

'Clearcut' Conflict: Clayoquot Sound Campaign and the Moral Imagination

Michaela Killoran Mann

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the MA degree in Conflict Studies

Department of Conflict Studies
Faculty of Humanities
Université Saint Paul University

© Michaela M. Killoran Mann, Ottawa, Canada, 2013

Because this thesis is about a campaign to save trees, it seemed ironic to print off more than 100 pages for every copy. For this reason, I have decided to print double-sided and with decreased spacing in order to reduce the amount of paper consumed. Additionally, the paper it has been printed on has been Forest Stewardship Council certified.

I hope that it will be recognized that I violate the printing regulations in pursuit of a higher justice.

“What we are doing to the forests of the world is but a mirror reflection of what we are doing to ourselves and to one another” – Mahatma Gandhi

ABSTRACT

In 1993, Clayoquot Sound in British Columbia became the focus of a global environmental campaign following the decision to clearcut two-thirds of the old-growth rainforest. The campaign was multifaceted including protests, blockades, boycotts and negotiations, and involved thousands of people around the world. Over the course of six years, environmentalists engaged in the conflict with government, First Nations, and industry and were able to alter logging practices in Clayoquot Sound to protect its ecological integrity.

This thesis explores the campaign to save Clayoquot Sound through the lens of the moral imagination as described by John Paul Lederach. Lederach proposes that transforming conflict away from being destructive requires the moral imagination. He identifies four disciplines that are essential to the moral imagination: paradoxical curiosity, relationship focus, creativity and willingness to take risk. Analysis of turning points in the Clayoquot campaign demonstrates how the moral imagination transformed the conflict and led to the conservation of the rainforests. Furthermore, the Clayoquot campaign and the subsequent work of one of its organizers suggest that efforts to generate environmental social change can be realized when guided by the moral imagination.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to take a moment to thank all those who made completing this thesis possible. A special thanks to my friends and my family (especially Mom) for their encouragement throughout the thesis adventure. To the library crew, I thank you for making the countless hours spent in the library both enjoyable and productive. Thanks to Ian, Emily, Keltie W., Keltie D., Lila and Christopher for taking the time to edit my thesis. I would like to extend a heartfelt thank-you to my supervisor, Heather Eaton. I am deeply grateful for all the hours she spent with me to improve my writing and to help me navigate the process of creating a thesis. *Felix felicis* could not have led me to a better supervisor.

Finally, I would like to thank all the protesters and campaigners who worked hard to save Clayoquot Sound, and all those environmentalists who continue to work hard to generate social change peacefully.

ACRONYMS

BC	British Columbia
CLUD	Clayoquot Land Use Decision
CRB	Central Region Board
CSSDTF	Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organization
FOCS	Friends of Clayoquot Sound
IMA	Interim Measures Agreement
IMEA	Interim Measures Extended Agreement
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NRDC	Natural Resource Defense Council

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1) Introduction.....	1
The Clayoquot Sound Conflict.....	3
Why Clayoquot Sound.....	10
This Thesis.....	11
2) Chapter 1: Moral Imagination.....	13
Previous uses of the Term “the moral imagination”.....	14
Development of Lederach’s Concept of the Moral Imagination.....	16
The Four Disciplines of Moral Imagination.....	17
Turning Points.....	24
Guiding Stories.....	24
Literature on Lederach’s Moral Imagination.....	29
The Moral Imagination in Environmental Conflict.....	30
3) Chapter 2: The Clayoquot Campaign	32
Clayoquot Land-Use Decision	32
The War in the Woods.....	36
Stumpy.....	42
Trials.....	43
Market Campaign.....	45
Negotiations.....	46
Success.....	50
4) Chapter 3: The Clayoquot Campaign and Turning Points.....	53
Why is it so important?.....	53
Tzeporah Berman.....	62
Turning Points and the Moral Imagination.....	65
5) Chapter 4: Moral Imagination of the Clayoquot Campaign	70
Civil Disobedience Training in Stanley Park.....	71
Environmental Support for First Nations in the Interim Measures Agreement....	75
Establishing Iisaak Forestry Resource Ltd.....	78
Environmental Campaigns and Moral Imaginations.....	83
6) Conclusion.....	86
Clayoquot Campaign and the Moral Imagination	86

Limitations of the Research	88
Moral Imagination and Environmental Conflict	88
8) Appendices.....	90
Appendix A: The Clayoquot Documents Table of Contents.....	90
Appendix B: Format for a 3 ½ Hour Non-violence Training Workshop	94
9) Bibliography	97

INTRODUCTION

“There is a tendency at every important but difficult crossroad to pretend that it's not really there.”
- Bill McKibben¹

The word “conflict” often invokes images of physical violence and destruction. However, conflict is a part of human life. Understood as “circumstances in which conflict parties perceive that they have mutually incompatible goals,” conflict is not necessarily destructive (Ramsbothametal et al. 2011: 9). Destructive outcomes to conflicts are characterized by the imposition of a solution without consideration for the interests of the opponents (Kriesberg, 2007: 20). In contrast, constructive outcomes are acceptable to all parties involved (Kriesberg, 2007: 20). And in reality, conflicts exist on a spectrum between these two possibilities. It is the different parties’ approaches to the conflict that will determine the trajectory of the conflict (Kriesberg, 2007: 2).

The concept of conflict transformation ascribes to the view that conflict has the potential to create positive change. Conflict transformation proposes “an effort to maximize the achievement of constructive, mutually beneficial processes and outcomes” (Lederach, 1997: 19). Central to constructive conflict is a focus on shifting relationships away from destructive behaviours towards cooperation in the present to create lasting peace. Conflict transformation is considered to be the “deepest level of conflict resolution” (Ramsbothametal et al., 2011: 9). Furthermore, conflict transformation plays an important role in progressive social movements.

To understand what is meant by the term “progressive social movements,” an exploration of several commonalities is necessary. The first characteristic is common belief (Reed, 2010: 18; Diani and McAdam, 2003: 5-6; Tarrow, 2011: 6). Individuals identify with a social movement based on shared beliefs. Environmentalists share a concern about environmental degradation. Feminists hold conviction that one’s gender and sex should not be an advantage or disadvantage. A second aspect is that of collective action and solidarity (Reed, 2010: 18; Diani and McAdam, 2003: 6). Social movements mobilize individuals who identify with a cause to pursue collective action. These

¹ McKibben, Bill. *The end of nature*. 1989. Reprint. New York: Random House, 2006. p. 143

networks of individuals or organizations that act together are generally informal (Reed, 2010: 17; Tarrow, 2011: 12). Finally, social movements include confrontation with a powerful opponent (Diani and McAdam, 2003: 6; Tarrow, 2011: 6). The opponent can be government, industry or a pervasive normative system.

Progressive social movements produce alternative visions for society that challenge the status quo (Conway, 2004: 56). Through constructive conflict, these movements confront societal perceptions of gender, race, ethnicity, class, ecology and others. The absence of conflict denotes either that there is no problem; that the problem has not yet been widely acknowledged; or the problem is being repressed (as is the case with certain regimes or military presence). When conflict emerges, as was seen in the United States Civil Rights movement or the South African Antiapartheid movement, the clash is between those who support change and those who do not. Social change occurs when there is a transformation of former supporters of “traditional patterns” towards the recognition of the need for change (Kriesberg, 2007: 303).

The environmental movement is one type of social movement. The focus of the environmental movement has been mitigating or stopping environmental degradation (Pellow and Brullé, 2005: 3; McCarthy and King, 2005: xii). This requires a transformation of human society’s relationship with the environment.

Environmental movements are composed of multiple campaigns. While a movement is heterogeneous, a campaign tends to be more unified (Doyle, 2005: 11). According to della Porta and Rucht, campaigns are “thematically, socially and temporally interconnected series of interactions that... are geared towards a specific goal” (della Porta and Rucht, 2002: 3). In the last several years environmentalists have organized a number of campaigns to address forestry concerns, in particular, in North America. Examples of campaigns focused on forests include the Rainforest Action Network (RAN) campaign against Mitsubishi,² Julia Butterfly Hill’s two year tree sit,³ and, the one that is

² The campaign was a response to the company’s role in the destruction of rainforests around the world (Domask, 2003: 161; Pezzullo, 2011: 131). Central to the campaign was the boycott of all Mitsubishi products, including cars, cameras and other electronics (Domask, 2003: 161; Holzer, 2005: 161). The boycott was supported by various protest activities ranging from petitions of 400 000 names to demonstrations at dealerships and stores (Holzer, 2005: 361; Krill, 2010: 210). The impact on the company included the loss of a \$137 million contract with the San Francisco Airport (Holzer, 2005: 359). Eventually two branches of Mitsubishi –Mitsubishi Motor Sales of America and Mitsubishi Electric America –entered

the topic of this paper, the Clayoquot Sound campaign. These and many others have been organized to increase awareness and confront injustices in order to generate change.

How environmental campaigns create change through conflict is central to this thesis. I will explore the question through the lens of John Paul Lederach's concept of the moral imagination and the Clayoquot Sound campaign.

The Clayoquot Sound Conflict

The social context and history of Clayoquot Sound provide key insights into the region's conflict in the 1990s. This section provides a brief overview of the competing understandings of Clayoquot Sound that led to the conflict. These descriptions will provide background for subsequent analyses.

Geography

Clayoquot Sound is found on the west coast of Vancouver Island in British Columbia (BC). It is about 350000 hectares in size (BC Integrated Land Management Bureau, 1993). As a sound, it is a network of inlets, rivers, bays and islands.

Clayoquot Sound contains three of the five intact watersheds of Vancouver Island (Clayoquot Documents II/5: 56).⁴ Rainforest preservation is crucial for maintaining watersheds. Trees increase absorption of water into soil and hold soil in place. When trees are extensively harvested, absorption rates decrease and the soil becomes arid.

into negotiation with RAN. In 1998 RAN and the two branches signed a memorandum of understanding (Krill, 2010: 210).

³ Julia Butterfly Hill sat in a 1000 year old Redwood named Luna continuously for 738 days (Fitzgerald, 2002: 20). Her tree-sit lasted over the course of two winters and countless storms (Hill, 2000). She resisted numerous efforts by the Pacific Lumber Company to force her out of the tree including cutting down surrounding trees (Walter, 2007: 3). And the longer she stayed in the tree the more attention she received (Delicath and Deluca, 2003: 317). During her stay in the tree she conducted over 1000 remote interviews with various media outlets (Walter, 2007: 3). Hill finally left her post in 1999 after securing an agreement with Pacific Lumber Company to preserve Luna (Walter, 2007: 3).

