1960.⁷⁸ However, representations of the working class as agents in their own history and as pivotal in shaping the history of Canada are largely absent. One *Minute*, “Nitro” (1992), does depict an important part of working-class history, but, as one consultant-historian suggests, it frames it in a manner that focuses more on ethnicity than class;

Nitro depicts a CPR construction site in 1880s British Columbia, as a young Chinese worker volunteers to set a dangerous nitro-glycerine charge in return for his young wife's boat fare to Canada. Although this *Minute* portrays the working class, in this instance, class is undercut by ethnicity.⁷⁹

The ending of “Nitro” shows that the man actually survived and fifty years later he is talking to his grandchildren and tells them, “they say there is one dead Chinese man for every mile of track.” John Herd Thompson has noted that the ending is a fabrication, depicted “despite my ‘historical expert’ protests that his survival would have been impossible.” He suggested, however, that his concerns about its accuracy were outweighed by the dramatic resolution this fabrication provides:

Fortunately for “Nitro,” I lost the argument. The final scene of [the] version that we released takes place in “Vancouver 50 years later.” A much older man recounts his harrowing railway-building experiences to his granddaughters. He tells the girls that “I lost many friends. They say there

⁷⁸ For more on Maurice Richard see, CBC Archives, “Maurice “Rocket” Richard’s Path to Hockey Glory” accessed September 6, 2019 <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/maurice-rocket-richard-s-path-to-hockey-glory-1.4767432> Richard was a legend in Quebec and for a touching and important reflection on his importance to Quebec see the National Film Board short “The Sweater.” National Film Board of Canada, *The Sweater* (online) published May 1, 2013 accessed September 6, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZZyDsF-Gp3o>

⁷⁹ Lawlor, “The Heritage Minutes,” 38.

is one dead Chinese man for every mile of that track.” Had I prevailed over the filmmakers, that final dramatic line would have been delivered as a voice-over from Patrick Watson. “Nitro” taught me that an historian working on film must sometimes fictionalize a detail to tell a larger historical truth.⁸⁰

However, the happy dramatic resolution of “Nitro” serves to fix workers struggles in the past, as something that has been overcome, and thus no longer necessary to think about in the present. The audience is manipulated into a feeling of relief that the grandfather survived, although he likely would not have, and thus any concerns over workers are eliminated.

Another example of a *Heritage Minute* that glosses over working-class concerns rather than illuminate them is the “Maurice Ruddick” *Minute* (1993). It is one of two *Minutes* in the Heroes category. “Maurice Ruddick” depicts the Springhill mining disaster. The Springhill mining disaster refers to a collapse of the Springhill mine in Nova Scotia that killed 75 miners and trapped 99 other miners alive over three kilometres below the earth with no food or water. A group of twelve miners were trapped for six days. Maurice Ruddick was part of another group that was trapped for over eight days.⁸¹ The problem with the *Minute* is that it stresses the survival of the title character rather than make any statement on miner safety and the struggle for workplace safety. The minute makes no mention of the 1891 Springfield disaster that killed 125 workers or the 1956 Springfield disaster that killed 39 miners.⁸² It is difficult to make something appear as an unfortunate and unforeseen disaster when it continues to happen. It also seems to privilege race and oddly the singing of hymns, over class which fits with the *Minutes* conception of diversity as long as it does not threaten capital.

⁸⁰ John Herd Thompson, “Saving Floods of Useless Ink: Academic Historians and Cinematic History,” *Academic Matters*, September 9, 2008, accessed March 11, 2016, <http://www.academicmatters.ca/2008/09/saving-floods-of-useless-ink-academic-historians-and-cinematic-history/>.

⁸¹ CBC archives has footage of the live coverage of the disaster, CBC Archives, accessed September 6, 2019. <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/1956-12-miners-rescued-in-springhill-disaster>

⁸² For a timeline of mine disasters and explosions in Nova Scotia see, Nova Scotia Archives, “Men in the Mines,” accessed September 6, 2019. <https://novascotia.ca/archives/meninmines/disasters.asp?Language=English> There is an account of the 1891 disaster that purports to be “the most complete and trustworthy obtainable.” H.A. McKnight, *The Great Colliery Explosion at Springhill, Nova Scotia, February 21, 1891 : Full Particulars of the Greatest Mining Disaster in Canada, with a Brief Description and Historical Sketch of the Springhill Collieries*. (Springhill, N.S, 1891).

It is important to note that there is also an almost complete lack of environmental history depicted in the ninety *Heritage Minutes*. The one *Minute* that has an environmental message is “Peacemaker” (1992). However, “Peacemaker” imbues First Nations with an inherent environmentalism and says more about how settlers view First Nations than it does about environmentalism. This makes understanding that there is a history of working-class environmentalism in Canada next to impossible from watching *Heritage Minutes*. Much like the history of working-class activism and important contributions of the working class to Canadian history, there is no shortage of compelling environmental and environmentalist history that could be made into *Heritage Minutes*. For example, the formation of Greenpeace on the West Coast would acknowledge Canada as the birthplace of modern environmentalism. Greenpeace’s foundation story would certainly have all the drama necessary for a *Heritage Minute*, including a ramshackle ship put into service to oppose US nuclear tests on Amchitca Island. Other compelling topics include Paul Watson’s formation of the Sea Shepherd Society or perhaps the largest mass arrests in Canadian history at Clayoquot sound. Simply put, working-class history and the history of environmentalism do not fit ideologically with the national narrative that Historica wants to construct. If workers and environmentalists are largely absent from the *Minutes*, then it is impossible to watch the *Minutes* and come away with an idea of what would constitute a worker-environmentalist.

The creation of national myths that all citizens are supposed to identify with is also an important part in the successful maintenance of hegemony. Hegemony is not simply imposed from above. It is a process of negotiation and seeks to win the consent of the subordinate group. The classic *Minutes* in the Building Democracy category are an excellent example of how a national myth is constructed.⁸³ The minutes in this category gloss over the linguistic, social, cultural, and economic fractures in pre- and post-Confederation Canadian history. When these fractures are depicted, they are resolved easily within the one minute and leave the impression that the creation of Canada’s current liberal, democratic, capitalist society was inevitable. For example, “Baldwin & LaFontaine” depicts the fight for representative government and reinforces

⁸³ The *Minutes* in the Building Democracy category are: “Baldwin & La Fontaine” (1992), “Etienne Parent,” “Hart & Papineau” (1995), “J. S. Woodsworth” (2003), and “Responsible Government” (1991). The Building Democracy category was eliminated with the creation of Historica Canada. The “J. S. Woodsworth” *Minute* is now in the Human Rights category and the other four are now in the Pre-Confederation category.

Canada as a haven for democracy. When historical consultant John Herd Thompson was contacted regarding future *Minutes* in the Building Democracy category, his response was less than enthusiastic. Thompson argued, "Because Canada is a country built upon what academics call, 'elite accommodation,' almost all such stories will be political stories involving pairs of bourgeois males who cooperated to dominate Canadian politics."⁸⁴ "Baldwin & Lafontaine" and "Hart & Papineau"(1995) are examples of this bourgeois domination. Two of the second-generation minutes produced in the lead-up to the Canada 150 celebrations, "Sir John A. Macdonald" (2014) and "Sir George Étienne Cartier" (2014) do nothing to break this mould.

In an effort to provide another story line, one that emphasized cooperation of the two colonial forces without excluding social class, Thompson suggested a *Minute* that would focus on "The Knights of Labor." This non-elite story had the additional advantage of including the missing labour theme, as it chronicles the solidarity between English-Protestant workers in Toronto and French-Catholic labourers in Montreal during a streetcar strike in 1886. Despite the efforts of historians to "subvert the thematic structure of the Minutes, a Minute of French and English cooperation about working class people and issues was never produced."⁸⁵ The *Minutes* tend to reinforce the dominant liberal and conservative notion of history that serves the interests of the capitalist state.

The only *Minute* in the classic Building Democracy (renamed Human Rights) category to include any notion of working-class interests, and even only tangentially, is "J. S. Woodsworth" (2003), which depicts the creation of the Old Age Pension in 1927. It depicts the negotiations between two Independent Labour Party members, J. S. Woodsworth and A. A. Heaps, and Liberal prime minister Mackenzie King that led to the Labour MP's supporting King and bringing in a pension. The key message is cooperation between labour and liberals. The problem with this *Minute* is that there is no context for the presence of the Labour MPs. For example, the key formative event that led Woodsworth and Heaps to become Independent Labour MPs was the Winnipeg General Strike and the formation of a group of independent labour MPs afterwards in order to advance the goals of the working class in parliament. The *Heritage Minutes* do not

⁸⁴ Lawlor, "The Heritage Minutes," 61.

⁸⁵ Lawlor, "The Heritage Minutes," 61-62.

explore organized working-class resistance in any of the ninety minutes so “J. S. Woodsworth” has no context for the presence of Labour MPs.

The erasure of working-class history is not simply the absence of *Minutes* on important milestones in working-class and labour history; it is further exacerbated by *Minutes* that function to celebrate our colonial past and the transition to a modern capitalist economy. There is an attempt to mask class struggle and to glorify the development of settler capitalism through uncritical presentations of colonization and capitalism. For example, on colonialism, there are four classic *Minutes* in the Explorers category, and even the chosen title of the category, Explorers, indicates the worldview.⁸⁶ Perhaps, it would be unseemly to call the category Colonizers, but it would be historically accurate. The *Minutes* in this category reinforce the myth of the explorer solely as adventurer and seeker of knowledge. Mention is not made of the economic motivations for the voyages or the theft of First Nations lands. For example, “Jacques Cartier” pokes light fun at the explorers’ inability to understand the First Nations peoples they have met. The *Minute* shows Cartier and his underling talking to a First Nations chief. The chief is pointing to his village and saying “Canata.” Cartier thinks he understands him as meaning the whole country while his underling is trying to correct him by explaining that it means village. It is meant as a comedic play on the naming of Canada. What it obscures, however, is that these European invaders were not just hapless tourists who did not understand the local language; they were setting out to claim the land for themselves for personal gain and the enrichment of their sponsors and their nation. This *Minute* functions to create an acceptable myth of the colonization of Canada. Perhaps to provide balance, there are four *Minutes* in the category First Nations.⁸⁷ Neither the Exploration nor First Nations *Minutes* examines class relations or the economic imperatives behind colonization. “Louis Riel” (1991) which depicts the trial of Louis Riel for his role as leader of the North West Resistance, is interesting because the juxtaposition between the internal monologue of Riel and the charges of the state read aloud offer competing readings of his execution. However, both reinforce colonization as inevitable and legitimate. The imperial and economic ambitions of European countries

⁸⁶ The four classic *Minutes* in this category are “Jacques Cartier” (1991), “Jean Nicollet” (1992), “John Cabot” (1991), and “Vikings” (1992). The Explorer category was initially changed to Exploration and more recently it has been folded into the new Pre-Confederation category.

⁸⁷ The First Nations category was changed to Aboriginal Peoples and then to Indigenous Peoples. The four classic *Minutes* in this category are “Louis Riel” (1991), “Jacques Cartier” (1991), “Peace Maker” (1992), and “Inukshuk” (1993).

remain unexplored. This is a common hegemonic strategy in the telling of Canadian history. Historian Sean Carleton calls this settler hegemony. Focusing on textbooks in British Columbia, Carleton argues,

Representing the past in general, and indigenous peoples in particular, in ways that justified colonialism and rationalized the development and continued existence of a capitalist settler society as natural, inevitable, and commonsensical. In short, racist representations of the "Textbook Indian" also helped to school students in the logic and legitimacy of colonialism and capitalism and encouraged them to take their rightful places in settler society.⁸⁸

Carleton's concept of settler hegemony is equally applicable in the case of the *Heritage Minutes* in that these *Minutes* help justify colonialism as a natural, rational, and inevitable occurrence. The *Minutes* function to reassure settler Canadians that their presence is at worst benign and at best beneficial. As Emma Battell Lowman and Adam J. Barker state in their book *Settler*, "disavowal is a key part of the settler identity and marks settler people as benefiting from the dispossession and destruction of Indigenous people while at the same time vehemently denying complicity in the events and processes that make that happen."⁸⁹ The second-generation *Minutes* partially break with this tradition in such *Minutes* as "Chanie Wenjack" (2016), in that this minute appears to be critiquing residential schools, but ultimately end up recuperating capitalism and colonialism much like the classic *Minutes*.