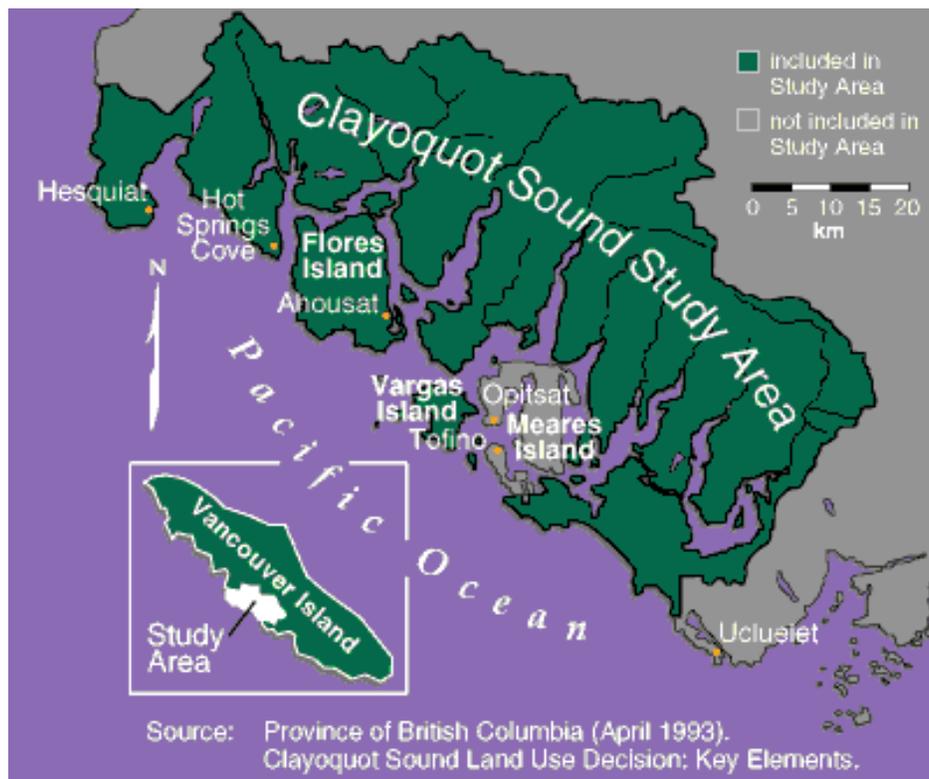
⁴ Throughout the thesis citations such as these will be used. This is reference to a collection of primary documents on the conflicts in Clayoquot Sound 1980-1999, known as the Clayoquot Documents (CD). The documents in volumes one and two were originally compiled for the International Workshop on the Politics of Clayoquot Sound that occurred in May 1997. Volume three contains additional documents that were added following the workshop. Access to these documents is available through the University of Victoria website, "A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound":

<http://web.uvic.ca/clayoquot/clayoquotDocuments.html>.

The referencing follows to the Table of Contents for the Clayoquot Documents. In-text references starting with "CD" will be referring to documents in this collection. The Roman numerals refer to the section, usually associated with a time frame. The letter refers to the sub-section and the number refers to a specific document. The Table of Contents used for these references can be found in Appendix A.

Furthermore, as erosion increases, soil is washed into the waterways. This lowers the quality of the rivers and harms aquatic plants and animals.

Clayoquot Sound is home to one of the largest intact rainforests in the world. It contains numerous species of trees such as Sitka spruce, western red cedars and Douglas firs. These are some of the oldest and largest of their kind on the west coast (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 4). Clayoquot Sound is also a vibrant ecosystem of trees, plants, animals and insects, including some that are threatened such as the marbled murrelet (Berman, 2011: 29).



Competing Interests in Clayoquot Sound

Indigenous Peoples: Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations

Human presence on the west coast of Vancouver Island can be traced back over 4000 years (CD II/E/7: 112; Pegg, 2000: 77). Archeologists estimate that at its highest, there were 70000 native inhabitants in the area (Braun, 2002: 83). At the end of the eighteenth century, around the time of contact with Europeans, they numbered between 20000 and 50000 people (Boucher, 1997). The population was divided between different

bands based on chiefdoms (CD II/E/7: 86). They refer to themselves collectively as the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations.

Presently, the Aboriginal peoples in the region form the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. It is comprised of fourteen bands, three of whom live in Clayoquot Sound: the Ahousaht, the Hesquiaht, and the Tla-o-qui-aht.

The first record of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples' ownership of the land in Clayoquot Sound dates back to the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. He noted: "I have [nowhere] met with Indians who had such high notions of everything the Country produced being their exclusive property as these..." (CD II/E/6, 87). All of the territory and its resources were owned and managed by the chiefs (CD II/E/7: 112). These rights were known as *hahuulhi*. Intertribal warfare to increase or reclaim *hahuulhi* is part of the region's First Nations' history (CD II/E/6: 100).

Europeans were first drawn to the region by the wealth that could be gained from sea otter furs (CD II/E/5: 98). They would trade with the different bands, exchanging iron bars for the desired furs. However, this relationship did not deter attacks between the Natives and the Europeans over goods and territory. Rather, attacks were an extension of trade: seizing goods by force (CD II/E/6: 101). The nature and the form of conflict transformed over the years, but resources and territory rights remain a central concern for the Nuu-chah-nulth bands.

Unlike other Aboriginal territories in Canada, there were no treaties signed. The Nuu-chah-nulth assert that: "[Their] authority and ownership [was never] extinguished, given up, signed away by Treaty or any other means or superseded by any law. [They] continue to seek a just and honorable settlement of the land and sea question within all of [their] respective territories".⁵ While processes addressing land claims continued in the 1980s, resource extraction expanded in the territories in question leading to heightened tension. These incidents led increasingly to confrontations between the First Nations, and the provincial government and logging industry. During the 1990s, the Nuu-chah-nulth played an important role in the conflict between conservationist and logging interests. Today, treaty negotiations continue for the Nuu-chah-nulth and they play an important role in land management in Clayoquot Sound.

⁵ <http://www.nuuchahnulth.org/tribal-council/treaty.html> (accessed March 9, 2013)

Forestry Industry: MacMillan Bloedel

Forestry began in the early 20th century as a local service industry (CD II/E/8, 129). It began to grow in the 1940s in order to meet the construction needs during WWII. During this time the federal government offered an incentive called the “Spruce Account,” which covered the cost of capital equipment for logging (White, 1999: 129). With subsidized machinery and high demand, operations expanded and the practice of clearcutting became the norm on Vancouver Island (Luke, 2003: 98). As a result of the profitability, a number of major forestry companies were established, including MacMillan-Bloedel which held logging rights in Clayoquot Sound. In 1955, MacMillan Bloedel was awarded the Forest Management Licenses to log in the region of Clayoquot Sound by the provincial government under the *Forest Act* (1947) (CD Appendix 2: 364).⁶

Logging more than doubled between 1961 and 1991 on the west coast of Vancouver Island (Luke, 2003: 99). In order to process the lumber, MacMillan Bloedel built pulp mills in the nearby town sites. Until the end of the 1960s, most logging operations took place to the north and south of Clayoquot Sound. However, as harvestable forest decreased in the most accessible areas, they began to look to Clayoquot Sound.⁷

The forestry industry, particularly MacMillan Bloedel, was a major employer for the communities of Port Alberni and Ucluelet (CD II/E/5: 54). Approximately 1000 families in Clayoquot Sound depended on employment from MacMillan Bloedel (CD III/C/16: 282). The industry was so significant that the possibility of halting logging in Clayoquot Sound threatened 400 direct jobs when negotiations over land use started in the late 1980s (CD II/D/2: 37). The economic importance of the industry for these communities explains the support for maintaining logging operations.

Forestry interests were profit-oriented: the more trees that could be cut and sold, the greater the profit. MacMillan Bloedel was responsible to its shareholders to increase

⁶ Forest Management Licenses are now called Tree Farm Licenses (TFL). “[Tree Forest Licences] convey the nearly exclusive right to manage forests and to harvest an allowable annual cut (AAC) of Crown timber from the licence area, which may be comprised of private and Crown lands. TFLs carry the greatest management responsibilities, including protection, maintaining resource inventories, strategic and operational planning, road building, and reforestation.” (Cortex Consultants, 2001: http://www.cortex.ca/TimberTenSysWeb_Nov2001.pdf Accessed on April 2, 2013)

⁷ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dRqVqigJ4uA&list=PLE98A19F99980181B> (Accessed March 18, 2013)

the net worth of the company. They also held an obligation to the communities in Clayoquot Sound to provide employment. Clayoquot Sound was a Tree Farm License (TFL) held by the company that would enable them to fulfill their responsibilities. Conversely, proposals to curtail logging threatened their ability to fulfill their responsibilities.

Tourism Industry: Town of Tofino and Friends of Clayoquot Sound

Clayoquot Sound is renowned for its natural beauty. The tourism industry began to grow significantly in the mid-1980s when the conflict over logging on Meares Island received global media attention (CD II/E/8: 127). Over the years that followed, it became a wilderness tourism area, and has attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors to kayak, whale-watch, and fish. The tourism industry is dependent on the impression of pristine wilderness. Therefore, preservation of the rainforest is essential for attracting tourists.

In the late 1980s, tourism represented about twenty-five percent of the employment in Ucluelet, fifty-two percent in Tofino and twenty percent among First Nations bands in the late 1980s (CD II/D/5: 55; CD II/B/1: 9). The principal tourist town, Tofino, saw an average annual increase of three percent in visitation between 1983 and 1988 (CD II/B/1: 10). Tourism is greater in Tofino due to the emphasis they have made on “protecting the quality of the natural resource base on which...[it] depends” (CD II/B/1: 10). Tourism is significant as an industry and is the principle employer in Clayoquot Sound (CD II/C/1: ii). This has resulted in a higher emphasis on conservation in the town of Tofino than in the other municipalities (CD II/D/5: 54).

The importance of preserving the Sound is evident in the formation of the non-profit organization Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS) in 1979. Their mission is “to protect Clayoquot Sound, and to be leaders in the creation of a conservation-based economy.”⁸ FOCS was initially created in response to a conflict over logging on Meares Island—which will be described in the next section—but quickly expanded its mission to preserving the whole Clayoquot Sound. In particular, FOCS was one of the main organizers of the 1993 blockades. Today, they continue to play an important role in region as a voice of environmental interests (Shaw, 2003: 62).

⁸ <http://focs.ca/about/about-focs/> (Accessed March 21, 2013)

Conflicts Emerge

Meares Island Conflict

Meares Island is approximately a ten minute kayak trip from Tofino. It provides the village with a scenic backdrop as well as its water supply (CD II/A/2: 3). The area has also been the home to the Tla-o-qui-aht and Ahousaht peoples (CD II/D/5: 55). When MacMillan Bloedel announced plans to harvest timber on Meares Island in 1980, pre-existing tensions developed into a public conflict (CD II/E/6: 7).

First Nations groups opposed the plan because of its potential impact on an area that they considered to have spiritual significance. Many residents of Tofino also opposed the plan for the impact it would have on tourism and the environment. Due to the opposition to the plan from First Nations, the town of Tofino and other residents, the government agreed to develop a collaborative planning process. The planning team was expanded to include representatives from FOCS, the First Nations bands, the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Pacific Rim National Park (CD II/D/5: 55). In 1982, the planning team tabled its report with three alternative courses of action: preserve half and log half; defer half for twenty-five years and log half; or preserve the whole island (CD II/D/5: 55). MacMillan Bloedel withdrew from the process claiming none of the options created a plan for use of the *whole* island (CD II/A/3: 6). Subsequently, in November 1983 the provincial government decided to grant MB the right to harvest ninety percent of the island.

Many forms of protest were taken in response to the decision. In particular, the First Nations declared the Island a Tribal park on April 21, 1984 demanding “total preservation of Meares Island base on title and survival of [their] Native way of life” (CD II/A/1: 1). To prevent MacMillan-Bloedel from accessing the Island, the Nuu-chah-nulth and their supporters set up the first logging blockades in the region (Shaw, 2003: 30). Finally, they sought and obtained a court injunction that prevented logging until outstanding land claims were settled. The conflict over Meares Island was the first sign of emerging tensions over resources in Clayoquot Sound. It was merely a preview of things to come.

Sulphur Passage Conflict

Road construction is important in logging activities for the transport of workers, equipment and logs to and from remote sites. In 1988, a proposal was presented to construct a road, providing access to a region of Sulphur Pass that was slated for harvesting (CD II/D/5, 7). The area of Clayoquot Sound that was going to be developed included the Shelter Inlet drainage basin. Environmentalists raised concerns that the road would increase the risk of environmental degradation from landslides. Additionally, members of the Tofino wilderness tourism industry claimed that the natural aesthetics of that region were important to their business and would be compromised (CD II/D/5: 56). The decision to move forward with the plan reignited the conflict between competing values regarding the meaning of Clayoquot Sound. Furthermore, it showed which group held the most power in the management of the Sound.

The main concern for FOCS and First Nations was that the construction of a road would expand harvesting towards intact watersheds, thus risking environmental damage (CD II/D/5: 56). Destruction of the watershed would subsequently have a negative impact on wilderness tourism and undermine First Nations' outstanding land claims (CD II/B/1: 11). These opponents to the decision proposed a six-month moratorium on road construction and logging in order to prepare a sustainable development plan. The proposed moratorium was rejected by the construction company.

Road blockades were, once again, the form of resistance to the decision. The construction company reacted by obtaining a court injunction to legally force the protesters to allow them to pass. The blockaders ignored the injunction, which led to the arrest of thirty-five people by the end of July 1988. Some paid fines while others went to jail (CD II/D/5: 56). Ultimately, the road construction was halted.

Addressing Tensions

By the 1980s, tensions in the regions had reached a breaking point as conflicts became more common. The disputes involved political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and axiological dimensions. These conflicts were rooted in competing understandings of the meaning of the Sound. The logging industry understood Clayoquot Sound as a collection of trees available for harvest that would yield profits and provide

employment. The Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations understood Clayoquot Sound as culturally essential. It was the home of their ancestors, contained several sacred places and provided the means for traditional employment. The tourism industry understood Clayoquot Sound as a reserve of beautiful intact wilderness that attracted visitors and created a means for economic development. The environmentalists understood Clayoquot Sound as an intrinsically valuable ecosystem that supported life in every form.⁹

At its core, the conflict in Clayoquot Sound was over values. Craig Darling described it in the following manner:

At one extreme are non-material values, environmental regulation and harmony with nature and at the other material values, laissez-faire government and man over nature. Somewhere in the mix lie the goals, perceptions and interests of the protagonists in the Clayoquot Sound Conflict. (CD II/D/5: 54)

While the blockades threatened the profits of the forestry industry and the jobs of its workers, high levels of harvest threatened survival of an ecosystem, tourism and First Nations cultural heritage. With frustration mounting, something had to be done. The response of the provincial government, far from diffusing the tensions, resulted in an international environmental campaign that continued for several years.

Why Clayoquot Sound?

Clayoquot Sound is a stunning place visually. The lush forests are famous for their trees, which are taller than skyscrapers. The rivers and streams are fast flowing and crystal clear. And to the west, the Pacific ocean stretches to the horizon. Clayoquot Sound is really beautiful in the photographs. I have never seen it for myself. So, why did I choose to write about a campaign to save a place I have never visited? My answer is that it was not Clayoquot Sound that inspired me, but the campaign itself. Three aspects of the campaign in particular resonated with me.

First, often studies of conflict focus on the violence that has marred human history. While the research on destructive conflict is important and valuable, it can leave one feeling disheartened. The Clayoquot campaign is at the other end of the spectrum; it is one of the most joyful conflicts I have ever studied. While the campaign dealt with some

⁹ These groups are presented as distinct however there was overlap.

significant challenges, the seriousness was frequently punctuated with humour. For example, it is hard not to smile when reading about a huge tree stump named “Stumpy” being toured across Canada and Europe (Stefanick, 2001: 41).

Second, the story of the Clayoquot campaign is one of empowerment. The organizers of the campaign were ordinary people who managed to accomplish the extraordinary feat of conserving Clayoquot Sound’s temperate rainforests. In particular, I found the campaigner, Tzeporah Berman, to be inspirational. When the campaign began in 1993 she was in her early twenties and had limited experience in campaigning. However, she soon became one of the principal organizers and spokespersons for environmentalism in Clayoquot Sound. Berman and many others entered into the conflict because they recognized the damage that was being done and took personal responsibility to stop it. Through the work of thousands of people, the campaign was able to change government policy and industry practices.

The third is that the campaign dealt with an environmental conflict. Addressing climate change is one of the most daunting challenges facing humanity today. The more data that emerges on global warming, the more pressing the issue becomes. However, through campaigns such as Clayoquot Sound, we can find hope. Over the course of five years, the campaign was able to alter forestry practices in Clayoquot Sound and conserve the rainforest forest. Although climate change is a different problem, the potential for people to generate change remains. It is by engaging in conflict that society will shift towards a more sustainable relationship with the environment.

This Thesis

John Paul Lederach’s book *The Moral Imagination* offers insight into the process of conflict transformation and will be employed to explore the Clayoquot Sound conflict. Rooted in his observations and experiences facilitating conflict resolution in violent conflicts, Lederach presents a vision that is both compelling and profound. He rejects violence as a means of creating social change. Rather, he suggests that it is through relationships that social justice is strengthened. Applying the lens of the moral imagination to Clayoquot Campaign contributes to the understanding of how constructive conflict can lead to a more sustainable future. The thesis will argue that the moral imagination was important for creating social change in Clayoquot Sound.

The first chapter will lay out Lederach's meaning of the moral imagination as the foundational concept for the thesis. The chapter will explore the four disciplines of the moral imagination as identified by Lederach, and the importance of what he refers to as turning points. Chapter two will describe the environmental conflict regarding logging in Clayoquot Sound and layout the three main components of the responding campaign: the blockades, the market boycotts and the negotiations. Chapter three will outline the significance of the campaign and link it to the moral imagination described in chapter one. In particular, the focus will be on exploring some of the previously identified turning points in the campaign. Finally, chapter four will identify three additional turning points in the Clayoquot campaign and examine each through the lens of the moral imagination.

The Clayoquot campaign has been studied from a number of angles. Aspects that have been studied include the educational components (Walter, 2007), the role of women (Stoddart and Tindall, 2011; Boucher, 1997), the impact on policy (Goetze, 2005; Morawski and Hoberg, 1997), and scope of the campaign (Magnusson, 2003; Shaw, 2003; Bose, 2000). Additionally, many of the participants have shared their reflections and experiences providing first hand information on the campaign (MacLaren, 1994; Hatch, 1994; Berman, 1994; Berman, 2011; Ingram, 1994). These and many other resources provide a wealth of information on the Clayoquot conflict. I will contribute to the literature by introducing the moral imagination as an important feature of the campaign.

Today the rainforests of Clayoquot Sound remain standing because thousands chose to engage peacefully in resistance. As exemplified in the Clayoquot campaign, conflict has the potential to create change. By recognizing this potential, society will be better equipped to address the pressing environmental conflicts of today.

“Our landscape is one which exists only as fairy tales in most of the world. It is now our good fortune and our responsibility to ensure that the beasts and flora, large and small, and the indigenous culture do not become mythological creatures and people for the children of the future.”

- Valerie Langer¹⁰

¹⁰ Quoted in Bose, 2000: 22

CHAPTER 1: The Moral Imagination

“It’s like our society is heading towards the edge of a cliff. We’re either going to fall over it or we’re going to learn to fly.”
– Rya Shakman¹¹

Protracted social conflicts are “hostile interactions extending over long periods of time with sporadic outbreaks of open warfare” (Azar and Farah, 1981: 319-320). These conflicts are often said to trap people in cycles of violence wherein one violent act leads those affected to seek retaliation creating destructive patterns of social interaction. The consequences of protracted social conflicts can be seen around the world such as in the civil wars in Colombia, Somalia, and Sri Lanka.

Conflict transformation is the focus of study for many people interested in ending protracted social conflicts peacefully (Miall, 2004: 3). The objective is to transform relationships between adversaries away from violence towards peace (Miall, 2004: 4). Numerous approaches have developed over the years to transform conflict. One example is mediation which involves the intervention of a third party to facilitate discussion between conflicting parties (Ramsbotham et al., 2011: 32). Mediation processes and techniques have differed between conflicts—varying degrees of inducements and impartiality—and applied at local, national and international levels of conflict (Ramsbotham et al., 2011: 51). Various handbooks and guides have been developed to instruct conflict practitioners on techniques and processes that are effective in transforming conflict relationships (Lederach, 1996; Reyhler, 2001; Reiman, 2004; Webel and Galtung: 2007).

John Paul Lederach has worked and taught on the subject of conflict transformation for over twenty years. He suggests that transformation towards peace in protracted social conflicts occurs through the moral imagination. He defines the moral imagination in the following way:

To imagine responses and initiatives that, while rooted in the challenges of the real world, are by their nature capable of rising above destructive patterns and giving birth to that which does not yet exist. In reference to peacebuilding, this is the capacity to imagine and generate constructive

¹¹ Rya Shakman was fifteen years old when she was arrested for blockading in Clayoquot Sound in 1993. She made this statement in response to her sentencing (Hatch, 1994: 207).

responses and initiatives that, while rooted in the day-to-day challenges of violent settings, transcend and ultimately break the grips of those destructive patterns and cycles. (Lederach, 2005: 182)

Lederach's concept of the moral imagination is the foundation of my thesis. In this chapter, I will explore Lederach's conception of the moral imagination, starting with an overview of how the term has been used in the past. I will then explain how Lederach arrived at his understanding of the moral imagination through academic and field work. From there, I will parse out four aspects of the moral imagination and explain the importance of turning points. Two stories of turning points in conflict will help illustrate the disciplines of the moral imagination. I will conclude that the concept of the moral imagination is applicable to the conflict in Clayoquot Sound, which will be the topic of subsequent chapters.

Previous Uses of the Term "The Moral Imagination"

The term was first used in Edmund Burke's essay *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790),¹² when he describes the detrimental effects of the revolution on French society:

All the decent drapery of life is to be rudely torn off. All the superadded ideas, furnished from the wardrobe of a moral imagination, which the heart owns, and the understanding ratifies, as necessary to cover the defects of our naked shivering nature, and to raise it to dignity in our own estimation, are to be exploded as a ridiculous, absurd, and antiquated fashion. (Burke, 1790: 114)

Since then, the term moral imagination has been employed in a variety of ways. While it does not follow a single definition, there are some characteristics that are consistent in its use. These include empathy, creativity, and vision. The moral imagination has been applied to the studies of arts, ethical decision making, and religion (Kirk, 2008; McLean and Knowles, 2004; McCollough, 1991; Brown, 1999; Allison,

¹² Kirk Centre: <http://www.kirkcenter.org/index.php/detail/the-moral-imagination/> (Accessed March 29, 2013)

1999; McFaul, 2003; Stevens, 1997; Stewart, 1991; Williams, 1997; Gow, 2008; Rossi and Soukup, 1994; Johnson, 1993). I will explain each of these in turn.