Wenjack's story was also famously documented by Canadian rock icon Gord Downie of the band The Tragically Hip in a record, film, and graphic novel project titled *Secret Path*.⁹⁰ Sean Carleton notes that the *Secret Path* project and the *Heritage Minute*, although successful in bringing wider recognition of residential schools to Canadians did not problematize the systems that created residential schools.⁹¹ He argues that the

⁸⁸ Sean Carleton, "Colonizing Minds: Public Education, the 'Textbook Indian,' and Settler Colonialism in British Columbia, 1920-1970" *BC Studies*, no.169 (Spring 2011): 101-130, 175.

⁸⁹ Emma Battell Lowman and Adam J. Barker, *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada* (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015), 16.

⁹⁰ Gord Downie, *Secret Path*, studio album, released October 18, 2016, Arts & Crafts Productions; Gordon Downie and Jeff Lemire, *Secret Path*, graphic novel (Toronto: Simon & Shuster, 2016); *The Secret Path*, dir. Gord Downie, aired October 23, 2016, on CBC Television. For access to the recording, graphic novel, and film go to <https://secretpath.ca/>.

⁹¹ Sean Carleton, "Chanie Wenjack and the Histories of Residential Schooling We Remember," *Active History*, October 23, 2018, <http://activehistory.ca/2018/10/chanie-wenjack-and-the-histories-of-residential-schooling-we-remember/>.

popular renditions of Wenjack's story "disconnects Wenjack's story and the history of residential schools generally from the wider processes of colonialism and capitalism in Canada."⁹² Carleton makes the point that the popular representations erase the role of the state and the governments deliberate use of "the residential school system to facilitate colonial dispossession and capitalist accumulation."⁹³ It is clear that although many of the second-generation *Minutes* tackle tougher topics and appear to be more progressive in their portrayals they can still clearly be read as part of the hegemonic project of the corporate state, perhaps in a more liberal rather than conservative frame.

The four classic *Minutes* in the Commerce category (now part of the expanded Science/Innovation category) are similarly celebratory of Canada. They are a celebration of capitalist entrepreneurship, featuring, for instance, the likes of the founder of Bombardier in "Joseph-Armand Bombardier" (1993) and the man responsible for the creation of a microwave telecommunications network in "Le Réseau" (1993). The *Minutes* never question the logic of capitalism or even imply it needs to be examined or explained. This is problematic for all the reasons I have explored regarding the erasure of the working class but perhaps just as important is that capitalism by its very nature requires workers. Even if the *Minutes* want to glorify capitalism the absence of workers and the working class makes even understanding how capitalism operates difficult.

There were five classic *Minutes* in the Canada and the World category. Many of these *Minutes* fit within the discourse of Canada as a humanitarian country. From "John Humphrey" (1997), which shows how a Canadian lawyer helped draft the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, to "Water Pump" (1995), which shows how Mennonites in Canada inspired the simple water pump that could be exported to communities in developing countries, all of these minutes fit firmly within the accepted nationalist discourse of Canada as a broker of peace and humanitarian aid. They all are consistent with a liberal hegemonic discourse that neither makes mention of the working class nor offers any structural explanations for the causes of the ills that Canadians are depicted as working so generously to remedy. Canada is not shown as complicit in creating or contributing to any of the structural issues that cause the problems. Canada is shown as a benevolent aid-giving country that is somehow removed from the contradictions of

⁹² Carleton, "Confronting the Secret Path."

⁹³ Carleton, "Confronting the Secret Path."

capitalism and globalisation that create human rights violations and lead to dirty water in developing countries. One of the most recent *Minutes*, “‘Boat People’ Refugees,” (2017) takes a similar tact, portraying Canada as a white saviour nation willing to step in and help the less fortunate in a time of crisis.

Perhaps the most telling evidence of the priorities of the *Heritage Minutes* and what they consider important in terms of the forging of a Canadian identity is the sheer number of *Minutes* that focus on the military. With twenty *Minutes* featuring a military theme it is the category with most entries by far.⁹⁴ From the obvious, such as “Juno Beach,” (2005) to the more obscure, such as “Dextraze in the Congo” (2005)—which shows General Jacques Dextraze freeing hostages as part of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in 1963—the military *Minutes* glorify the feats of heroism of “our troops.” For example, “Osborn of Hong Kong” (2005) tells the story of how Sergeant Major John Osborn of Winnipeg protected his company by throwing himself on a live grenade. The military is highlighted in 20 out of the 90 (22 percent) of all the *Minutes*.

Taken as a whole, the *Heritage Minutes* smooth the rough edges of Canadian history to create a seamless narrative celebrating entrepreneurship, militarism, colonialism, and capitalism. The *Minutes* operate to create a national story that excludes class struggle. The exclusion of the history of working-class resistance is not unique to the *Minutes* or to Canada. As Paul Shackel notes in an article on public memory, “This phenomenon, masking a class or a group history when developing a collective memory, is well documented.”⁹⁵ Shackel uses the 1912 strike of textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts as an example. He argues that the history of the strike has been officially rewritten to denude the story of historic meaning for the working class; going so far as to remove the testimony of the factory working conditions by a fourteen-year-old girl in front of Congress from the story in an effort to have it “suppressed from historical

⁹⁴ The minutes dealing with Military themes are: “Laura Secord” (1991), “Valour Road” (1991), “Halifax Explosion” (1991), “Winnie” (1991), “John McCrae” (1991), “Avro Arrow” (1991), “Pauline Vanier” (1995), “Dextraze in the Congo” (2005), “Andrew Mynarski” (2005), “Vimy Ridge” (2005), “Juno Beach” (2005), “Mona Parsons” (2005), “Home for the Wars” (2005), “Tommy Prince” (2005), “Osborn of Hong Kong” (2005), “Richard Pierpoint” (2012), “Queenston Heights” (2013), “Winnipeg Falcons” (2014), “Nursing Sisters” (2015), and “D-Day” (2019). All but “Halifax Explosion” and “Winnipeg Falcons” are listed as Military minutes. I have included the extra two as they are primarily about the First World War and feature a military theme.

⁹⁵ Paul A. Shackel, “Public Memory and the Search for Power in American Historical Archaeology,” *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 3 (September 2001): 656.

consciousness.”⁹⁶ As Shackel notes, “public memory is more a reflection of present political and social relations than a true reconstruction of the past.” He argues, “The control of a group's memory is often a question of power. Individuals and groups often struggle over the meaning of memory as the official memory is imposed by the power elite”.⁹⁷

Historian Stéphane Lévesque, who is interested in how history is taught, notes that, “traditionally, English Canadian historical monographs and school textbooks have carried the implicit message that historical significance should be ascribed to white middle- and upper-class British males in positions of power or authority.”⁹⁸ He goes on to argue that much of history teaching is concerned with simple first-order knowledge. First-order concepts describe events and stories of the past. He argues that these events, dates, and stories are taught, but the meaning and the significance is not. In addition, the tools necessary to discuss the significance are ignored and of course, someone decides what and how stories are told. He argues this results in “a sort of *bric-à-brac* of standards, many of which are driven by present-day commemoration or what I call ‘memory-history.’”⁹⁹ Although Levesque’s focus is on the different ways English and French students understand and process historical significance as well as on calling on teachers, curriculum designers, and education policy makers to pay greater attention to second-order thinking in terms of the French-English divide, his argument would be equally valid as a call for inclusion of working-class identity. Instead of advancing historical knowledge and understanding, these “memory significance” criteria have a collective memory function, designed to tailor the collective past for present-day purposes. More specifically, they can be seen as identifiable contemporary reasons by those in power for ascribing significance to events of the past.¹⁰⁰ This also sums up the function of the *Heritage Minutes*.

⁹⁶ Shackel, “Public Memory,” 656.

⁹⁷ Shackel, “Public Memory,” 656.

⁹⁸ Stéphane Lévesque, “Teaching Second-Order Concepts in Canadian History: The Importance of “Historical Significance,” *Canadian Social Studies* 39, no. 2 (Winter 2005), https://canadian-social-studies-journal.educ.ualberta.ca/content/articles-2000-2010#ARLevesque_second-order_concepts221.

⁹⁹ Lévesque, “Teaching Second-Order Concepts.”

¹⁰⁰ Lévesque, “Teaching Second-Order Concepts.”

Historica is in the business of creating memory-history, appealing to nationalism and promoting pride in the accomplishments of our military and our capitalist innovators. In analyzing the Historica Canada and its predecessors we can begin to understand how the occlusion of working-class history and identity occurs in Canada. Not all our learning takes place in the classroom. This is where the producers of cultural curriculum become important. While many who talk about cultural curriculum are referring to popular culture, it is interesting to note that there are many producers and reproducers of history outside of the proscribed learning outcomes and texts of formal curriculum.

Rather than being taken literally, the notion of a cultural curriculum is better understood as a sensitizing concept that points to the distributed nature of learning in modern society, warning us of the comforting, albeit fallacious, notion that historical consciousness develops rationally and sequentially through the efforts of a state-mandated curriculum.¹⁰¹

As there is very little formal curriculum around issues of class and power, cultural curriculum becomes even more important when looking at the history of workers as environmentalists. As influential cultural theorist John Fiske explains in applying Gramsci's theory of hegemony to film and television, "Hegemony is a constant struggle against a multitude of resistances to ideological domination, and any balance of forces that it achieves is always precarious, always in need of re-achievement."¹⁰² The domination of capital and capitalist interests in our society are legitimized by their cultural reproduction, both implicitly and explicitly. The dominant ideology of private enterprise remains largely unquestioned.

The two groups best positioned to question the logic of capitalism and the exploitation of labour and resources, workers and environmentalists, are often not aware enough of their own history to see that they have more in common than apart. This lack of history, and shared collective memory, results in the two groups capable of mounting the most legitimate assault on the hegemonic discourse of capital often being at odds with one another. It is workers and their organisation of the labour movement that are in the best position to provide a counter hegemonic bloc against their own exploitation and it is the environmental movement that is capable of launching and sustaining a critique of the effects of capitalism on wilderness and nature. The worker and the environmentalist

¹⁰¹ Wineburg et al., "Common Belief and the Cultural Curriculum," 70.

¹⁰² John Fiske, *Television Culture* (London: Routledge, 1987), 32.

are erased in the *Heritage Minutes* and thus the worker-environmentalist becomes impossible to contemplate. For workers and environmentalists to be able to work together in a counter hegemonic bloc both groups would need to know their own history of cooperation and resistance. We need to “cure” the occlusion that has made us blind to the history of cooperation that does exist. Chapter 7, in addition to providing a conclusion to this dissertation, will examine the ways in which the history of working-class environmentalism can be introduced into the formal curriculum as a counter to its occlusion.

Chapter 7.

Role-playing Revolution: A Way Forward

On September 24, 2016, the *Vancouver Sun* ran an editorial entitled “Victoria Must Intervene in Renewed ‘War in the Woods,’”¹ which warned that the last thing British Columbia’s economy “needs is to revisit the rancorous ‘War in the Woods’ that convulsed the political landscape in the 1990s.”² The editorial invoked the environmentalist versus worker debate, stating, “Environmental activists spiked trees, damaged equipment, blockaded roads, sparked international boycotts, and were carted off to mass civil disobedience trials in numbers never seen before in Canada.” Seemingly, in the interest of balance, the editorial also noted that the environmental activists’ “opponents heaved rocks, waved nooses, adorned themselves with venomous T-shirts advocating that young female environmental protestors would benefit from being sexually assaulted, and on one occasion put on masks and rampaged through a camp at night menacing young people.”³ Both characterizations are accurate but both are also very narrow in their portrayals. Citing only the extreme actions of environmentalists and workers, the editorial does not mention instances of cooperation or compromise in the form of the numerous forestry accords between workers, environmentalists, and First Nations. This account leaves no room for the worker-environmentalist. It also makes no mention of the forestry front groups backed by industry and right-wing politicians. In other words, it uses the worst behaviours of the 1990s to scaremonger. The editorial also blames conflict on environmentalists and workers again, leaving capitalists, forestry companies, and the government not only blameless but also as potential saviours. The *Vancouver Sun* editorial reinforces this saviour frame by stating:

Surely, however, there is also a clear role for the provincial government, which has duties of both environmental stewardship and resource management, to serve as an intermediary in such conflicts by providing clear, science-based, arms-length evidence as the foundation for an

¹ Editorial, “Victoria Must Intervene in Renewed War in the Woods,” *Vancouver Sun*, September 24, 2016.