The arts have frequently been linked to the moral imagination (Johnson, 1993; Williams, 1997; Kirk, 2008). It has been argued that literature is an exercise of moral imagination because the reader has to imagine the complex world of the character (Johnson, 1993: 192). Tragedies, “[show] characters searching for the morally salient” and through the narrative the reader performs her/his own moral reflections and inquiries (Johnson, 1993: 197). One must be imaginative when reading to inhabit the world of the characters, empathize with their experience, and envision possible solutions (Johnson, 1993: 199-200). Some have argued that authors, such as T.S. Eliot, have been particularly effective in developing moral imagination (Kirk, 2008). For example, Eliot’s work challenges society to recognize the conflicts and contradictions in life and the importance of redemptive love (Kirk, 2008: 354).

The moral imagination has also frequently been applied to study religious texts such as The Bible (Allison, 1999; Brown, 1999). The moral imagination enables humans to perceive reality concretely while imagining how the world ought to be. This is important in Christian ethics (Brown, 1999: 20). The moral imagination “drives the moral subject out of his or her own world and into the world of others” and “through imagination the moral subject enters into community and thereby expands the moral horizon of the self” (Brown, 1999: 21). Furthermore, it is argued that biblical stories presented in Genesis are a reflection of the moral imagination of the ancient faith community (Brown, 1999: 407).

The moral imagination has also been studied as a feature of moral decision making. It is argued that moral reasoning is essentially an imaginative activity that has been overlooked by most moral theorists (Johnson, 1993: ix-x). In particular, imagination is especially important in situations where moral principles are conflicting (Johnson, 1993: 187). Imagination allows subjects to discern what is morally relevant, empathize with how others will experience the situation, and envision a wider range of possible responses (Johnson, 1993: 209; McFaul, 2003: x). The inclusion of moral imagination in moral decision-making has also been presented as relevant at the individual, local,

national and international levels (Gow, 2008; McCollough, 1991; McLean and Knowles, 2003: 5; McFaul, 2003).

Development of Lederach's Concept of the Moral Imagination

Lederach's understanding of the moral imagination was developed independently of previous uses of the term. Instead, his conception of moral imagination emerged from both his studies and experiences in conflicts. Academically, Lederach is a Professor of International Peacebuilding at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana. He has a background in sociology, history and conflict studies.¹³ He has written sixteen books and manuals on the topic of conflict transformation including, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (1997) and most recently, *When Blood and Bone Cry Out: Journeys Through the Soundscape of Healing and Reconciliation* (2011). His book *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (2005) was initially going to be a sequel to *Building Peace*; however, as he wrote, the book became “an effort to find a way back to the source” of his work (Lederach, 2005: viii).

The history of the term “the moral imagination” did not have significant impact on how Lederach conceptualized the term. In fact, it was not until one of his colleagues inquired about previous uses of the term ‘the moral imagination’ that Lederach began to explore the term’s history (Lederach, 2005: 25). He found that his conception of the moral imagination shared many of the same characteristics with previous uses (Lederach, 2005: 26). In particular, he noted that moral imagination involved perceiving things at a deeper level, acting creatively, and transcending restrictive situations (Lederach, 2005: 27).

Over the last two decades, Lederach has worked on conflict transformation and peacebuilding in more than two-dozen countries.¹⁴ Throughout his work he noticed certain patterns regarding instances of social change. He refers to these discoveries as “surprises” (Lederach, 2005: xi) from which his concept of the moral imagination emerged. In essence, he argues that the moral imagination is an art (Lederach, 2005: ix). He critiques the tendency in the field of peacebuilding to focus on technical skills and

¹³ Kroc Institute: <http://kroc.nd.edu/sites/default/files/lederachcv.pdf> (Accessed March 29, 2013)

¹⁴ Kroc Institute : <http://kroc.nd.edu/facultystaff/faculty/john-paul-lederach> (Accessed March 29, 2013)

argues that social change emerges from the ability to imagine and adapt to a rapidly changing environment (Lederach, 2005: 34). His book, *The Moral Imagination*, explores how he has come to understand social change through his experiences in settings of protracted social conflict (Lederach, 2005: xi).

The book reads as an exploration of how to engage in conflict settings and was intended for those in the profession of conflict transformation and peace building (Lederach, 2005: vii). With the help of metaphors, stories and poetry, Lederach argues that conflict transformation is less a set of technical skills and more the vocation of an artist.

The Four Disciplines of the Moral Imagination

Lederach's use of the term 'discipline' in his exploration of the moral imagination but it does not refer to a field of study or control through enforced obedience. Rather, 'discipline' refers to an internal and personal commitment to a way of thinking and behaving. In developing the concept of moral imagination, Lederach asked the question: "what disciplines, *if they were not present*, would make peacebuilding impossible?" (Lederach, 2005: 34). Lederach identifies four essential disciplines of moral imagination: paradoxical curiosity, relationship focus, creativity and risk (Lederach, 2005: 5). Although the disciplines have been parsed out as separate, they are highly interconnected. I will delve more deeply into each one in the following sections.

Paradoxical Curiosity

The first of the four disciplines of the moral imagination is paradoxical curiosity. The word "paradoxical" is rooted in the Greek word *paradoxas*, which refers to something outside or beyond common belief. Lederach employs this definition in place of the popular understanding of paradoxical—being outright contrary to popular belief (Lederach, 2005: 36). The second term—curiosity—is rooted in the Latin word *cura* meaning "to take care of." Understood constructively, curiosity demands careful inquiry beyond what is initially perceived (Lederach, 2005: 36). Combining 'paradoxical' with 'curiosity' leads to a discipline that continuously seeks to better understand complexity. It offers a way of seeking to understand conflicts.

Choosing to practice the discipline of paradoxical curiosity leads individuals to more in-depth observations. It allows one to transcend initial superficial perceptions to deeper understandings and see things that have previously been missed (Lederach, 2005: 27). By seeing new options, the possible responses to a situation are expanded. There are two concepts that are instrumental to understanding how the discipline of paradoxical curiosity is realized: humility and naiveté.

Through humility individuals acknowledge that they are a small piece of a larger whole (Lederach, 2005: 107). On the one hand, humility allows individuals to recognize that their actions will have an impact on those around them, which provides a sense of meaningful contribution (Lederach, 2005: 107). On the other hand, humility enables individuals to recognize themselves as a small part of a complex social system, curbing arrogance and self-importance (Lederach, 2005: 107). Furthermore, with the recognition that society is complex and ever-changing comes the acceptance of ambiguity and ongoing learning (Lederach, 2005: 107). Through humility, individuals accept that one cannot know everything and that instead one should continuously seek deeper understanding.

The second concept that is instrumental to paradoxical curiosity is naiveté, which he defines as, “an innocence of expectation that watches carefully for the potential of building change in good and difficult times” (Lederach, 2005: 115). Without assuming to know anything, naiveté asks questions and seeks a deeper understanding of what is possible. The openness to new understandings that emerges from both naiveté and humility leads to more flexible understandings and an open-minded exploration of truth (Lederach, 2005: 173). Through naiveté and humility, evaluation of a conflict is more accurate because it is adaptable to changes and new information.

Lederach explains how paradoxical curiosity can lead to a more accurate understanding of conflict by describing pessimism as ‘a gift’ (Lederach, 2005: 55).¹⁵ Communities living in regions of conflict stop trusting the promises of politicians and bureaucrats when their declarations of peace are not accompanied with actual peace.

¹⁵ In his discussion of pessimism Lederach is careful to differentiate it from cynicism. Cynicism is “an embittered attitude and predisposition to believe the worst of everything and everyone, a fault-finding par excellence” (Lederach, 2005: 55).

Constructive pessimism is understood by Lederach as a sign that trust has been lost (Lederach, 2005: 55). In order for communities affected by conflict to believe that the violence has ended, there needs to be evidence in the daily lives of its members (Lederach, 2005: 57). In other words, authentic change in conflict is felt at the local level (Lederach, 2005: 56). Paradoxical curiosity is not satisfied by declarations of peace, but by the tangible realization of peace at the community level.

The importance of paradoxical curiosity is further evidenced when exploring the complexities of conflict settings. Suspending judgment in search of deeper understanding leads to perspectives and ideas that are not immediately apparent (Lederach, 2005: 37). In particular, paradoxical curiosity resists the tendency to frame conflicts as dualistic struggles (Lederach, 2005: 37). Instead, conflict is understood through existing social relationships that are inextricably linked. Compared to rigid polarization of protracted social conflicts—in particular the tendency to ‘other’—paradoxical curiosity allows for ambiguity. It creates mental space to imagine being in relationship with opponents.

Furthermore, paradoxical curiosity enables individuals to live in their current reality of conflict and imagine a peaceful future (Lederach, 2005: 118). Lederach argues that for conflict transformation to occur, past and present contexts must be considered (Lederach, 2005: 148). Through the exploration of the historical context of a conflict, patterns of interactions emerge that continue to impact the present day (Lederach, 2005: 142). Understanding the lived reality is necessary for seeing possible ways forward (Lederach, 2005: 29), and imagining a peaceful future requires transcending the current perceptions of social interactions (Lederach, 2005: 33). Paradoxical curiosity enables people to recognize that the past continues to impact the present, while imagining a different future (Lederach, 2005: 147).

Relationship Focus

Lederach uses the Spanish word *enredo* to describe conflict situations. *Enredo* is a Spanish fishing metaphor which means ‘a tangled net’. In everyday use, it refers to being caught in a net of conflict (Lederach, 2005: 77). Untangling the lines of the net without

sacrificing its integrity requires identifying where threads meet and carefully rearranging the lines.

Following similar imagery, Lederach describes society as a web of relationships. When there is a conflict, the web of relationships becomes tangled. To transform the conflict requires first identifying who is connected to whom (Lederach, 2005: 77). Once the connections are identified, the appropriate steps can be taken to untangle or re-stitch the relationship. Transforming conflict is dependent on untangling the web of relationships, which leads to the second discipline of the moral imagination: being relationship-focused.

Violent acts intend to eliminate opposition or force compliance of opponents. Violence “requires a deep, implicit belief that desired change can be achieved independently of the web of relationships” (Lederach, 2005: 35). In contrast, conflict transformation requires the realization that personal interdependence exists between all members of society, and that the interests of others must be taken into account (Lederach, 2005: 86). Lederach argues that “shackles of violence are broken” when “individuals and communities imagine themselves in a web of relationship even with their enemy” (Lederach, 2005: 34).

Lederach argues that in generating lasting social change, it is the quality of the people, not the quantity that matters (Lederach, 2005: 91). Movements for social change are often built through a few people who collectively draw on their relationships to increase participation and support (Lederach, 2005: 90). A few well-organized, well-networked and influential people in society are able to generate more sustainable social movements than trying to recruit thousands of supporters immediately (Lederach, 2005: 92).

Lederach compares the need for a few strong people to yeast in bread making. Although there is not much yeast in bread, it makes the bread rise over time and allows the dough to grow again when punched down (Lederach, 2005: 92). When faced with opposition or oppression, participation of a few strong individuals—the yeast—ensures that the movement can endure (Lederach, 2005: 93).