² “Victoria Must Intervene.”

³ “Victoria Must Intervene.”

even-handed conversation and to help two groups who it represents to find common ground.⁴

The editorial ignores the historical evidence that the government not only has never been arms-length from the forestry industry or forestry disputes in BC but, indeed, sets the policies that lead to such disputes.

The editorial is also significant in that it illustrates how the idea of the “war in the woods” has permeated the discourse around environmental issues, logging issues in particular, in British Columbia. For many British Columbians, and indeed Canadians, the “war in the woods” acts as a mnemonic device, conjuring memories of conflict between workers and environmentalists. However, it has little explanatory value, leaving more questions than answers about the underlying reasons for the conflicts. It was as a participant in these so-called “wars in the woods” that I first started to question how the conflict between the labour and environmental movements had been framed. Ultimately, my questions led to this dissertation.

The case studies in this dissertation have traced the history of worker-based activism on behalf of the environment, which I call worker environmentalism, in an attempt to counter the historic construct of worker versus environmentalist. As the *Vancouver Sun* editorial illustrates, this dichotomy persists to this day.⁵ It has successfully entered the popular imagination and the historical discourse of what environmentalism entails. In this way, the idea of the worker-environmentalist becomes an oxymoron in the mainstream discourse around the environment. Conversely, the resource companies and the state have been successful in framing such modern forestry practices as clear cuts and raw log exports as natural and inevitable, on the one hand, and the government as the sensible arbiter between the squabbling workers and environmentalists, on the other.

Although this dissertation has shown the existence of both a history of environmentalist discourse running through workers’ publications as well as environmental advocacy displayed by workers’ actions, this evidence has not become part of the mainstream historical narrative of environmentalism in British Columbia. In

⁴ “Victoria Must Intervene.”

⁵ As noted in the introduction to this dissertation, it is not simply one editorial that uses the “War in Woods” narrative device; it has persisted across media platforms for three decades.

this chapter, I provide some ideas of how this occlusion can be remedied. In particular, it focuses on education as way to both create an historical awareness of worker environmentalism and, in that way, provide a different historical lens through which to see the history of labour *and* environmentalism. This challenges the construction of forestry workers as a homogeneous, anti-environmentalist workforce.

Through my experience teaching introductory courses in both labour history and Labour Studies at the university and college level in British Columbia over the past fifteen years, I have observed that most of my students come into my class with little to no formal education on class and labour issues in Canada or elsewhere. While my observations are anecdotal, the occlusion of working-class environmentalism becomes clearer when looking at the absence of class in formal curriculum.

Paul Orlowski examined the discourses around social class in British Columbia's social studies curriculum from 1941 to 1997. He found that "references to class have almost completely disappeared."⁶ Orlowski's critical analysis of the official BC curriculum examined the state-mandated curriculum for each year it was changed. For the 1940s, he found that "the rights of workers were very much in the background in the 1941 curriculum. With the publication of the 1949 curriculum, the rights of workers had completely disappeared."⁷ In the 1956 curriculum, he found that "the *conflict* between labour and capital, which is especially a part of British Columbia's history, does not appear at all."⁸ In the 1968 version of the BC curriculum, Orlowski found that "all of the learning objectives about trade unions and labour legislation were completely removed."⁹

Orlowski's study found that the occlusion of the history of the working class did not end in the 1960s. Orlowski argues that the 1997 curriculum covers every aspect of identity construction—family, gender, belief systems, ethnicity, and nationality—except class.¹⁰ He notes that, "despite the massive body of scholarly work that supports the

⁶ Paul Orlowski, "Social Class: The Forgotten Identity Marker in Social Studies Education," *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry* 1, no. 2 (February 2008): 29.

⁷ Orlowski, "Social Class," 32.

⁸ Orlowski, "Social Class," 32.

⁹ Orlowski, "Social Class," 33.

¹⁰ British Columbia teacher and member of the 1997 curriculum writing team Moira Ekdahl details the watering down of the 1997 curriculum design and how it became a "stopgap and conservative

notion that an individual's social class position significantly shapes and limits their experience throughout life, it is not included in the list of factors."¹¹ His concern is that the curriculum does not "consider social class to be a factor in the identity construction of an individual. Nor did they bother to represent the role of the public sector as an alternative source of capital and creative energy in both the economic and cultural spheres."¹² Thus the working class and their role in Canadian history gets erased from the formal curriculum, which serves to reinforce, rather than challenge, the hegemonic discourse. A follow-up study by Orlowski found that "the most recent British Columbia social studies curriculum, published 2005-2006, employs the same hegemonic strategy of omission as its predecessor toward issues of social class."¹³ Essentially, what Orlowski has done with his research is to bring to light the "null curriculum" in British Columbia's formal curriculum. Much like a symptomatic reading of film and television in cultural studies, null curriculum refers to what is missing, silent, and left out of curriculum.¹⁴

If private history entities, such as Historica Canada, and K-12 public schools are not teaching students about class, class struggle, or even acknowledging that class is an important factor in identity formation, then perhaps postsecondary education is our last best hope for doing so. Chapter 6 illustrated what history education looks like when created by private interests or left to the capitalist class. It both excludes the working class as agents of their own history and legitimates the structures that oppress them, making capitalism and the functions of a capitalist state seem not only natural but desirable. However, I reject the notion that ideology is simply delivered from the top down. If this dissertation has shown anything, it is that the working class has agency. It has the ability to break the chains that bind it to capital. As fellow educator Grant Banfield points out when discussing the potential of labour, "Given its potential for

document." Moira Ekdahl, "Writing BC Social Studies Curriculum: A Puzzling Process," *Canadian Social Studies* 31, no. 1 (Fall 1996): 37-42.

¹¹ Orlowski, "Social Class," 33.

¹² Orlowski, "Social Class," 34.

¹³ Paul Orlowski, *Teaching About Hegemony: Race, Class and Democracy in the 21st Century* (New York: Springer Dordrecht, 2011), 108.

¹⁴ Elliot W. Eisner coined the term "null curriculum" in his book *The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002). He outlines three types of curriculum: explicit curriculum, literally what is written; implicit curriculum, sometimes called hidden curriculum, which includes the social and cultural norms and mores of a society; and null curriculum, or that which is absent.

consciousness and self-reflexive creativity it has the power, unlike other commodities, not only to fuel the furnaces of capitalism but also to burn them down.”¹⁵ Clearly, we cannot rely on *Historica* to fan the flames of discontent in such a way as to lead to the working class becoming a fully realized class unto itself. However, the capitalist creators of *Historica* were on to something. Education is important. It is an important tool in the production and reproduction of hegemony. By that measure it is also an important tool in counter-hegemonic struggles. Banfield argues, “To grasp the significance of Marx and education is to understand the revolutionary potential of doing history work i.e. of placing history in human hands.”¹⁶

For as long as we have had formal schools there have been conversations about curriculum and methods of instruction. These pedagogical discussions are often more formalized when discussing K-12 education and less so when it comes to university and college teaching.¹⁷ However, across North America there has been a growing interest in how to engage university students in alternative ways of learning history.¹⁸ There has also been an interest in improving university teaching in general. In a survey article on Teaching and Learning Centres (TLCs), Sarah E. Forgie, Olive Yonge, and Robert Luth note that one of the first TLCs was started at the University of Michigan in 1962. However, in the 1960s and through the 1970s, TLCs were mostly remedial for instructors with bad teaching evaluations.¹⁹ They have changed and grown over time. Judith Ableser and Christina Moore explain, “most TLCs are charged with helping faculty rethink and design their courses to improve student learning and leading and

¹⁵ Grant Banfield, “Marx and Education: Working with the Revolutionary Educator,” *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 13, no. 3 (December 2015): 10.

¹⁶ Banfield, “Marx and Education,” 10.

¹⁷ I am quite aware that this observation does not apply to the faculties of education. It is premised on the fact that university teachers are never trained in teaching. It is simply thrust upon us experts in our field and assumed that we can indeed teach. My reference to a growing interest in teaching comes from the increasing presence and expansion of centres for teaching at universities that are meant to engage all faculties in reflecting on their teaching practice.

¹⁸ One unique research project at my own university (Simon Fraser University) combines researching secondary and postsecondary students’ understanding of history and the nature of historical knowledge. The principle investigator is Kevin O’Neill. See HistoryConcepts.org; and D. K. O’Neill, S. Guloy, and Ö. Sensoy, “Strengthening Methods for Assessing Students’ Metahistorical Conceptions: Initial Development of the Historical Account Differences Survey,” *The Social Studies* 105, no.1 (2013): 1-14.

¹⁹ Sarah E. Forgie, Olive Yonge, and Robert Luth, “Centres for Teaching and Learning Across Canada: What’s Going On?” *Canadian Journal for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning* 9 no.1 (April 2018): 1-18.

participation in transformative learning initiatives can increase a TLC's impact on student learning."²⁰ As of 2017, there were ninety-one TLCs in universities across Canada.²¹

It is difficult to make too much of the mere existence of TLCs. As noted, their original purpose was to serve the needs of the administration to discipline and punish errant teachers, and as such TLCs are very much the creation of the university and not of the instructors. In many ways the newfound excitement about teaching can be seen as a way to ensure there is no disruption in the flow of university students from academia into the workforce. Improving teaching can be seen to be more about the neoliberal imperative to keep students in the seats than engaging students in questioning the status quo.

This view of TLCs may seem cynical, and, to be up front about the material conditions that shape my point of view, it is worth noting that I have laboured as an instructor at the same university for the past fifteen years and never had a full-time continuing contract. This being the case, I am suspicious of any commitment to teaching by any postsecondary institution that does not provide adequate, secure employment for those doing the teaching. This is not simply a personal experience. There has been much written about the plight of contract instructors (often called sessionals in Canada) at postsecondary institutions across North America. The low pay, the precariousness of living contract to contract, the lack of advancement, and the need to teach so much that research becomes difficult if not impossible have all been documented.²²

A 2016–2017 study found that 53.6 percent of all teaching positions in seventy-eight universities across Canada were contract positions.²³ In an interesting

²⁰ Judith Ableser and Christina Moore, "The Role of the Teaching and Learning Center in Promoting Transformative Learning at a Metropolitan University," *Metropolitan Universities* 29, no. 3 (August 2018): 64.

²¹ Forgie, Yonge, and Luth, "Centres for Teaching and Learning," 1.

²² Christina Turner estimated that part-time, contract instructors could be teaching as much as 40 to 50 percent of courses at some universities. Turner, "Invisible Hands: Making Academic Labour Visible," *Campus Notes* (blog), rabble.ca, January 24, 2014, <http://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/campus-notes/2014/01/invisible-hands-making-academic-labour-visible>.

²³ Chandra Pasma and Erika Shaker, "Contract U: Contract Faculty Appointments at Canadian Universities" (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2018), <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/National%20Office/2018/11/Contract%20U.pdf>.

development, the university at which I work, Simon Fraser University (SFU), gave the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives the wrong data, which resulted in an erroneous percentage (78 percent) of contract instructors reported for SFU. This error forced SFU to provide revised data and to publicly report the actual number, which is notoriously hard to find for any university. According to the *Vancouver Sun*, “SFU has said that, in fact, the percentage of faculty on contract is closer to 28 per cent.”²⁴ The researchers noted that the study relied on data provided by the universities because the statistic is not tracked by any outside agency. One researcher noted: “the confusion around the data sent by SFU tells of the importance of having an agency such as Statistics Canada collecting employment data from universities. We said clearly in the paper we have to depend on the universities themselves for the accuracy of the data.”²⁵ It is difficult to see the university in its function as an employer as anything but neoliberal. However, this does not mean that individuals within the academy cannot simultaneously critique this position.