Lederach argues that conflict solutions can only address challenges specific to that moment in time and are unable to adapt to changes in the social setting (Lederach, 2005: 49). Therefore, he suggests that rather than solutions, the goal of conflict transformation should be establishing platforms (Lederach, 2005: 47). Platforms are “people in relationship who generate creative processes, initiatives, and solutions to the deeper-ingrained destructive patterns and the day-to-day ebb and flow of social conflict” (Lederach, 2005: 182). Community engagement ensures that platforms are adaptable and inclusive of diverse interests (Lederach, 2005: 91). If relationships are strong, communities are more likely to adapt to conflicts that emerge without resorting to violence (Lederach, 2005: 75). Platforms generate processes to respond to conflict through maintaining relationships (Lederach, 2005: 49).

Creativity

Creativity is the third discipline of the moral imagination. Through creativity one is able to imagine a response to transform the conflict away from violence. Creativity comes from the Latin word *creare* meaning to make, bring forth, produce or beget, and the suffix *-itatem* refers to a condition or quality of being. Therefore, creativity refers to a bringing something new into the world, which is essential to creating a response that differs from the norm in violent conflicts. Violence is “the behaviour of someone incapable of imagining other solutions to the problem at hand” (Fisas, 2002: 58). In contrast, creativity, as part of the moral imagination, responds in ways that are unexpected and unpredictable, exposing alternatives.

Lederach argues that art is often able to communicate the experience of conflict more completely than plain description (Lederach, 2005: 69). For example, experiences in violent conflict are often expressed in terms of metaphors that involve “heat, feeling trapped or lost with no way out” (Lederach, 2005: 71; Lederach, 1996: 75). Another example of art as a medium for reaching deeper understanding of experiences of conflict is through paintings. He describes how one painting in particular conveyed the complex emotions of society following the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre (Lederach, 2005: 4). The painting had a “quality of transcendence, something that wishes to touch the stream of shared humanity beyond the violence” (Lederach, 2005: 4). The

aesthetics of art are often more effective in communicating the complicated emotional responses than logical explanation.

Lederach describes the process of transforming conflict as an art form. An important component to addressing violence is the ability to draw the essence from complex social histories. He compares this to Haikus.¹⁶ Lederach explains that the power of Haiku lies in its ability to synthesize complex situations into what is essential. When done well, he refers to this as an “a-hah!” moment. For conflict transformation, these “a-hah!” moments enable one to imagine and access a deeper understanding of a conflict (Lederach, 2005: 70).

Creativity is able to change how conflicts and relationships are understood by presenting unimagined futures that are rooted in daily reality (Lederach, 2005: 38). The discipline of creativity is able to break through the “madness of violence” and suggest alternative ways to interact (Lederach, 2005: 156). The ability to imagine unexpected options is particularly important when communities are faced with seemingly inescapable dead ends (Lederach, 2005: 27). Without creativity, the patterns of violence that had characterized social relationships would go unbroken.

Platforms for social change must be inclusive and adaptable. Creativity plays an important role in both aspects. First, platforms require the inclusion of previously antagonistic parties (Lederach, 2005: 86). To accomplish this, participants must be able to imagine the web of relationships that links them together. Secondly, the presence of creativity in the platform generates responses that address the unexpected (Lederach, 2005: 83). Without creativity the platforms would not adapt to changing social environments (Lederach, 2005: 73).

Risk

The final discipline is that of risk. To risk is “to step into the unknown without any guarantee of success or even safety. Risk is by its very nature mysterious” (Lederach, 2005: 39). The willingness to take risk is what enables the three other disciplines to be

¹⁶ Haiku poems are form of Japanese poetry. The poems consist of three lines that generally have certain number of syllables in each line.

realized. The discipline of risk encourages people to act, which is essential for the moral imagination (Lederach, 2005: 38).

Capacity to embrace risk is essential for the discipline of paradoxical curiosity. Rather than living in perceived certainty of dualistic relationships, the moral imagination takes the risk of entering into ambiguity (Lederach, 2005: 163). Naiveté and humility, in particular, accept the vulnerability that comes from uncertainty in order to continuously seek a deeper understanding. The paradoxical curiosity risks being seen as ‘stupid’ in hopes of discovering something novel (Lederach, 2005: 115).

In violent settings, communities often establish a sense of security by procuring weapons, building walls and imposing authority (Lederach, 2005: 63). The perception of safety that comes from force is based on separation from the enemy. The logic of violence neglects the web of relationships that exists between all members of society. Conflict transformation requires moving away from security through force to recognize the interconnectedness of conflicting groups. Letting go of their understanding of security is a risk. Peace emerges from this willingness of individuals and communities to live in vulnerability (Lederach, 2005: 173). This is not a one-time occurrence; it is a sustained commitment to relationships and constant risk (Lederach, 2005: 163).

Finally, the creative act is, in essence, risky. In the context of protracted social conflict, violence is known and peace is unknown (Lederach, 2005: 39). Therefore, to transform the conflict, communities must renounce the certainty of violence in favour of creating peace. The discipline of creativity defies prescription and performs the unexpected (Lederach, 2005: 39). It is through unexpected actions that cycles of violence are broken. Even believing that creative acts can happen is a risk (Lederach, 163). Creating platforms for change that are innovative and adaptable embraces the unknowable future (Lederach, 2005: 149). Indeed, the moral imagination is about not only stepping outside the box, but also “taking the risk to live outside the box” (Lederach, 2005: 62).

Turning Points

The moral imagination leads individuals and communities away from violence towards peace. The moral imagination is most noticeable when something happens that significantly changes the conflict and redirects it towards peace (Lederach, 2005: 19). Lederach calls these moments ‘turning points’. He defines turning points as:

...moments pregnant with new life, which rise from what appear to be barren grounds of destructive violence and relationships. This unexpected new life makes possible processes of constructive change in human affairs and constitutes the moral imagination. (Lederach, 2005: 29)

Turning points are moments that mark the start of a journey towards a more “humane horizon” (Lederach, 2005: 23); these moments of change make us recognize our common humanity. In this vein, Lederach explains that turning points demonstrate that violence and the moral imagination point in opposite directions (Lederach, 2005: 29). Violence is inspired by fear and the moral imagination by love.¹⁷ The turning point does not mark the end of conflict, rather a new way of interacting with opponents.

While turning points generate significant change in protracted social conflicts, they are also rooted in the historical context. The turning point draws on past experiences and events. By recognizing the reality of the situation, the turning point is not based on a simplistic understanding of the conflict or a superficial attempt to solve the conflict. Instead, the turning point is meaningful because it acknowledges the difficulty and complexity of the present reality and is still able to propose an imagined future. The importance of acknowledging the complexity of the context is easier to explain through examples. In the following section, I will explore turning points and the four disciplines of the moral imagination through examples.

Guiding Stories

There are four guiding stories in Lederach’s book, *The Moral Imagination*, which were identified as moments when the moral imagination was apparent and led to turning points in various conflicts. The stories come from Kenya, Ghana, Colombia and

¹⁷ Love refers to recognizing the web of relationships and not trying to win at the expense of the other.

Tajikistan. Each highlights a point in the conflict when unexpected responses to violence changed the way the conflicting parties interacted. These stories are woven through the book as different aspects and disciplines of the moral imagination are discussed.

I have selected two stories to describe that I found to be particularly effective in communicating the disciplines of the moral imagination. The stories focus on the efforts of a small group of people to change their community and that the efforts for peace spread to a larger region. After I describe each story, I will explore the four disciplines of the moral imagination and their importance as turning points.

The Women of Wajir

The first story is from the Wajir district of Northern Kenya. During the early to mid- 1990s, the district became one of the most “insecure and ungoverned zones of the Horn of Africa.” (Menkhaus, 2008: 23). As violence spilled over the border from the Somali civil war, existing clan-based tensions escalated, resulting in the worst cycle of violence in the district (Rapp, 2006: 81; Menkhaus, 2008: 23; Lederach, 2005: 11).

Fighting spread and became present throughout society, including the market where women bought, sold, and traded goods (Buchanan-Smith and Lind, 2005: 13). A small group of women decided to form a cross-clan coalition to ensure that the market would be safe for all women. They created a plan that would identify and quickly prevent any fighting from occurring in the market (Lederach, 2005: 11; Rapp, 2006: 81). In a short period of time, the women were able to extricate violence from the market, creating a zone of peace (Lederach, 2005: 11).

With their success in the market, they formed the Wajir Women’s Association for Peace and sought to expand the zone of peace to the region (Buchanan-Smith and Lind, 2005: 13). The women used their connections to men in their own clans to assemble a group of elders from all clans (Lederach, 2005:12). One well-respected elder from a smaller tribe became the spokesperson for the women and encouraged other elders to work together to create peace. They formed the Council of Elders for Peace and worked with the Wajir Women’s Association for Peace to communicate their efforts to government officials. In particular, they sought agreement that the government would not disrupt their efforts and the government agreed.

Their work for peace continued to expand. The elders and the women began to address economic and social factors that were pushing young men to become fighters. They worked with local business communities and the Youth for Peace to offer alternative recourses to youth targeted for recruitment (Rapp, 2006: 81). The women, the elders, the business community and the youth joined together to form the Wajir Peace and Development Committee (Lederach, 2005: 12). By the late 1990s, the region had undergone a dramatic transformation becoming one of the safest areas in Kenya (Menkhaus, 2008: 23). What started as a small group of women trying to create a safe market has transformed the district of Wajir (Menkhaus, 2008: 29).

Turning Point and the Four Disciplines

The women's effort to transform the market into a violence free zone marks a turning point in the conflict. The recognition that the violence had impacted previous generations and, if nothing changed, would affect future generations led the women to take action (Lederach, 2005: 11). They formed alliances with members of the antagonistic clans in hope to build a more peaceful future for future generations. From the vision of a peaceful imagined future for their children and grandchildren emerged a new form of interaction between previous enemies. The transformation spread from the plan to create a secure market gradually spread to the whole region.

The moral imagination was essential for creating turning points in the conflict in Wajir (Lederach, 2005: 19). The four disciplines that comprise the moral imagination are present throughout the story, starting with the transformation of the market. The women were able to imagine—demonstrating the discipline of creativity—a market that would be safe for all members of the community. To accomplish their vision the women focused on strengthening relationships across clan-lines. In collaborating, the women resisted defining each other simplistically as enemies and employed paradoxical curiosity to understand each other more deeply. The women also risked their personal safety by intervening when tensions emerged (Lederach, 2005: 12).

The presence of the four disciplines continued to inform the transformation of the conflict as it spread to the region. Paradoxical curiosity inspired the women to mobilize the patriarchy, the source of most of the fighting, to encourage peace in the region

through the elders and the government (Lederach, 2005: 37). The focus of the plan to extend the security of the market to the rest of society was premised on relationships between clans. The women were able to imagine the safety of the market expanding to the region and create platforms to realize their vision (Lederach, 2005: 69). The business community created work opportunities for youth to offer alternatives to fighting and the elders intervened when fighting appeared imminent. The elders and business people who participated in promoting peace took risks by engaging with those fighting and working with elders from rival clans. The relationships established have been sustained and the region has seen violence decrease over the past decade (Buchanan-Smith and Lind, 2005: 5).

Peasants Movement in Colombia

The second story takes place in the Magdalena Medio in Colombia. Bi-partisan conflict has raged in Colombia through most of the twentieth century (Meertens and Segura-Escobar, 2006: 165). Conflicts between left-wing guerrillas, right-wing paramilitaries, drug traffickers and warlords have resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths, human displacements, and pervasive lawlessness (Rodriguez and Cadavid, 2007: 313). In the region of the Magdalena Medio, the conflict has claimed the lives of thousands of peasants (Sanz de Santamaría, 2007: 66) and near the end of the 1980s, violence had begun to escalate (Rodriguez and Cadavid, 2007: 313).