Despite my workload and precarious position, I do take my teaching seriously and continuously try to improve my courses. One pedagogical tool that I use in my classes is games, role-plays, and simulations in teaching. While this chapter is not about either digital or board games, there has been some excellent work done on how to use games in the classroom.²⁶ Cory Wright-Maley points out that there is not always agreement about what constitutes a game, role-play, or simulation and that there is overlap between them. He observes that “the term simulation conjures up many different ideas depending upon who is asked. For some, it is highly specific; for others,

²⁴ Kevin Griffin, “Incorrect Data put Simon Fraser University in Top Spot in Study,” *Vancouver Sun*, November 7, 2018, <https://vancouversun.com/news/local-news/incorrect-data-put-simon-fraser-university-in-top-spot-in-study>.

²⁵ Griffin, “Incorrect Data.”

²⁶ On using video or digital games to teach history, see Jeremiah McCall, “Teaching History with Digital Historical Games: An Introduction to the Field and Best Practices,” *Simulation & Gaming* 47, no.4 (August 2016): 517-42. McCall offers a survey of the academic research on digital history games and the best practices for using the games in the classroom, 529-536. See also Andry Chowanda and Alan Darmasaputra Chowanda, “Gamification of Learning: Can Games Motivate Me to Learn History?,” *ComTech* 7, no.3 (2016): 225-32; and Adam Chapman, “Is Sid Meiers’s Civilization History?,” *ReThinking History* 17, no.3 (September 2013): 312-32. On board games, see Jason Begby, “Board Games and the Construction of Cultural Memory,” *Games and Culture* 12, no.7-8 (November 2017): 718-38.

simulations may encompass many different pedagogical tools, including games, role-plays, theatrical performances, historical re-enactments, and more.”²⁷

My own interest has focused on how to use role-playing and simulations as a way to introduce a counter-hegemonic narrative around labour and environmental issues.²⁸ I have not been overly concerned with what to call my role-playing game when I have used it in the classroom. However, as Wright-Maley points out, when discussing simulations with other teachers, “the lack of conceptual consistency makes it difficult for teachers to communicate with one another, and to build upon the practices they and others engage in.”²⁹ In an attempt to provide that consistency, Wright-Maley collates and builds on the core ideas of those who have defined a simulation in a social studies or history classroom: “(1) Simulations reflect reality in a structured and limited way. (2) Simulations illustrate significant dynamic events, processes, or phenomena. (3) Simulations incorporate learners in active roles through which the phenomena are revealed. (4) Simulations are pedagogically mediated.”³⁰ Social studies teacher and researcher Tracy Anne Worthington builds on Wright-Maley’s definition and has compiled a chart (Table 7.1) that delineates between games, role-plays, and simulations.

Table 4. Characteristics of Games, Role-Plays and Simulations

	Quantifiable Outcomes
Games	Winning and losing / success and failure
	Predetermined goals or challenges to achieve
	Feedback in situ regarding progress (such as points or levels to reach)
	Agent choice / approximate historical choice
	High replayability
	Entertainment vs realism
	Developing arguments and using evidence
	Analyzing sources and bias
	Comparing and contrasting points of view
Role-Play	Students perform in “as-if” scenarios
	Enacting a character within set limits – lack of student choice
	Perspective recognition

²⁷ Cory Wright-Maley, “Beyond the ‘Babel Problem’: Defining Simulations for the Social Studies,” *Journal of Social Studies Research* 39, no. 2 (2014): 64.

²⁸ Peter Kilgour et al., “Role-Playing as a Tool to Facilitate Learning, Self Reflection and Social Awareness in Teacher Education,” *International Journal of Innovative Interdisciplinary Research* 2, no. 4 (2015): 8-20; Cory Wright-Maley, “What Every Social Studies Teacher Should Know about Simulations,” *Canadian Social Studies* 48, no. 1 (2015): 8-23.

²⁹ Wright-Maley, “Beyond the ‘Babel Problem,’” 65.

³⁰ Wright-Maley, “Beyond the ‘Babel Problem,’” 67.

	Quantifiable Outcomes
	Adoption of a set or scripted perspective
Role-Play (cont'd)	Realism vs. real world
	Developing arguments and using evidence
	Analyzing sources and bias
	Comparing and contrasting points of view
Simulations	Reflect reality in a structured and limited way
	Rule-based models in an historical context
	Illustrate dynamic life or controversial events, processes, or phenomena
	Students participate as active agents whose actions can affect outcome.
	Pedagogically mediated (teacher designed/directed)
	No clearly delineated outcomes or conclusions – student driven
	The use of chance
	Real world vs. entertainment
	Reflection of processes or phenomena
	Developing arguments and using evidence
	Analyzing sources and bias
	Comparing and contrasting points of view

* From Tracy Anne Worthington, "Letting Students Control Their Own Learning: Using Games, Role-Plays, and Simulations in Middle School U.S. History Classrooms," *The Social Studies* 109, no.2 (March 2018): 138. Her chart uses "Sources: Adapted from Begy, 2017; McCall, 2016; Spring, 2015; Stevens, 2015; Wright-Maley, 2015a; Wright-Maley, 2015b."

While the studies Worthington draws upon for this chart focus on K-12 education, the taxonomy remains the same for college- and university-level teaching. Using these definitions as a model, what I have done in the classroom can best be described as dynamic role-plays or role-play simulations. I say this as my role-plays have students perform "as-if" scenarios, develop arguments, use evidence, and compare and contrast points of view, which are all aspects of a role-play. They also reflect reality in a limited way, are pedagogically mediated, and students are active agents who can affect the outcome, all aspects of a simulation. I have used a number of dynamic role-plays or role-play simulations in my labour history and labour studies classrooms at the university level over the past fifteen years. I use them at all levels, from large first-year survey courses to fourth-year seminars. Initially, I used the role-plays from William Bigelow and Norman Diamond's *The Power in Our Hands*, which is an excellent resource.³¹ However, because it draws on US history, it has limitations in the Canadian university context. Nonetheless, it was greatly successful in my classes in terms of generating discussion, getting students to think critically and see history as an active rather than static process,

³¹ William Bigelow and Norman Diamond, *The Power in Our Hands: A Curriculum on the History of Work and Workers in the United States* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1988). I would be remiss if I did not thank Mark Leier for first introducing me to this book and to the power of using role-play simulations in the university classroom.

and exposing them to radical discourses as a legitimate part of history. This success resulted in me designing my own dynamic role-plays based on Canadian history. Below (Figure 7-1) is one that I have developed based on my article on Greenpeace, class, and new social movements.³² I use this dynamic role-play in both the labour history and Labour Studies courses I teach. I provide students with a brief overview of the scenario (Handout 1), one of three handouts (Handouts 2A, B, or C), depending on the role they choose or are assigned, and an outcome sheet (Handout 4) after the role-play. We then discuss the results of the role-play and whether or not their result differed from the actual historical outcome. It is neither desirable nor undesirable to have deviated from the actual outcome; this is the dynamic part of the role-play. There is no script, no predetermined outcome for the role-play even though an actual historical outcome exists. This allows students to think about what they decided and why and how it compares to the actual historical context. Prior to the handouts below, I have included short instructions to the instructor if this were used by teachers other than me.

Figure 3. Greenpeace Role-play Handouts

Instructions: Greenpeace, Class, and Sealing

This unit turns our attention to how workers have responded to larger issues of social and economic injustice. Often when working on issues outside the scope of such “bread-and-butter” issues as wages, benefits, and the negotiating of collective agreements, unions have to work with other groups. In the previous role-play, your students learned about workers coming together in solidarity. Sometimes solidarity is difficult to achieve. It is often harder when working in cross-class alliances. Greenpeace, Class, and Sealing is an historical case study with adjustments to facilitate role-playing.

In this lesson, students will explore the challenges unions encounter when working with new social movement groups, in this case the environmental movement. It will cover themes that will appear in the upcoming lessons: the historic relationship between new social movement groups and the working class; opportunities and obstacles to cross-class and cross-movement alliances; and how the working class can be divided and possibilities to break down those divisions.

³² 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 (Fall 2004): 83-119.

Handout 1 – The Greenpeace Anti-Seal Campaign

Started as the “Don’t Make a Wave Committee” in opposition to American nuclear testing, the group was incorporated as Greenpeace in 1972.¹ The first campaign consisted of a crew of twelve men who chartered the boat *Phyllis Cormack* on 15 September 1971 to “bear witness” to the nuclear test on the island Amchitka in the Northwest Pacific. The blast at Amchitka was not prevented, but Greenpeace declared the action a victory since the American government never used the Amchitka site again and because of the extensive media coverage Greenpeace received.²

Sealing Campaign

The seal hunt has always been integral to the livelihood of both the Inuit and Newfoundlanders. As historian Shannon Ryan notes, “The seal fishery ... had a comprehensive influence on society and culture in general and contributed to the development, by 1914, of a distinctive Newfoundland identity.”³

The hunt moved from an inland hunt to a sea-going hunt in small boats, and as industrialization increased the technology used to get out onto the ice to conduct the seal hunt changed.⁴ Small rowboats gave way to the sailing era and the large vessel hunt, signaled by two schooners leaving St. John’s in 1793. The steam era of 1863-1945 saw the schooners replaced by steamships.⁵ However, it must be noted that these technological changes did not result in an elimination of the earlier methods of sealing, as the large commercial sealers, the landsmen hunt, small ships, and individual sealers walking out to the ice, all coexisted together. It was the continued presence of the local landsman and small ship hunt that allowed Greenpeace to initially forge an alliance with the Newfoundland sealers against the large factory ships as the locals found the large hauls of the sealing ships a threat to their hunt.

In 1976, when the first Greenpeace anti-sealing campaign was started, the organizers attempted to make in-roads within the Newfoundland sealing community and rally them against the big sealers. Greenpeace member Carl Rising-Moore had met members of the

¹The name Greenpeace apparently originated when, in response to the group saying “Peace” at the end of a Don’t Make a Wave Committee meeting, social worker Bill Darnell said, “Make it a Green Peace.” Mark Warford, ed., *Greenpeace: Witness, Twenty-Five Years on the Environmental Front Line* (London, 1996), 9; Michael Brown and John May, *The Greenpeace Story* (Scarborough, 1989), 9; Robert Hunter, *Warriors of the Rainbow: A Chronicle of the Greenpeace Movement* (New York, 1979), 7; and Karl and Dona Sturmanis, *The Greenpeace Book* (Vancouver, 1978).

²For comment on the media savvy of Greenpeace, see Stephen Dale, *McLuhan’s Children: The Greenpeace Message and the Media* (Toronto, 1990).

³Shannon Ryan, *The Ice Hunters: A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914* (St. John’s, 1994), 328.

⁴Inland hunting and sealing from small boats did not stop. “The practice known as landsmen sealing, continues today; some landsmen simply walk onto the ice from their homes—and shoot adult seals. There are about 4,000 landsmen sealers in eastern Canada today. The pelts are sold and the meat is often eaten by the fishermen and their family.” Wright, *Sons and Seals*, 10.

⁵Guy Wright, *Sons and Seals: A Voyage to the Ice* (St. John’s, 1984), 8-18; and Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, 138-203.

Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union (NFFAWU) in a pub in Cornerbrook, Newfoundland.⁶ He convinced the president of NFFAWU, Richard Cashin, and members of the executive of the union to travel to St. Anthony's, the staging area for Greenpeace's forays onto the ice, to meet with representatives from Greenpeace. The talks to have Greenpeace and the Fisherman's union cooperate against the large foreign commercial sealing operations reached the point of a joint statement being issued by the two organizations. This statement advised that both would participate in a joint blockade of the ports of St. John's and Vancouver, closing them to all foreign trawlers and draggers by 1 June 1976, if the federal government did not declare a 200 mile fishing management zone around Canadian waters.⁷ According to Robert Hunter, who was president of the Greenpeace foundation at the time, "We formed an alliance to go after the large icebreakers mainly from Norway that were going into the birthing grounds. These were the real threat to the continued viability of the seal herds."⁸ In their newspaper *Greenpeace Chronicles*, Greenpeace member Paul Watson explained why the anti-seal campaign accepted the alliance with the Newfoundland sealers:

The fact is that the commercial fleets owned by Norwegian companies are wiping out the seal herds. The fact is the Norwegians destroyed three great herds of seals prior to starting on the Labrador herds in 1947. The fact is that the commercial fleets take only the pelts, leaving the meat on the ice, while the fishermen and Eskimo of Newfoundland and Labrador do eat the meat. With a conservation stand the seals could have a chance.⁹

The Greenpeace Campaign was a success and gained Greenpeace both a lot of media exposure and new members. However, the alliance with those who actually killed the seals was not taken very well by existing Greenpeace members, who reportedly tore up their membership cards and sent them to the Greenpeace office in Vancouver. And Greenpeace buttons were sent back to the office crushed up in a paper bag.

Questions:

1. What do you think Greenpeace should do about the reaction to their alliance with the NFFAWU?
2. What do you think Greenpeace and the local sealers have in common?
3. What are the differences?
4. What can be gained by the alliance by both groups?
5. What would be lost if the alliance is not maintained?

⁶ Hunter, *Warriors*, 270. That the sealers were organized into a union clearly suggests they saw themselves as members of the working class. An argument could be made that they were independent commodity producers, however, they were selling to a monopsony and could best be seen as piece workers and not independent in any real sense of the word and as such were members of the working class.

⁷ Hunter, *Warriors*, 271.

⁸ "Greenpeace and the Politics of Image" *Ideas*, CBC Radio Transcripts (Nov. 9 and 16, 1993), 14.

⁹ Paul Watson, "Shepards of the Labrador Front," *Greenpeace Chronicles* 2, no. 2 (1976): 6.

Handout 2 A – Media Group

You are a member of Greenpeace and are part of the Media and Public Relations group. As such you are tasked with outreach to prospective members, fundraising, and publishing the Greenpeace newsletter. You have been having a lot of success with the 1976 Anti-Seal Hunt Campaign. It is resonating with the public and you are fielding a lot of media requests as well as an increase in membership and fundraising.

However, according to Patrick Moore, a co-director of the anti-seal campaign, the reaction of the Greenpeace membership to the alliance with the NFFAWU has been negative:

Last year we came in here determined to put an end to the commercial hunt only.... As far as Newfoundland landsmen were concerned, guys who kill a few seals working out of small boats, we backed them all the way. Know what we got for our trouble? Stacks of Greenpeace membership cards, torn in half, pouring into the office in Vancouver.¹

The anti-seal campaign is going international and there is a great chance that the 1977 campaign will be a bigger success. You and your media group need to make a recommendation to the Greenpeace Directors about whether to continue the alliance with the sealers union or not.

Questions:

1. The first year of the Greenpeace campaign is over. Would you be in favour of continuing the alliance?
2. What benefits are there to both continuing and not continuing the alliance?
3. What would you recommend to the executive committee of the union?

¹ Sandra Gwyn "The Media go to the Seal Hunt: Radical Chic versus the Newfie Swilers" *Saturday Night*, May 1977, 28.

Handout 2 B – Board of Directors

You are a member of the Greenpeace Board of Directors. The decision-making structures of Greenpeace have been fairly informal since the founding of Greenpeace. With the success of the 1976 Anti-Seal Hunt Campaign, the stakes of your actions are getting higher. The seal campaign is resonating with the public and in addition to national and international media attention there are more people interested in joining Greenpeace and fundraising has been increasingly successful.

However, according to fellow director Patrick Moore, who has been the co-director of the anti-seal campaign, the reaction of the Greenpeace membership to the alliance with the NFFAWU has been negative:

Last year we came in here determined to put an end to the commercial hunt only... As far as Newfoundland landmen were concerned, guys who kill a few seals working out of small boats, we backed them all the way. Know what we got for our trouble? Stacks of Greenpeace membership cards, torn in half, pouring into the office in Vancouver.¹

The anti-seal campaign is going international and there is a great chance that the 1977 campaign will be a bigger success. You and your fellow executives need to make a decision about whether to continue the alliance with the sealers union or not.

Questions:

1. What benefits are there to both continuing and not continuing the alliance?

2. The first year of the Greenpeace campaign is over. Would you be in favour of continuing the alliance?

¹ Sandra Gwyn "The Media go to the Seal Hunt: Radical Chic versus the Newfie Swilers" *Saturday Night*, May 1977, 28.

Handout 2 C – NFFWA

You are a member of the Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union (NFFAWU). In the fishing season you go out and fish, but it does not provide an income for the whole year. Sealing extends your employment season and is an integral part of your income. It has also been part of your family culture growing up as you are a third-generation sealer.

The anti-sealing campaign had been happening for years before Greenpeace came onto the scene, but it had not gained any real traction. The alliance with Greenpeace had not been a unanimous decision as there were reservations about how sealers would be portrayed, particularly because there has been an inaccurate belief that the seal meat was not used and just left on the ice. In the 1960s, the CBC French Language network had even run a documentary that staged footage of a seal being skinned alive.

So, understandably, you are a bit skeptical of the alliance and how you are being portrayed by other groups. However, the alliance has allowed you to continue working at the job that has been passed down through your family. You are concerned what the future will bring if the pressure against the seal hunt is focused on the landsmen hunt. At your next union meeting a decision will be made about the alliance with Greenpeace coming into the next sealing season.

Questions:

1. What benefits are there to both continuing and not continuing the alliance?
2. The first year of the Greenpeace campaign is over. Would you be in favour of continuing the alliance?
3. What would you recommend to the executive committee of the union?

Handout 4 – Outcome

The alliance between Greenpeace and the Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union (NFFAWU) showed much promise in working-class and environmentalist cooperation. However, Greenpeace would not follow through on this historic agreement and a year later, in 1977, Paul Watson would contradict his own statements from the previous year, insisting:

The entire hunt must be stopped immediately and totally by both commercial and landsmen interests ... the Greenpeace position is that we are totally opposed to the killing of all seals by Canadians, Norwegians, Danes, and others.¹

Watson assumed control of the anti-sealing campaign in 1978 and left no room for confusion about his opinion of sealers. In a CBC interview Watson stated:

I certainly wasn't for striking any bargains with Newfoundland sealers. To me sealing is despicable and it has no economic foundation for it even existing. It is a glorified welfare system. You know the government spends more money on it than it brings in.²

Greenpeace's position against all sealing meant that the opportunity for the more reasonable and mutually beneficial route of stopping the foreign corporate harvest and maintaining the low-scale, self-sufficient local harvest had been lost. It is not entirely clear what compelled this abrupt change. According to Patrick Moore, a codirector of the anti-seal campaign, the reaction of the Greenpeace membership to the alliance with the NFFAWU was a factor:

Last year we came in here determined to put an end to the commercial hunt only.... As far as Newfoundland landsmen were concerned, guys who kill a few seals working out of small boats, we backed them all the way. Know what we got for our trouble? Stacks of Greenpeace membership cards, torn in half, pouring into the office in Vancouver.³

Moore's claim may be an exaggeration, as the membership numbers in 1976 were low, with one source estimating 30 core members.⁴ Watson states that there were a handful of buttons sent crushed up in a paper bag, hardly the stacks that Moore claims.⁵ As well, the quotes from Watson in 1977 and 1978 show the Greenpeace leadership of the sealing

¹ Paul Watson, "Spring 77 Seal Campaign," *Greenpeace Chronicles*, 2, no. 3 (1976/77): 3.

² "Greenpeace and the Politics of Image" *Ideas*, CBC Radio Transcripts (Nov. 9 and 16, 1993), 14.

³ Sandra Gwyn "The Media go to the Seal Hunt: Radical Chic versus the Newfie Swilers" *Saturday Night*, May 1977, 28.

⁴ Michael Brown and John May, *The Greenpeace Story* (Scarborough, 1989), 40

⁵ Paul Watson as told to Warren Rogers, *Sea Shepard: My Fight for Whales and Seals* (New York, 1982) 88.

campaign broke the alliance based as much on their own views as any other reason. Watson's own book that covers the events suggests that the alliance was struck only as a way out of a difficult situation when the Greenpeace team was met with such hostility in the first year of the campaign. After public support increased and became international, the alliance was no longer useful.⁶

Greenpeace began to vilify the sealers, referring to the hunt as an "annual outrage"⁷ and writing descriptive prose designed to sway the reader to share the outrage. A special edition of the *Greenpeace Chronicles* in 1977 was typical:

Millions of baby seals began to come under the fatal shadow of the sealers and the sealers and their two week old lives were snuffed out by the cruel clubs and gaffs.... They butchered every seal within sight, sparing none. Each and every year the sealers came, to stain the whitish blue floes scarlet with the life-blood of the seals.⁸

The effect of the anti-seal campaign became evident with the incredible backlash against the sealers. Thousands of letters were sent to government officials, newspapers, magazines, radio call-in shows, and to St. Anthony's, Newfoundland, addressed to sealers in general. A sample of the letters illustrates how the anti-seal campaign had been received at home and abroad:

Sirs:

You people of Newfoundland are a bunch of murderers. You must love killing defenceless, baby seals. You feel that killing them is added income. With that money I hope you rot. I guess it's true, Newfoundland IS backward, ignorant and prehistoric.

D.B

Milwaukee, U.S.A.⁹

This is only a sample of thousands of letters. Author and anthropologist Janice Scott Henke has commented on the anti-seal campaign, noting that, "The tendency of the cultural anthropologist would be to view the protest movement as entirely unethical due to this blatant disregard for human impact, and its explicit denial of the intrinsic worth of Atlantic culture."¹⁰

After Greenpeace had dropped their alliance with the Newfoundland sealers, they recruited US senate representatives to come north to condemn the hunt. In addition to congressmen, Greenpeace solicited the help of movie stars; Henry Fonda and Gregory Peck went on the record condemning the seal hunt and Brigitte Bardot helicoptered in for photo ops on the

⁶ Watson, *Sea Shepard*, 87.

⁷ Paul Watson, "Spring 77 Seal Campaign," *Greenpeace Chronicles* 2, no. 3 (1976/77): 3.

⁸ "Why We Do What We Do," *Greenpeace Chronicles "Special Edition"* 2, no. 4 (1977): 3.

⁹ These letters are from Janice Scott Henke, *Seal Wars* (St. John's, 1985), 175-83 and the book contains many similar letters. See also Francis Patey, *A Battle Lost: An Unsuccessful Attempt to Save the Seal Hunt* (Grand Falls, NL, 1990).

¹⁰ Henke, *Seal Wars*, 110-11.

ice flows. Brigitte Bardot wrote a journal of her protest trip to the Newfoundland ice that was published in the *Greenpeace Chronicles*. Bardot participated in vilifying the sealers. "You are called Canadian Assassins. The word is out," she stated at a press conference.¹¹ In contrast, she likened the Greenpeace protesters to the apostles and admired their courage and devotion.¹²

In terms of media relations, the sealers had been outdone. Greenpeace enjoyed an almost complete victory in its campaign to ban the hunt. The European Economic Community announced a voluntary boycott on seal products in 1982. In 1983, this ban became mandatory. In 1985, a Royal Commission on Seals and the Sealing Industry in Canada was formed. The report from the commission was tabled 17 December 1986 and recommended a ban on hunting seal pups. Sealing by large off-shore vessels was banned in 1987; combined with the boycott of furs and seal products in Europe, all that remained was a much decreased landsmen hunt. The landsmen had started a co-operative in 1986, the Northeast Coast Sealers Co-operative, hoping to use seal pelts in Newfoundland crafts and restart seal meat processing.¹³ By 1990, the landsmen hunt still existed marginally and the co-op was still operating with the assistance of the Newfoundland government.¹⁴

Ironically, the hunt ban resulted in an annual culling of seals anyway. "If the hunt were banned," warned Mac Mercer, a marine biologist from McGill and Harvard, "we'd have to go quietly and bop off an annual quota of seals anyway, just to protect the fishery."¹⁵ This is what has happened. The ship-based hunt has been eliminated and the landsmen hunt continues in limited form with an annual quota of seals.

In the end, Greenpeace grew in membership and its media presence soared. There was little said about the communities left behind.

QUESTIONS:

1. Based on the outcome of your role play, does the actual decision of Greenpeace to break their deal with the Union surprise you? Why or why not?
2. Do you think the campaign would have been as successful if the cooperation with the Union remained intact?
3. As a result of the Greenpeace campaign there was a long-standing dislike of Greenpeace but also of environmentalists among working-class Newfoundlanders. How do you think this could be avoided by contemporary environmentalists and environmental campaigns?