In 1987, the conflict in the Magdalena Medio escalated further. The military responded with efforts to coerce the peasants to join their efforts (Lederach, 2005: 14; Sanz de Santamaría, 2007: 66). The peasants were given four options: join the military, join the guerrillas, leave, or die. If they agreed to join with the military, forgiveness for their past transgressions would be guaranteed (Lederach, 2005: 14; Sanz de Santamaría, 2007: 66). In response, one of the peasants, Josué, stood and delivered the following speech:

You speak of forgiveness, but what do you have to forgive us? You are the ones who have violated. We have killed no one. You want to give us millions in weapons paid for by the state, yet you will not facilitate even the minimum credit for our farming needs. There are millions for war but nothing for peace...Captain, with all due respect, we do not plan to join your

side, their side or any side. We are going to find our own solution. (quoted in Lederach, 2005: 15)

From that moment the peasants began to organize non-violent civil resistance. They formed the Association of Peasant Workers of Carare (ATCC), an organization open to anyone who was willing to commit to nonviolence. The group organized delegations to conduct open meetings with armed groups and created formal and informal agreements (Lederach, 2005: 16). Gradually, the violence was reduced in the region.

Although the movement faded following the assassination of many of its leaders, it has had a profound impact on the region (Lederach, 2005: 16). The story demonstrates the power of nonviolence. The ATCC was able to demonstrate that there were alternative responses in conflict other than violence (Lederach, 2005: 16). The threat posed by the ATCC was so great that the leaders were targeted and killed. Today, people still talk of the speech made by Josué and the work of the ATCC; their work lives on in the memory of the local population.

Turning Point and the Four Disciplines

The moment that changed the conflict for the peasants in the Magdalena Medio was when Josué decided to challenge the options offered by the commander. Previously, the local communities had suffered the violence as the control of the region changed between different groups. Responding to the presented options, Josué spoke of the context in which they lived and the inaccuracy of the claims made by the commander (Lederach, 2005: 37). By refusing to accept violence as the only option, the community was able to explore new forms of interaction in the conflict.

In his speech, he drew on the history of the conflict and spoke to the reality that the peasants faced because of the violence. His proposition demonstrated paradoxical curiosity; he rejected the narrowly defined boundaries of how the local communities could respond in favour of finding a more peaceful option. In doing so he also presented an imagined future where security was not based on weapons, but on community—demonstrating both relationship focus and creativity. Furthermore, openly defying the commander while surrounded by armed soldiers was a risk to Josué's and his community.

The ensuing movement also demonstrated the disciplines of the moral imagination. Pursuing the change towards nonviolence required creativity from the peasants. They had to envision an alternative and develop guiding principles to realize the change. Central to the plan were relationships. The peasants strengthened connections not just within the communities, but also included combatants. In doing so, military and guerrilla commanders were not people they were against rather, they were seen as part of the solution (Lederach, 2005: 15). The inclusion of fighters demonstrated the peasants' capacity to envision a web of relations that included 'enemies'. Furthermore, meeting with the leaders and refusing to carry arms entailed at great deal of risk (Lederach, 2005: 16). However, the risk was important demonstrating their commitment to peace and forming agreements with the various leaders.

Lederach sees something in these stories that is rarely reflected upon in the study of conflict. Namely, that the moral imagination is essential to creating turning points. Other scholars have further explored the transformative nature of the moral imagination by applying it to different contexts.

Literature on Lederach's Moral Imagination

John Paul Lederach's exploration of the moral imagination has been applied to conflict and post-conflict situations. Some scholars have argued that the moral imagination, as described by Lederach, is valuable in education (Farmer, 2010; Weldon, 2010 and 2009). Sarah Farmer proposes that the development of the moral imagination should be incorporated into curriculum for school children (Farmer, 2010; 377). She argues that fostering the moral imagination in black youth in the USA will provide them the means to escape cycles of violence and challenge existing prejudices (Farmer, 2010, 375). Gail Weldon also explores the role of the moral imagination in education. Through examples in Rwanda and South Africa, she demonstrates how Lederach's conception of the moral imagination can be effective in teacher training (Weldon, 2009; Weldon, 2010). In particular, a focus on the interdependence of relationships benefits teachers and their future students (Weldon, 2010: 357).

The moral imagination has also been applied to decision-making. Max Stephenson incorporates Lederach's moral imagination in his definition of moral

creativity (Stephenson, 2009: 429). He argues that the most effective leaders use the moral imagination as a “guiding force” (Stephenson, 2009: 429). Leland Anderson explores the practical application of the moral imagination in decision-making in the courtroom (Anderson, 2008). He applies the four aspects of Lederach’s moral imagination to a creative ruling he made involving a young offender (Anderson, 2008). He argues that the unexpected and compassionate decision he took created space for the young offender to escape the cycle of violence (Anderson, 2008: 420).

Finally, conflict literature has employed Lederach’s moral imagination as an approach to addressing conflict more creatively. Michelle Maiese suggests that emotions that arise in conflicts are more effectively addressed through the moral imagination than most technique-oriented approaches (Maiese, 2006: 192). She argues that creative approaches, such as humour, are capable of overcoming emotional barriers to peace (Maiese, 2007: 193). Examples of the moral imagination in conflict have also been drawn from literature. Daniachew Worku’s book *The Thirteenth Sun* demonstrates one writer’s capacity to maintain paradoxical curiosity and creativity during times of conflict (Kurtz, 2010: 20).

The Moral Imagination in Environmental Conflict

Lederach’s understanding of the moral imagination has not, to this author’s knowledge, been applied to situations of environmental conflict. However, it seems that it would function in the same way as in settings of protracted social conflicts.

Environmental conflicts emerge over the threat or realization of environmental degradation. Environmental degradation refers to a “destabilizing interference in the ecosystem’s equilibrium” that is human-made and has a negative impact on human society (Libiszewski, 2009: 3-4).¹⁸ One cause of degradation is the overuse of a renewable resource (Libiszewski, 2009: 6). This can be seen in examples of over-fishing and clear-cutting. A second form of degradation is caused by “overstraining an ecosystem’s sink capacity,” which is a result of pollution (Libiszewski, 2009: 6). For a

¹⁸ For more detailed explanation of environmental conflicts see Libiszewski’s “What is Environmental Conflict?” (1992)

conflict to be environmental, “the object of contention” is the degradation of a renewable resource (Libiszewski, 2009: 7).

Environmental degradation is a destructive relationship between humans and their environment, and consequently other living organism on earth. Understanding that violence is a result of destructive relationships, environmental degradation can be classified as a form of violence.

Society often values an environment because of the natural resources it contains. Forests are valued for the lumber that they hold; soil is valuable for being able to produce certain crops. By valuing the environment as a collection of natural resources we limit our capacity to recognize the complexity of the ecosystem. Recognizing the interconnectedness between humans and the planet is essential to altering how society values the environment. A deeper understanding of humanity’s relation to its environment can lead to creative approaches for a sustainable society. In other words, addressing environmental degradation takes an act of the moral imagination.

To explore how the moral imagination can operate in altering practices that lead to environmental degradation, I will analyze the environmental conflict that took place during the 1990s in Clayoquot Sound in British Columbia. The responding campaign (which will be referred to as the Clayoquot campaign) was an effort to prevent extensive logging of an old growth temperate rainforest in the region of Clayoquot Sound. The Clayoquot campaign is an example of shifting towards a sustainable relationship between previously conflicting parties and their environment. The next chapter will introduce the Clayoquot campaign in more detail to provide the context of the conflict.

CHAPTER 2: The Clayoquot Campaign

*"I used to think Clayoquot was an environmental problem, but it's not, the environment is fine. It's a people problem. The mountainsides weren't eroding by themselves; they were eroding because people didn't share a vision. Now we do."
– Tzaporah Berman¹⁹*

Clayoquot Land-Use Decision

The Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force

Tensions were high in Clayoquot Sound by the end of the 1980s. The District of Tofino decided to create a community sustainable development strategy process in response to on-going disagreement. Soon the need to expand the strategy beyond the area surrounding the town was recognized. In 1988, the district of Tofino government requested support from the provincial government to broaden the membership and the geographical scope of the process (Clayoquot Documents henceforth referred to as CD II/C/1: 26).²⁰ The possibility of creating a collaborative strategy had broad support in the region (CD II/D/5: 3). It was hoped that such a process would create a land-use plan that would balance all the interests and reduce the potential for future conflict in the area.

The government responded on August 4, 1989 by organizing the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force (CSSDTF). The objective was to:

Prepare a sustainable development strategy for Clayoquot Sound ensuring that all aspects present and future development are addressed, including social concerns, aesthetics, and economic development opportunities and requirements of all the resource sectors...The Task Force will produce recommendations which will promote the long-term economic development in Clayoquot Sound while safeguarding the integrity of the local environment. (CD II/D/1: 36)

The CSSDTF was composed of representatives of various interests including the following: the municipalities and districts, commercial fishing, aquaculture, mining, tourism, small business, labour, environmental and conservation, MacMillan Bloedel, International Forest Products and the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (CD II/C/16: 273). The process was based on consensus to ensure that the diversity of the CSSDTF was

¹⁹ Bossin: <http://www3.telus.net/oldfolk/women.htm> (Accessed March 30, 2013)

²⁰ The request was made May 11, 1989 under the *Regionalization Framework for Action (1988)*

reflected in its decisions. They were given one year to report to the cabinet with recommendations (CD II/D/5:62).

Conflicts on the CSSDTF

Conflict plagued the CSSDTF from the start and has been studied extensively.²¹ The first objective for the CSSDTF was to outline areas where logging operations could continue during the planning process (CD II/D/1: 36). While the boundaries for logging were being established, MacMillan Bloedel continued its operations. Conservationist representatives argued that all harvesting should have been halted until an interim plan was created. The following quote captures their frustration regarding the logging: “As we were negotiating, the very apples we were supposed to be dividing up were being eaten” (Langer and Bates, 1993: 82-83). That logging continued compromised the negotiations and highlighted the power imbalance that favoured economic development over conservation.

The Tofino representatives presented two options for interim development. The first prohibited development in the short term, and the second would permit interim development as long as it respected to specific criteria (CD II/ E/1: 65). They included a list of areas that would be excluded from development in the latter option on account of ecological importance. MacMillan Bloedel responded by claiming that the proposed options would cost some 400 jobs (CD II/D/2: 38). While no efforts were made to identify alternative employment, the issue became a barrier to consensus (CD II/E/4: 73). The divisions that had led to establishing the CSSDTF reemerged with the first issue up for discussion. They were unable to reach consensus on the topic.

Disagreement continued to plague the CSSDTF over the course of its existence. The interim decision on logging was seen as biased towards industry at the expense of ecological integrity (CD II/E/4: 74). Perception of a pro-industry slant was re-enforced when the mayor of Port Alberni, the IWA and MacMillan Bloedel joined The Forestry Alliance—a group with goals that “directly contradicted the principles of sustainable development” (CD II/E/4: 37). Allowing clearcut logging to continue during negotiations

²¹ Christine Callihoo wrote a PhD thesis titled *Participation Equality in the Public Policy Process: The Clayoquot Land Use Decision* (1997) which provides a thorough description of the problems that the Task Force faced.

led representatives in favour of conservation to lose confidence in the process (CD II/E/3: 72; Ingram, 1994: 11; Langer and Bate, 1994: 82-83; Shaw, 2003: 32). In protest, one of the tourism representative and all of the environmental representatives withdrew from the CSSDTF.