¹¹ Brigitte Bardot, "A Labrador Journal," *Greenpeace Chronicles* 7 (June 1978).

¹² Bardot, "A Labrador Journal."

¹³ See James E. Candow, *Of Man and Seals: A History of the Newfoundland Seal Hunt* (Ottawa, 1989), 187-190 for the details on the post Royal Commission hunt.

¹⁴ Patey, *A Battle Lost*, 82.

¹⁵ Gwyn "The Media go to the Seal Hunt," 27.

The results of the role-play have been successful in terms of student engagement and discussion afterwards. I have ascertained the interest level of students through my own personal observation and made changes to the role-play based on their suggestions. Input from students was not formalized the first few times I used the role-play in my classes. However, this past summer semester, May–August 2019, I gave the students a short, anonymous survey to fill out at the end of the course, which asked a number of questions about the course in general, such as whether they found the textbooks useful, but also asked specific questions about the role-plays used in class. The question I put to my students was:

We did two role-plays in this class: the Greenpeace role-play and the Green City role-play.³³

- I found the role-plays useful in understanding the history of the topic and the larger issues around it.
- I enjoyed the role-plays but did not find them particularly useful in my learning.
- I did not enjoy the role-plays and would not recommend using them in the future.

Of the sixteen returned surveys (it was the last day of class in the summer, which is notoriously underattended), twelve found the role-plays useful in their learning and four enjoyed them but found them not particularly useful in their learning. No students chose the last option. While I understand this is not a scientific survey, the purpose is simply to improve my teaching practice and in this case to gauge what students thought of the role-play. With that in mind, there is a section for written comments at the end of the survey. There were no negative comments about the role-plays and many positive. For example, “the role play is actually good in helping us to understand the content.” Another student said, “the collaborative sections of the class were really enjoyable and I think allow a good space for brainstorming real world application of environmentalism.” Another noted, “the role plays helped me a lot to understand the course subjects.”

One goal of the Greenpeace role-play was, through a consideration of the words and actions of working-class individuals and new social movement groups during the period at the beginning of the modern environmental movement, to help students

³³ I discuss the Green City role-play below.

understand and perhaps empathize with the difficulties in overcoming the preexisting tensions between working-class organizations and environmental groups. Australian academics Cedric Beidatsch and Susan Broomhall have examined whether role-plays can “help students reflect on the role of the historian in imagining events, and in using empathy (instinctively or deliberately) to understand human motivations.”³⁴ While it is hard to measure empathy, Beidatsch and Broomhall note that “it appears that the impact of content learnt in simulated, student-centred formats is powerful in terms of student memory and recall.”³⁵ I do not simply substitute the role-play simulations I use for lectures and other modes of instruction. They are meant to complement the material we are covering in the course through other modes of instruction; “learning objectives can and should, therefore, be supported and addressed by carefully structured preparatory and reflective exercises that support the given activity.”³⁶ With this in mind, I have developed another role-play simulation in my Labour and Environment course that allows students to take what we have learned about the importance and interconnectedness of labour and the environment and apply it. The Green City role-play (Figure 7-2) takes a real-world scenario, the closing of an iconic landmark in Vancouver—the Molson Brewery, located at the foot of the Burrard Street bridge—and asks students to create land use at the site that would benefit both labour and the environment. The only fiction in the role-play scenario is that the City of Vancouver retains control of the land, when in actuality the developer Concord Pacific has purchased the land. In addition to the handouts below, students are directed to one important guiding document, the City of Vancouver’s Greenest City Action Plan.³⁷ In addition there is one resource that I supply, a memo on the land use and zoning as it pertains to the Molson site. It is below the role-play under resource document.

³⁴ Cedric Beidatsch and Susan Broomhall, “Is this the Past? The Place of Role-Play Exercises in Undergraduate History Teaching,” *Journal of University Teaching and Learning Practice* 7, no.1 (2010): 2.

³⁵ Beidatsch and Broomhall, “Is this the Past?,” 17.

³⁶ Beidatsch and Broomhall, “Is this the Past?,” 17.

³⁷ “Greenest City Action Plan,” City of Vancouver (website), accessed August 25, 2019, <https://vancouver.ca/green-vancouver/greenest-city-action-plan.aspx>.

Figure 4. Green City Role-play Handouts

Handout 1 – Molson Coors Brewery Closure



In 2016, Molson Coors sold its brewery and the land it occupied in Vancouver on the south side of False Creek. Molson had operated the brewery since 1958, and it had become a landmark at the foot of Burrard Bridge. The brewery, one of the last major industries in the area, is being closed and will move to another location in BC.

Zoning and Development

Although the buyer of the land was not immediately revealed, discussion of what would happen to the land took place almost as soon as the sale was announced. The site is zoned as industrial and the City of Vancouver maintained it would remain so. “It is clear that it is in the City of Vancouver’s regional context statement as industrial land,” said Kent Munro, the city’s assistant director of planning. “We’ve had people asking about the site and its potential, but we say it is very important industrial land in the city after years of eroding it.” Munro said the city doesn’t view the area as being appropriate for more condos. “Any intensification of industrial or employment uses would be bang on and we would be supportive of it,” he said. “I think it is the city’s intent to keep it as employment-generating land use down there in a great location, close to where people live and close to the city centre.”¹

It was eventually revealed that the purchaser was Concord Pacific, a large development firm. Concord Pacific Developments issued a statement: “Concord Pacific has finalized the purchase of the Molson Coors Vancouver Burrard location. Concord has agreed to lease back the existing property for Molson to continue brewery operations while a new brewery is being constructed.

In the meantime, Concord plans to work with the approving authorities and the public to create a new community. The vision is to include a mixed-use residential neighbourhood with a knowledge-based work centre, to attract both local and international tech firms. The reimagined Molson lands will become a vibrant addition to Vancouver.²

¹ Jeff Lee, “End of an Era for Iconic Molson Brewery on Vancouver’s False Creek,” *Vancouver Sun*, November 6, 2015.

² Kerry Gold, “Concord Pacific Buys Molson Coors Brewery for Planned Redevelopment,” *Globe and Mail*, May 16, 2018.

There has been debate already about what should be done with the land. One editorial in the *Globe and Mail* argued that keeping the site zoned for industrial use was imperative.

"This is a bit of a watershed moment for the city and the region," said Tom Hutton, a University of British Columbia professor of urban and regional planning. "This could be a successful site for cultural and technical industries. I don't think this is a site for a housing project." Mr. Hutton said Seattle and San Francisco, the two most dynamic urban economies on the West Coast, have been successful because they didn't give up all of their inner-city land to high-end condo development." They take industrial land use very seriously," Mr. Hutton said. Vancouver could do what those cities have done with South Lake Union in Seattle and the South of Market in San Francisco to carve out space for tech industries. "If the city is serious, the Molson lands, along with False Creek Flats, could be successful places for tech and creative industries," he said. The site is currently zoned for heavy and light industrial uses, with accessory uses.³

An editorial in *Vancouver Magazine* argued the exact opposite.

I'm sympathetic to the idea that we need to find ways to create good, high-paying jobs in this city. But I'm not sure we do that by clinging to the economic formulas of the past. Yes, industrial land is valuable, and yes, we need to protect it—but not everywhere, and not always. Some people may want to wind the clock back to before the Expo lands were re-zoned and redeveloped, before the influx of foreign capital turned the grubby and gritty post-industrial northern shore of False Creek into an urban mecca. But were things really better back then, when we had all that extra vacant industrial land kicking around? And would the citizens of the future really be better served by us sitting on the Molson lands and preventing them from being developed in the name of preserving things as they were? I doubt it.⁴

Workers

While over 1000 temporary jobs were created by the building of the new brewery in Chilliwack BC, the completed brewery will only employ approximately 100 workers. At the time of its closure, the brewery renovation increased the plant's production capacity by more than 40 percent to 2.1 million hectolitres a year, or about 600 million bottles. It also raised the employment of the plant to 214, along with a sales staff of 44.

³ Frances Bula, "Vancouver Should Fight to Retain Molson Coors Brewery Site: Expert," *Vancouver Sun*, April 12, 2016, updated May 16, 2018.

⁴ Max Fawcett, "Why the Molson Lands Don't Need Saving," *Vancouver Magazine*, April 13, 2016.

Questions:

1. What do you think could replace the brewery that would complement both contemporary labour and environmental concerns?
2. Do you think the land should be rezoned by the city? Why or why not?
3. Who do you think is best positioned to decide on the use of the land? Private or public concerns? Government or non-governmental agencies?

Handout 2 A – False Creek Environmental Citizens Coalition

You are a member of the False Creek Environmental Citizens. As such you are tasked with coming up with a land use strategy that would complement your environmental concerns for the area. You have had success promoting False Creek as a bike and pedestrian friendly site. However, this is a larger issue and you want to come up with a proposal that would take into account the current industrial zoning of the area.

There will be a public meeting of the Metro Vancouver Zoning Board, at which a variety of groups will present their vision for the land.

Your task is to come up with an overall vision that contains a number of discrete proposals that would complement that vision. Each proposal should work individually as well as part of the larger plan.

Voting Members

- 6 executive members voted in by the group
- The whole membership (approximately 100 members) at Annual General Meetings (AGM)

Liaison Members

- 1 City Councillors, appointed by City Council
- 1 Commissioner, designated by the Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation
- 1 staff member from Planning, Urban Design & Sustainability

Questions to consider:

1. Who should own the land? Private or public ownership?
2. Does your plan require rezoning? If so, would the whole site be rezoned? If not the whole site, then present what percentage would need to be rezoned?
3. What would you recommend to the Metro Vancouver Zoning Board? Provide as much detail as possible. Break the larger vision down to component parts that can be presented to the Metro Board.

Handout 2 B – Vancouver City Planning Commission

You are a member of the Vancouver City Planning Commission, an advisory body of volunteers appointed by Council with a broad mandate to consider and advise Council on matters relating to the future of Vancouver. The Commission carries out this mandate through special projects on relevant issues and by selecting specific matters on Council's agenda on which to provide comment during Council's deliberations. In carrying out this work, the Commission organizes conferences, consultations, competitions, presentations and research on a variety of topics, including housing, the public realm, transportation, public engagement, and neighbourhoods.

Commission members are drawn from the general public. Candidates must be qualified to vote in the City of Vancouver or must have been resident in Metro Vancouver for six months immediately preceding appointment to the Commission. In addition, candidates will be considered in relation to the criteria listed on the City of Vancouver's website, including demonstrated relevant experience or knowledge, abilities, and skills related to the mandate of the Commission

Composition

The Vancouver City Planning Commission has 13 voting members and 5 liaison members:

Voting Members

- 11 members appointed by City Council
- 2 members appointed by the Commission

Liaison Members

- 2 Councillors, appointed by City Council
- 1 Commissioner, designated by the Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation
- 1 Trustee, designated by the Vancouver School Board
- 1 staff member from Planning, Urban Design & Sustainability

Questions:

1. Who should own the land? Private or public ownership?
2. Does your plan require rezoning? If so, would the whole site be rezoned? If not the whole site, then present what percentage would need to be rezoned?
3. What would you recommend to the Metro Vancouver Board? Provide as much detail as possible. Break the larger vision down to component parts that can be presented to the Metro Board.

Handout 2 C – BC Federation of Labour Community and Social Action Standing Committee

You are a member of the Community and Social Action Committee of the BCFED. You have been tasked with making recommendations on the best use of the former Molson lands that would benefit members in unions across Vancouver. These recommendations should be designed so that the Federation can present them to both the municipal and provincial government.

The Terms of Reference for the Committee relevant to the issue of development on the Molson lands that would benefit members are:

- Recommend to the Officers and Executive Council programs to encourage labour participation in community activities that support the Federation's overall strategic objectives as established by Convention;
- Recommend to the Officers and Executive Council strategies and programs for working jointly with other community groups and institutions on issues of mutual concern; and
- Liaise with other groups in the community.

Questions:

1. Who should own the land? Private or public ownership?
2. Does your plan require rezoning? If so, would the whole site be rezoned? If not the whole site, then present what percentage would need to be rezoned?
3. What would you recommend to the Metro Vancouver Board? Provide as much detail as possible. Break the larger vision down to component parts that can be presented to the Metro Board.

Resource Document

Page 1

From:	"Johnston, Sadhu" <[redacted]>
To:	"Direct to Mayor and Council - DL" <[redacted]>
Date:	2/15/2016 9:25:14 AM
Subject:	Memo - Molson Brewery Site - 1550 Burrard Street
Attachments:	Memo to MC - Molson Brewery Site - 1550 Burrard St - 05-02-2016.pdf

Dear Mayor and Council,

Please see attached Memo from Jane Pickering, Acting General Manager, Planning & Development Services on the Molson Brewery Site.

A short summary of the memo is as follows:

- This memo provides clarification on the zoning/land use policy surrounding the Molson Brewery site.
- The site is designated 'Industrial' under the Metro Vancouver's *Regional Growth Strategy* (RGS) in recognition of its M-2 heavy industrial zoning and the City's policies to protect the supply of industrial lands and maintain job space.
- Under Vancouver's Metro Core study it was envisioned the site would continue to provide for industrial employment; any change of use to the Molson site, other than industrial, will require an RGS amendment and a city-initiated planning process.

Should you have any questions, please contact Jane Pickering @ [redacted] or [redacted]

Best,
Sadhu Johnston
Acting City Manager

Sadhu A. Johnston, LEED AP
Acting City Manager
City of Vancouver

[redacted]
o. [redacted]
twitter: sadhuajohnston
www.vancouver.ca

VanRIMS No.: 01-9000-20

MEMORANDUM

February 5, 2016

TO: Mayor and Council

CC: Sadhu Johnston, Acting City Manager
Paul Mochrie, Acting Deputy City Manager
Janice MacKenzie, City Clerk
Lynda Graves, Manager, Administration Services, City Manager's Office
Rena Kendall-Craden, Director, Communications
Mike Magee, Chief of Staff, Mayor's Office
Kevin Quinlan, Deputy Chief of Staff, Mayor's Office
Braeden Caley, Director, Policy and Communications, Mayor's Office
Francie Connell, Director of Legal Services
Kent Munro, Assistant Director, Vancouver - Midtown
Randy Pecarski, Acting Assistant Director, City-wide and Regional Planning

FROM: Jane Pickering, Acting General Manager, Planning and Development Services

SUBJECT: Molson Brewery Site - 1550 Burrard Street

Dear Mayor and Council,

The purpose of this memo is to provide Council with clarification regarding the zoning and land use policy context for the Molson Brewery site.

Site Information and Zoning

The Molson Brewery site, located at the southeast end of Burrard Bridge, is comprised of two legal parcels: the larger parcel containing the brewery plant (1550 Burrard Street) is approximately 26,180 m² in area, while the adjacent parking lot serving the brewery (1655 West 1st Avenue) is approximately 4,932 m² in area. Collectively, the whole site is just over three hectares (7.4 acres).

Both parcels are zoned M-2. The intent of the M2-District Schedule is to permit heavier industrial uses which are generally incompatible with residential districts but provide beneficial employment opportunities or a necessary function in the city.

Regional Growth Strategy and Regional Context Statement Designation

The Molson site is designated as an 'Industrial' node under the Regional Growth Strategy (RGS): *Metro Vancouver 2040 Shaping our Future*. Through the Regional Context Statement (RCS) Official Development Plan (adopted in 2013), the City designated the site as 'Industrial' in recognition of its M-2 industrial zoning, the need to protect the supply of industrial land, and the goal to preserve and maintain jobs within Vancouver's Metro Core.

Metro Core Directions

Under the City's *Metro Core Jobs and Economy Land Use Plan: Issues and Directions* report (adopted in 2007), the Molson site was also included in the Burrard Slopes Production, Distribution and Repair (PDR) area. The objective of the Metro Core Jobs and Economy Land Use Plan was to ensure that adequate development and transportation capacity was reserved to accommodate future job growth and economic activity in Vancouver's Metro Core to 2030.

To protect and preserve jobs, the Metro Core study identified the need to enhance and strengthen the Burrard Slopes area by providing opportunities to increase service and office uses in the area. It was envisioned that the Molson site might be rezoned from M-2 to another industrial use at the end of the brewery's life, but that any new industrial zone might include additional compatible service and office uses.

Amending the Regional Growth Strategy

Any change of land use to the Molson site other than industrial will necessitate an application to the Metro Vancouver Board for a Type 3 RGS amendment. A Type 3 amendment process is required to convert any area over three hectares in size from 'Industrial' to a 'Mixed Employment' or 'General Urban' designation.

To succeed, the amending regional by-law must receive an affirmative 50%+1 weighted vote by the Metro Board at each reading, including adoption. The process also involves a 30 day notice period, wherein the Board notifies all affected local governments of the proposed amendment, as well as the public, by posting and distributing notice on the website and through other communication channels.

Vancouver's RCS also states that "all areas that are designated in the RCS as Industrial are covered by the Industrial Lands Policies" and that "the rezoning of industrial land will be considered only if it is based on a city-initiated planning process".¹

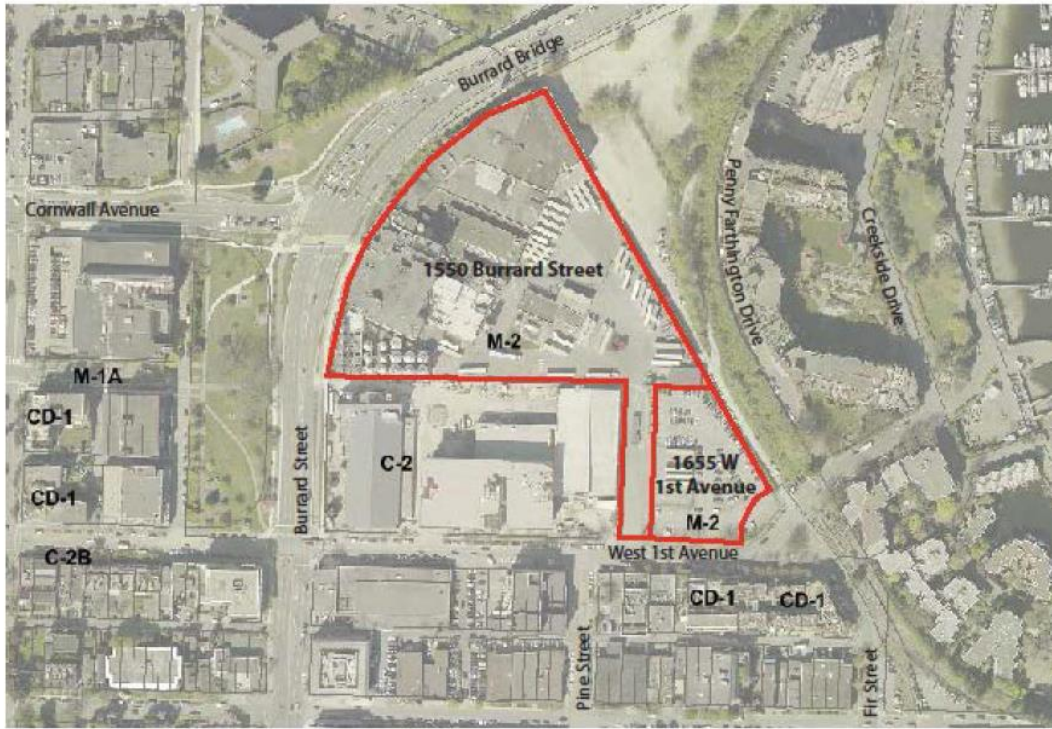
Please do not hesitate to contact me should you have any questions.



Jane Pickering, MCIP, RPP
Acting General Manager, Planning and Development Services

(T) [REDACTED]
(E) [REDACTED]

¹ *Regional Context Statement, p. 17*



One of the benefits of the Green City role-play is that it takes the learning we have done over the course of a semester and has students apply it. The False Creek Environmental Citizens Coalition does not exist in the exact form that I have outlined, but there has been a South False Creek working group that consulted with the city. The other two groups, the Vancouver City Planning Commission and the BC Federation of Labour Community and Social Action Standing Committee, actually exist with the structure as outlined in the role-play as part of the City of Vancouver's consultation process and as an actual standing committee of the BC Federation of Labour, respectively.

Both the Greenpeace and the Green City role-plays are meant to complement the material we cover in the course, and the readings throughout the course complement both role-plays, although the Green City role-play is far broader in terms of what students can bring to the simulation. Their own lived experience can most definitely influence their plans. At the end of the Green City role-play, each group draws up their plan on the classroom whiteboards, and then the class as whole functions as the metro board. In this way it generates discussion about each group's plan, but I act as a facilitator to bring together common elements of each plan to encourage collaboration rather than competition. The learning objective is quite broad: to get students to contemplate how we can act to benefit both labour and the environment in planning decisions. This functions to illustrate how our environments are planned and not just simply preordained; the car-based culture in North American cities is intentional and the lack of a living wage in those same cities is a matter of policy. Most times, students' plans in this role-play incorporate green transit solutions, whether it is extending the SkyTrain, providing a B-line bus from Burrard Station to the new site, more bike and walking routes, or a combination of all three. Most students simply state that all the workplaces are unionized, which may be a bit of magical thinking. Others have thought through how to achieve fair work environments; one group proposed making the site a type of crown corporation owned by the city and declared by policy to be a living wage employer. The first time I tried this role play I had students read the City of Vancouver's Greenest City Action Plan in class. This, however, proved to be a bit too much reading to expect in a three-hour class that also required students to use the plan as a resource. I have since given the plan out in the class before the role-play, which allows students to become familiar with current green initiatives in Vancouver. One surprise the second

time I did this role-play was a group that mapped out the land and used a legend to describe their land use plans. It was very successful and other groups noted they wished they hand done this. In the next iteration, I told students they could create a map of the site if they wished and all three groups used this method. This role-play encourages and has delivered much reflection on the course work but more importantly on how labour and the environment are not mutually exclusive categories.

In relation to this dissertation, I believe that role-play simulations can be an effective pedagogical tool in efforts to counter the hegemonic discourse that perpetuates the notion that workers are incapable of being environmentalists. The Greenpeace role-play simulation serves to show students how class conflict shapes people's politics, and the Green City role-play illustrates how municipal politics and planning can be a powerful tool. Both role-plays can suggest how new social movements, in their move away from class, have misunderstood the potential for workers to be allies, or even members, of these social movements. The role-play also has the potential to illustrate how when workers and the middle class fall into the trap of assuming they only have opposing interests it ultimately serves to strengthen capitalism. Both role-plays reward cooperation, and not in the small "I" liberal sense of the word but in the emancipatory radical sense of human agency to make the world a better, more socially just place.

Conclusion

"And you may ask yourself, Well, ... how did I get here?"
– David Byrne³⁸

This dissertation started with variations of the same question: Do workers' interests conflict with environmentalism? Can one pursue one's interest as a worker and logically and consistently pursue environmental issues? Can one be both a resource worker and an environmentalist, or are these mutually exclusive? This dissertation has answered these questions while at the same time creating new ones. It is perhaps too obvious to say that writing a dissertation is an academic exercise. However, these questions are not simply academic. They are also personal and rooted in my lived experience. My academic journey has taken me from standing on a logging road at the very meeting point of clear-cuts and ancient rainforest to spending a significant part of my life searching for answers about the intersection of class and the environment.

At risk of misusing Marx's idea of commodity fetishism, I want to discuss what this dissertation contributes to working-class and environmental history but also the relationship between the historian and his or her finished product. The relationship between the labour that goes into the product—the dissertation—is often obscured or rendered invisible. That is to say, the social relations in the production of the dissertation, or the subjective, is transformed into an objective product that is measured against the standards of the discipline.³⁹ However, my experiences, world view, and material conditions influenced the questions I asked at the outset of this long journey and the ones that arose along the way, making this both an academic and personal project. In other words, the academic and personal are inextricably linked and both produce the line of reasoning and questioning in this document, thus rendering the subjective visible at the same time as producing an objective product.

³⁸ "Once in a Lifetime," on Talking Heads, *Remain in the Light*, Sire Records, 1980.