In the absence of some parties, the CSSDTF continued. However, the CSSDTF was still unable to reach consensus. In 1992, they presented to the Cabinet a “majority decision” that was supported by ten of the thirteen interests represented (CD II/C/5:270).²² The Cabinet made the final decision on the land-use in the region²³.

Prior to the release of decision, First Nations claimed that they had not been consulted by the government regarding the final land-use decision (CD II/E/7: 112). They argued that, once again, the government had taken a decision regarding an entire region that was still subject to unresolved land claims without adequate involvement of First Nations (Shaw, 2003: 39). Others would soon join them in voicing dissent to the decision.

The Clayoquot Land-Use Decision

Announcing the Clayoquot Land-Use Decision (CLUD), the Honorable Premier Michael Harcourt (1991-1996) celebrated it as compromise between First Nations, forestry, tourism and environmental interests (Ingram, 1994: 22). It was presented as a strategy that balanced “environmental values in Clayoquot Sound, with the need for families to make a living and communities to have a stable economy”.²⁴ CLUD proposed an overall reduction in logging by one third.²⁵ Furthermore, the plan designated areas for the following types of land-use: clearcut, selective logging, and preservation.²⁶ To maintain the natural aesthetic impression of the Sound, CLUD proposed incorporating

²² Tourism and the town of Tofino opposed the decision as insufficiently conservationist. Mining opposed it as overly ‘green’. The First Nations abstained from taking a position on the proposed option (Callihoo, 1997: 109).

²³ The Cabinet’s decision was seen as more preservationist than the “majority option” (Callihoo, 1997: 110).

²⁴ Integrated Land Management Bureau, 1993:
http://archive.ilmb.gov.bc.ca/slrp/lrmp/nanaimo/clayoquot_sound/archive/files/nr041393.htm (Accessed March 13, 2013)

²⁵ Integrated Land Management Bureau, 1993:
http://archive.ilmb.gov.bc.ca/slrp/lrmp/nanaimo/clayoquot_sound/archive/reports/panel.html (Accessed March 13, 2013)

²⁶ *ibid*

strips of trees to block the clear cut from view known as scenic corridors. In total, one third of the Sound was set aside as protected.²⁷

Reaction and Outcry

From the outset of the CSSDTF, representatives of environmental interest had argued that according to scientific evidence, unsustainable levels of logging were being allowed. When CLUD was announced, they maintained that the rate of cutting would lead to serious ecological degradation. They raised concerns that the areas protected were largely rocky or mountainous, containing comparatively less biodiversity (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: xi). Furthermore, included in the protected areas were the scenic corridors—the equivalent to a Hollywood façade—that would not support the ecosystem (Berman, 2011:39).²⁸ The decision was condemned by environmentalists and conservationists.

The outcry from environmentalists and First Nations spread to the general public. Numerous rallies were held at the provincial legislature in response to CLUD. Protests were also held across Canada and at Canadian embassies around the world (Shaw, 2003: 39; MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 51). Publicly, CLUD was widely perceived as a plan that catered to big industry and neglected environmental and First Nations' interests (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 173). It has since been referred to both as a misjudgment by the BC government and as the biggest miscalculation in Canada's environmental history (Langer, 1994: 189; Berman, 2011: 33).

Dissatisfaction with CLUD from various groups and the general public led to unprecedented outcry. The responding campaign was multifaceted including blockades, market campaigns, and negotiations (all of which will be explored in more detail in the following sections). The campaign's repercussions continue to impact on the region and the forestry industry today. The following is a skeletal description of the campaign that saved Clayoquot Sound.

²⁷ Integrated Land Management Bureau, 1993: http://archive.ilmb.gov.bc.ca/slrp/lrmp/nanaimo/clayoquot_sound/archive/reports/panel.html (Accessed March 13, 2013)

²⁸ Scenic corridors have also been referred to as 'beauty strips.' They create an impression of pristine wilderness from the road by blocking the clearcuts.

The War in the Woods

Approaches to the Conflict

Direct Action

Following the announcement of CLUD, there were competing views amongst those in opposition on what should happen next. Some individuals and groups, in particular the ENGO *Earth First!* advocated for direct action (Berman, 2011: 43; Walter, 2003: 255). One approach taken by self-proclaimed eco-warriors was tree spiking. In total over 20000 metal spikes were driven into trees to prevent logging (CBC: *A Little Place Called Clayoquot Sound*, 1993). If loggers proceeded and a spike is hit, metal splinters could result in injury or possibly death (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 53). Another approach was to burn the Clayoquot logging bridge (Berman, 2011: 44). None of these methods stopped the logging, nor did they define the main campaign to save Clayoquot Sound.

Non-Violent Civil Disobedience

The most prominent campaign was organized by FOCS. Organizers aimed to raise the profile of the conflict in Clayoquot Sound by attracting the largest number of participants possible. Non-violent civil disobedience was chosen as an approach because it seemed less radical and would encourage a broader range of participants (Berman, 2011: 40). The protest was informed by historic civil rights and environmental campaigns, and based on principles of *Satyagraha*²⁹ and eco-feminism (McLaren, 1994: 68; MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 53; Walter, 2007: 254; Berman, 1994: 5). Their goal was to meaningfully engage with government and industry to stop unsustainable logging in the Sound (Berman, 2011: 42).

Many environmentalists were skeptical of the effectiveness of civil disobedience. They expressed concern that the peaceful protest would not yield results fast enough or be effective in preserving the Sound. Some turned to the more assertive form of direct action mentioned above. FOCS organizers began to build support for civil disobedience through a series of public civil disobedience training workshops. The approach drew

²⁹ This is a term coined by Mahatma Gandhi that is translated to “truth-force” (McLaren, 1994: 68).

broad attention and by the end of the summer of 1993, the campaign had become one of the largest acts of civil disobedience in Canadian history (Berman, 2011: 39).

Preparing for Civil Disobedience

Planning

The first step in organizing their response was to educate people. The leaders began by providing training on media skills, non-violent protest, and the rainforest. Experienced nonviolent protesters led each session (MacLaren, 1994: 6). Invitations were sent out to environmental organizations across BC and over 250 people participated (Berman, 2011: 42). The first training camp took place in Clayoquot Sound. Soon after, they held a session in Stanley Park in Vancouver to increase public access and media visibility (Berman, 2011: 42). The training communicated to the public that CLUD would not go unchallenged and what type of response could be expected (Berman, 2011: 47). It was in part the absence of physical violence and the promotion of civility that attracted so many to join the campaign during the summer of 1993 (Chaloupka, 2003: 76; Berman, 2011: 50). Through this initial training, the organizers began to construct a narrative of the issues and the upcoming response.

In order to build a public story, the organizers needed to ensure that their message would go as far as possible. One approach was to create controversial advertisements regarding clearcutting in Clayoquot Sound. The idea was to make the ads bold and creative enough that other media outlets would cover them as news. One such title was “They said we’d never run out of cod either,” (CD II/D/4:299). These ads explained the essence of environmentalist’s concerns and fed into the story being developed. Another approach was to create a sense of anticipation to excite public curiosity. Near the end of June, FOCS sent an anonymous fax to all the media outlets in BC that stated: “Clayoquot Blockades will start July 1st” (Berman, 2011: 47). The ensuing speculation in the media generated intrigue of what would happen next in the Clayoquot Sound conflict.

Peace Camp

At the end of June 1993 organizers arrived in the burnt-out clearcut, nicknamed the ‘Blackhole’, to set up tents, latrines, a fire pit, a kitchen and a banner that read

“Clayoquot Peace Camp”. The camp was based on equality, nonviolence and consensus decision making. To communicate the attitude of the camp—and the whole campaign—a list of the rules known as the Peaceful Direct Action Code was posted at the entrance. It read:

1. Our attitude is one of openness, friendliness and respect towards all beings we encounter.
 2. We will not use violence either verbal or physical towards any being.
 3. We will not damage any property and we will discourage others from doing so.
 4. We will strive for an atmosphere of calm and dignity.
 5. We will carry no weapons.
 6. We will not bring or use alcohol or drugs.
- (Berman, 1994: 5)

Run entirely on donations, the Peace Camp provided space for protesters and supporters to eat, sleep and plan (Berman, 2011: 43). It was home for approximately two hundred people at a time throughout the summer (Vanchieri, 2011: 5). It is estimated that by the end of the summer 10000 to 12000 people had visited the remote Peace Camp in the Black Hole (Berman, 1994: 4; Vanchieri, 2011: 5; Walter, 2007: 249). The Peace Camp became a small community for those participating on the campaign.

To keep the camp running well took communal efforts to maintain security, clean up and, in particular, prepare food. Food donations came from various sources including restaurants in Vancouver and Tofino (Berman, 2011: 49; MacLaren, 1994: 19). The food was prepared in the makeshift kitchen they called the Clearcut Café. It offered three daily vegan meals to everyone at the Peace Camp; feeding between 100 and 1400 people at a time (MacLaren, 1994: 18).³⁰ In the spirit of the camp, preparation and clean up for meals was a collective effort by volunteers.

The Peace Camp also served as a site for continuing the training in non-violence that had begun prior to July. Once again, it was conducted by experienced protesters, some of whom had been arrested in previous years of blockades. The sessions on peace keeping and non-violent protest were three hours and a half in length (Walter, 2007: 255; MacLaren, 1994: 64). Training included discussions on fear, violence, consensus decision-making, collective action and being arrested (MacLaren, 1994: 65; Berman,

³⁰ On weekends they served only two meals: brunch and supper.

1994: 5).³¹ Over the course of the summer of 1993, thousands of people were trained in peaceful resistance (Berman, 2011: 46).

The Peace Camp was also a site for planning and discussion. Supported by the training sessions, decisions at the camp were made through consensus (Walter, 2007: 255). Everything, from blockade strategy to disputes in the camp, was included in daily deliberations. They held meetings every night to debrief on the day's events and plan for the next blockade (MacLaren, 1994: 28). During these strategy circles they would decide on themes for the upcoming blockade and people would announce if they were willing to stand on the road. On one occasion over 700 people participated in the discussion (Berman, 2011: 50). One retired labour worker commented that "This [consensus decision making] shouldn't work, but it does" (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 58). Despite the challenge of reaching collective agreement, they remained committed to consensus throughout the summer. Consensus decision-making was key to creating a site to "[provide] meaningful forum for grassroots protest" (Berman, 1994: 4).

The Black Hole had been an unsuccessful experiment in forest management. After being clearcut, foresters had set fire to the clearing in an attempt to replicate the effects of a forest fire. It had been replanted four times in twenty years and still nothing grew (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 57). The destruction of clear cutting visually contrasted with the liveliness of the Peace Camp was a potent visual for the campaign (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 56). When the media covered the Midnight Oil concert, images of the Black Hole and the destructiveness of clearcutting were spread globally.