³⁹ See Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, ed. Dirk J. Struik, trans. Martin Milligan (New York: International Publishers, 1964)

Workers have acted in defence of, or on behalf of, the environment. From the International Woodworkers of America's early advocacy of what would become known as environmentalist issues in its paper the *Lumber Worker* to the efforts of one worker-environmentalist in the Skagit Valley. There are many examples of collective and individual worker environmentalism. Establishing the existence of working-class environmental discourse prior to the existence of a modern environmental movement is an important part of this dissertation in that it establishes a different context from which to view social, political, and cultural changes that most people attribute to new social movements. This uncovering of the history of worker environmentalism also helps bridge the gap between workers and environmentalists, which in turn increases the opportunities to cooperate in a counter-hegemonic bloc.

New questions arose during this part of my research about how and why the working class has historically been constructed as the adversary of nature or wilderness and about the persistence of this construct in the mainstream discourse. This question led me to explore how two industry front groups, specifically Share B.C. and the Forest Alliance of BC, worked to garner positive public opinion so as to maintain “the social license to operate.”⁴⁰ Industry front groups were largely successful in shaping the discourse around resource extraction, forestry in particular, to make the current economic order appear rational. These dominant discourses and actions have been resisted and at times overcome through alliances, however tenuous, between workers, environmentalists, and First Nations.

Despite coalitions being desirable, it is difficult to bridge the class differences between workers and the leadership of environmental groups. At times the professional managerial class base of mainstream environmentalism is incompatible with working-class alliances. Environmentalists have largely failed to articulate any alternative to capitalism, and, as Eric Loomis points out, “a green energy capitalist is still a capitalist and desires to limit labor costs to increase profit.”⁴¹ This is where the work of groups such as the Tin Wis Coalition become important symbolically as well as practically. The

⁴⁰ Monika I. Winn, Patricia MacDonald, and Charlene Zietsma, “Managing Industry Reputation: The Dynamic Tension Between Collective and Competitive Reputation Management Strategies,” *Corporate Reputation Review* 11, no. 1 (March 2008): 35-55, <https://doi.org/10.1057/crr.2008.4>.

⁴¹ Erik Loomis, “The Growing Rift Between Workers and Environmentalists,” *Modern American History* 1, no. 3 (November 2018): 379.

Tin Wis Accord challenged the prevailing economic structures and worked toward community solutions based on developing what they called a “people’s” alternative to industrial capitalist models of forestry. Community-based solutions that are structured to operate without capitalism as the focal point are a good start to building alternatives to capitalist exploitation of both labour and the environment, but a fundamental truth remains: these visions are unlikely to be realized without a revolutionary change in the dominant political and economic structures.

This dissertation has illustrated that workers have presented challenges to the dominant hegemonic bloc, as too have coalitions, however fleeting, but the state and corporations have simultaneously used divide-and-conquer tactics—be it in the form of corporate front groups or divide-and-conquer coalitions—to thwart them. For a truly counter-hegemonic bloc to be successful, this will have to change. There are many roadblocks, both literal and metaphorical, to creating a public discourse around working-class environmentalism. Throughout the initial research process, I was content with my project outline: show examples of working-class environmentalism throughout time in the form of case studies; contrast these examples with a chapter on how conflicts between workers and environmentalists are deliberately cultivated and exacerbated by capital and the state; a chapter on how this was resisted; then a conclusion. This is not far different than the structure of the first four chapters of “When Blue is Green.” However, throughout the process of writing this dissertation there was something elusive and hard to define haunting my project. It was only when I realized that it was absence that was the missing part of my historical inquiries that I could begin asking the question that would help guide the rest of my project—why, as a society, do we have no real concept of working-class environmentalism and the worker-environmentalist?

But how, in the case of working-class environmentalism, was I to build a history of a lack, an absence. In *Future Tense*, Roxanne Panchasi explores similar absences, and she notes that although her book is largely concerned with conceptions of the future, “collective anticipation, like collective memory, was structured around traces, loss, and disappearance.”⁴² Panchasi’s book introduced me to memory studies and helped me to recognize how the study of memory and history intersected with the possibilities of counter-hegemonic education. But the question of absence was also one that I needed

⁴² Roxanne Panchasi, *Future Tense: The Culture of Anticipation in France Between the Wars* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 161.

to explore outside of the confines of British Columbia, as the erasure of working-class environmentalism is not limited to BC.

My growing interest in epistemological questions about why working-class environmentalism has not entered our lexicon also combined the personal and the academic in terms of the ways I see the subject. In 2004, one of my first teaching opportunities was to create a new Labour Studies course that combined the study of labour and film. It was the ultimate combination of all my interests; history, film, and gainful employment. My experience with labour and film helped me navigate the difficulties of documenting the history of an absence or a lack and appreciate how exploring silences reveals as much about society as does looking at what is present in a text.⁴³ The examination of historical amnesia when it comes to class led to exploring the role of education in creating and maintaining hegemony.

In Canada, both our formal and informal education creates a type of historical amnesia around class issues, as demonstrated by the final chapters in this dissertation. Capital and the state have deliberately cultivated the divide between workers and environmentalists for their benefit. This is essentially how hegemony operates. When historical education both excludes the working class as agents of their own history and legitimates the structures that oppress them, it serves to make capitalism and the functions of a capitalist state seem not only natural but desirable. However, education is also an important tool in counter-hegemonic struggles. Education can create an historical awareness of worker environmentalism and provide a different historical lens through which to see the history of labour *and* environmentalism. Building the history of environmentalism on a faulty historical foundation leads to other misrepresentations of the role of class in social movements. Any understanding between workers and environmentalists requires both groups to know their own history. There is still much work to be done; we need more studies of the role of all workers and their relationship to the environment.

⁴³ As noted previously, I relied heavily on Althusser's concept of a symptomatic reading as well as on its uses in cultural studies. See Louis Althusser, *For Marx* (London: Allen Lane, 1969); and John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, 8th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2018), 74-83.

This dissertation provides case studies that illustrate the history of worker environmentalism as part of the larger history of environmentalism. The significance of this history of the worker-environmentalist is that it contributes to a deeper understanding of how hegemony operates and the role of memory and history in the maintenance of that hegemony. Some of the questions put forward in this dissertation can be expanded: for example, my focus on the resource industry, which is demonstrably male dominated, does not fully reveal the roles women workers have played as worker-environmentalists. In addition, working-class environmentalism remains either absent or marginal within the scholarly treatment of environmentalism in Canada and the United States.

The goal of this dissertation has been to provide case studies of the worker-environmentalist in Canadian history, but this research needs to connect with the existing, and yet to be written, history of worker environmentalism to create a space for a counter-hegemonic narrative to take shape. By illustrating how working-class environmentalism has been largely erased in the historical narrative and offering case studies to remedy this erasure, this dissertation contributes to the historiographies of both environmental and labour history and in this way allows an understanding of the worker-environmentalist to grow. By tracing the history of worker environmentalism from the 1930s to the present, the case studies in "When Blue is Green" contribute to both the history of labour and the history of the environmental movements, and thus build towards a history of working-class environmentalism in British Columbia and beyond. More importantly, I hope this dissertation contributes to the history of resistance past, present, and future.

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Appendix

List of Heritage Minutes

Name of Minute	Category (assigned by Historica Canada)	Year Released
<u>CLASSIC MINUTES</u>		
Jennie Trout	Human Rights, Women	1991
Nellie McClung	Human Rights, Women, Heroes	1991
Laura Secord	Pre-Confederation, Military, Women, Heroes	1991
Jacques Cartier	Pre-Confederation, Indigenous History	1991
Louis Riel	Indigenous History, Human Rights	1991
Valour Road	Military, History	1991
John Cabot	Pre-Confederation	1991
Orphans	Pre-Confederation	1991
Responsible Government	Pre-Confederation	1991
Halifax Explosion	Heroes	1991
Soddie	Science/Innovation	1991
Underground Railroad	Human Rights, Pre-Confederation	1991
Jacques Plante	Sports	1991
Superman	Arts and Culture, Heroes	1991
Wilder Penfield	Science/Innovation	1991
John McCrae	Military, Arts and Culture	1991
Avro Arrow	Science/Innovation, Military	1991
Marconi	Science/Innovation	n.d.
Winnie	Arts and Culture, Military	n.d.
Sitting Bull	Indigenous History	1991
John McCrae	Military, Arts and Culture	1991
Avro Arrow	Science/Innovation, Military	1991
Marconi	Science/Innovation	n.d.
Les Voltigeurs de Quebec	Arts and Culture	n.d.
Flags	Arts and Culture	1991
Marshall McLuhan	Science/Innovation	n.d.
Étienne Parent	Pre-Confederation	n.d.
Nitro	Human Rights	1992
Rural Teacher	Women	1992
Midwife	Women	1992
Emily Murphy	Women	1992
Agnes Macphail	Human Rights, Women	1992
Emily Carr	Women	1992
Saguenay Fire	Heroes	1992
Basketball	Sports	1992
Vikings	Pre-Confederation	1992
Baldwin & LaFontaine	Pre-Confederation	1992

Name of Minute	Category (assigned by Historica Canada)	Year Released
<u>CLASSIC MINUTES</u> (cont'd)		
Governor Frontenac	Pre-Confederation	1992
Jean Nicolle	Pre-Confederation	1992
Peacemaker	Pre-Confederation, Indigenous History	1992
Joseph Tyrrell	Science/Innovation	1992
Joseph Casavant	Arts and Culture	1992
Maple Leaf Gardens	Sports	1993
Maurice "Rocket" Richard	Sport	1993
Sam Steele	Heroes	1993
Maurice Ruddick	Human Rights, Heroes	1993
Joseph-Armand Bombardier	Science/Innovation	1993
Le Réseau	Science/Innovation	1993
Inukshuk	Indigenous History	1993
La Bolduc	Women, Arts and Culture	1993
Pauline Vanier	Military, Women	1995
Hart & Papineau	Pre-Confederation	1995
Paris Crew	Sports	1995
Bluenose	Sports, Science/Innovation	1995
Myrnam Hospital	Science/Innovation	1995
Water Pump	Science/Innovation	1995
Sir Sanford Fleming	Science/Innovation	n.d.
Paul-Émile Borduas	Arts and Culture	1995
Frontier College	(was Building Democracy)	1997
Nat Taylor	Arts and Culture	1997
Stratford	Arts and Culture	1997
John Humphrey	Human Rights	1997
Expo '67,	Arts and Culture	1997
Jackie Robinson	Sports	1997
Syrup	Indigenous History	1997
Marion Orr	Military, Women	1997
Grey Owl	(was Heroes)	1999
Lucille Teasdale	Women, Heroes	2000
J. S. Woodsworth	Human Rights	2003
<u>2005 MILITARY MINUTES</u>		
Dextraze in the Congo	Human Rights, Military, Heroes	2005
Andrew Mynarski	Military, Heroes	2005
Vimy Ridge	Military, Heroes	2005
Juno Beach	Military, Heroes	2005
Mona Parsons	Military, Women	2005
Tommy Prince	Military, Indigenous History	2005
Osborn of Hong Kong	Military, Heroes	2005
Home from the Wars	Military	2005

Name of Minute	Category (assigned by Historica Canada)	Year Released
<u>SECOND-GENERATION MINUTES</u>		
Richard Pierpoint	Human Rights, Pre-Confederation, Military	2012
Queenston Heights	Pre-Confederation, Military, Indigenous History	2013
Sir John A. Macdonald	Pre-Confederation	2014
Sir George Étienne Cartier	Pre-Confederation	2014
Winnipeg Falcons	Sports	2014
Nursing Sisters	Military, Women, Heroes	2015
Terry Fox	Sports, Heroes	2015
Viola Desmond	Human Rights, Women, Heroes	2016
Chanie Wenjack	Indigenous History	2016
Naskumituwin (Treaty)	Indigenous History	2016
Kenojuak Ashevak	Women, Arts and Culture, Indigenous History	2016
Edmonton Grads	Women, Sports	2017
"Boat People" Refugees	Human Rights	2017
Kensington Market	Arts and Culture	2017
Lucy Maud Montgomery	Women, Arts and Culture	2018
Jim Egan	Human Rights	2018
Vancouver Asahi	Human Rights, Sports	2019
D-Day	Military, Heroes	2019
Acadian Deportation	Pre-Confederation	2019