Blockades

Previous campaigns in Clayoquot Sound had used aggressive measures to prevent logging trucks from accessing the forest. For example, protesters placed a log across the road so that trucks could not pass. With a protester sitting on the end of the log overhanging a river, it could not be moved. The blockades of 1993 were a strategic departure from that approach. Instead of stopping trucks in the short term, they sought to raise public awareness and support to stop logging in the long term (Chaloupka, 2003:

³¹ See Appendix B for detailed guide to training.

76). It has been criticized as ineffective because logging was hardly slowed and rarely ever stopped (Unknown, 1997: 88).

The blockades took place on Kennedy Bridge in Clayoquot Sound. Blockades ran during the weekdays from July to October with the number of people blockading ranging from one to over 5000 (MacLaren, 1994; Berman, 2011: 55). The blockades were in open defiance of a court injunction that stipulated no one was to interfere with MacMillan Bloedel's operations. By engaging in blockading, the protesters were breaking the law. Understood as an act of civil disobedience, they "chose to break a small law—in this case a court injunction—in order to stop a larger injustice" (Hatch, 1994: 105). In line with what was taught at the Peace Camp, arrestees would either walk or be carried off the road but would not resist arrest. The estimated number of people arrested ranges from 900 to over 1000 for disobeying the court order at the blockades.

The participants of the blockades included local business people, professors, students, children, priests, the Raging Grannies³² and forestry workers. They came from across Canada and around the world—including a member of the European Parliament and a group of Basques from Spain. The campaign also attracted celebrities including the singer Peter Garrett and his band Midnight Oil from Australia and the environmental lawyer Robert Kennedy Jr. from the USA (CD II/D/8: 323). Their star power drew significant media coverage and broadened the scope of support for the cause (Shaw, 2003: 41; Chaloupka, 2003: 67). Although the protesters came from diverse backgrounds, they were united in their commitment to peaceful civil disobedience. Throughout they maintained a high level of discipline and a commitment to nonviolence, even when faced with aggression from counter-protesters who were in favour of logging (MacLaren, 1994: 32).

The daily blockades followed a consistent schedule through the summer. The protesters would leave the Peace Camp around 4:30 am to arrive at Kennedy Bridge before the loggers (MacLaren, 1994: 29). The blockade coordinator would check in with the RCMP to update them on how many were planning to blockade and reaffirm that it would be non-violent (Berman, 2011: 51). Those planning to blockade were asked to stay

³² The Raging Grannies are an activist organization with a focus on issues of social justice. All members are women old enough to be grandmothers. (<http://www.vcn.bc.ca/ragigran/> Accessed April 5, 2013).

on the road and the rest would move to the side. A representative from MacMillan Bloedel would then read the court injunction and inform the protesters of the possible consequences they would face if they stayed on the road. The RCMP would then arrest the protesters who did not move.³³ Those arrested would then be taken by bus to the Ucluelet.³⁴ Most days, they would be back at the Peace Camp by 9:30 am (MacLaren, 1994: 30).

The blockades were infused with a sense of fun to offset the repetitive nature of the protest and attract more supporters. Often, singing and dancing were encouraged to boost morale and calm anxiety during tense moments (Berman, 2011: 48). Another approach was creating theme days. Some examples of theme days included the local business people's blockade, grandmothers' blockade, clergy's blockade, women and children's blockade (MacLaren, 1994: 32; Shaw, 2003: 40). These themes highlighted the diversity of the participants, encouraging wide participation.

Tzeporah Berman

One of the main organizers of the campaign was Tzeporah Berman. Originally from London, Ontario, she first heard of the ancient forests on Vancouver Island at the University of Toronto in 1991 (Berman, 2011: 24). That summer she decided to go and volunteer with the Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC) in Clayoquot Sound. With the goal of preserving the Sound the organization was doing research, setting up trails, and raising awareness. Berman was firmly committed to the objectives and the approach of the WCWC during her first summer there. It was the destruction of one of her favourite spots in the Walbran Valley that led her to seek out more direct action (Berman, 2011: 30).

Berman became an activist with FOCS. By the end of the summer, she began to participate as one of the leaders in the organization. When she returned in 1993, she began assisting with the organization with a response to CLUD. At the start of the summer, Berman's focus was on recruitment of participants for the training in Stanley

³³ Some days the crowd was too big to attempt to arrest everyone. Such was the case on the day that Midnight Oil played their concert when an estimated 5000 people came to blockade. The loggers did not try to pass and no arrests were made (Berman, 2011: 53)

³⁴ Ironically, on the side of the bus that carried the arrested was a sign that read "Forest Tours" (Moore, 1993)

Park and helping coordinate the sessions (Berman, 2011: 39). When the protests began, Berman became the blockade coordinator.³⁵ Everyday she would give speeches to blockaders to boost morale, reaffirming the protest's commitment to non-violence and liaise with law enforcement to ensure that they were aware of plans (Berman, 2011: 51).

Berman began making headlines when the RCMP arrested her on over 600 counts of aiding and abetting. Shortly after her arrest, she was released to help maintain order at the blockades (Shaw, 2003: 42). The RCMP arrested her a few more times over the summer (Berman, 2011: 64). By October, she was facing 857 criminal charges of aiding and abetting. Many viewed this as violation of democratic rights and as an intimidation tactic to dissuade organizers of the campaign (Shaw, 2003: 44). Her arrest turned her into the public face of the campaign (Berman, 2011: 70).

Impact of the War in the Woods

By the end of the summer the impact of the protest was evident. Over 900 people had been arrested; more than 850 people were facing charges of criminal contempt of court; the conflict in Clayoquot Sound was known around the world; and the polls were showing that seventy-five percent of British Columbians believed that the logging industry need to adhere to higher environmental standards and be kept under closer scrutiny in Clayoquot Sound (CD III/C/16: 276). Despite all this, their goal had not been realized: destructive logging continued in the Sound.³⁶ However, the War in the Woods proved to be a significant turning point in the campaign. It served to increase the visibility of the issues and increase public support and laid the groundwork for the next stages of the campaign.

Stumpy

Starting in September, environmentalists with the Western Canada Wilderness Committee toured a 390 year-old clearcut tree stump from the Sound across Canada to Ottawa. Weighing over 3600 kilograms and measuring two meters in diameter, the stump was given the name "Baby Stumpy," for its relative young age compared to some trees in

³⁵ In part this was because many of the protesters had previously been arrested at the bridge and would violate a court order if they returned.

³⁶ Berman and Gregg, 2011: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pEfsK2H6nsM> (Accessed March 24, 2013)

Clayoquot Sound (Stefanick, 2001: 62). Stumpy would make stops along the way at different environmental events along the way, called “publicity *stumps*”.³⁷ Stumpy’s Canadian tour was an effort to convince the federal government to intervene and create a park in Clayoquot Sound. After Stumpy had finished its work in Ottawa, it was passed over to Greenpeace who transported it to Europe. There, Stumpy continued to galvanize support and generate discussion in the European media. Stumpy was even featured on a children’s television show.³⁸ While the initial goal of creating a park was not realized, the tour highlighted the size of trees that were being cut down and increase support in Canada and Europe.

Trials

The trials for protesters began in September 1993. Blockaders were facing charges of criminal contempt of court for defying the injunction. In order for contempt of court to be considered criminal it must be “beyond a reasonable doubt that the accused disobeyed or defied a court order in a public way with intent, knowledge or recklessness that the public disobedience will tend to depreciate the authority of the court” (Hatch, 1994: 123). The Chief justice of the BC Supreme Court argued that the case of the Clayoquot protesters was a “classic case of criminal contempt,” because it undermined the administration of justice in the province (CD III/D/2: 295).

Charges of criminal contempt of court typically are dealt with quickly because they threaten the legitimacy of the court (CD III/D/2: 295). Following the summer of blockades and arrests, more than 850 people needed to go through the justice system. The need to prosecute an unprecedented number of individuals in as little time as possible presented a challenge. Originally, protesters were going to be tried together as one big group (Hatch, 1994: 108). After further discussion, however, it was decided that trials would be held for groups of twenty to fifty people.

When the first, and harshest, rulings were issued on October 14, 1993, protesters faced up to sixty days in prison and fines of \$3000 (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994:

³⁷ Wilderness Committee, 1993: http://wildernesscommittee.org/video/1993_stumpy_comes_vancouver_tv_news_story (Accessed April 5, 2013)

³⁸ Wilderness Committee, 1994: http://wildernesscommittee.org/video/1994_stumpy_british_tv (Accessed March 14, 2013)

115). In the end, sentences varied and went all the way down to \$250 with no jail time (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 163). The final group trial was concluded in 1994.

Public Reaction

The Clayoquot trials drew widespread criticism. The first source of criticism was that the trials were held in groups (Hatch, 1994: 107; MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 75). Concern was expressed that mass trials neglected some basic legal rights such as access to counsel (Shaw, 2003: 44). The matter of mass trials led to criticism that individuals did not get a chance to present their case in full.

A second criticism was in response to the decision to upgrade to criminal rather than civil charges (Hatch, 1994: 112; MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 75; CD III/C/16: 284). This was a departure from the legal norm of contempt being treated under common law rather than an offence under the Criminal Code of Canada (Hatch, 1994: 116). And in light of the peaceful nature of the protests, applying the term criminal to their actions was perceived as harsh (CD III/D/2: 295; MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 115). Furthermore, there was public speculation that the Office of the Attorney General and the Premier had influenced the court proceedings as a political strategy to demoralize and delegitimize the campaign (CD III/D/2: 295). The case was widely viewed as an infringement on democratic freedoms of individual citizens (CD III/D/3: 297-298; Langer, 1994: 190).

Of all the Clayoquot cases that were going through the BC Supreme Court, Berman's trial received the highest level of attention. Her crime was that of 'criminal aiding and abetting' for helping to organize the blockade. She was facing 857 on that charge (Berman, 2011: 64), and if convicted, she was facing up to six years in prison. The case further enforced the perception that the court proceedings were an infringement on democratic freedom in an effort to silence political dissidence (Shaw, 2003: 44). With the support of Clayton Ruby, her lawyer David Martin was able to mount a defense strong enough that her case was dismissed (Berman, 2011: 78).

The impact that the trial had was described by one of the organizers as follows: "As a campaigner for Clayoquot Sound and the temperate rainforests of British Columbia, I couldn't help but feel that the government's heavy-handed approach to the Clayoquot

arrestees and their harsh sentencing made for very good campaign material” (Langer, 1994: 191). The Clayoquot trials broadened scope of the issue beyond trees—it now included discussions about democratic freedoms (CD III/D/3: 297). The trials kept public attention on Clayoquot Sound long after the blockades had finished.

Market Campaign

Boycotts

After the summer of protests, logging continued unabated in Clayoquot Sound so campaigners decided to try another approach. Since public opinion would not sway industry or the government, they decided to focus on making an economic impact. If they could threaten the company’s profits, perhaps MacMillan Bloedel would be willing to negotiate.

Their first step was to trace where the wood from Clayoquot Sound was going. To create a consumer trail—known as chain-of-custody research—campaigners employed a number of tactics (Berman, 2012). Some approaches were more direct: following trucks transporting logs out of Clayoquot to determine where they were going; taking tours of processing plants; cold-calling pulp mills for information on who was buying their product. In other cases, they would follow the paper trail: reviewing shipping information, reports, and databases (Berman, 2011: 106). Over time they created chain-of-custody research that showed major corporations who were purchasing products made from the old-growth forests of Clayoquot Sound.

The next step was to select which companies would be targeted for boycotts. They then would set up meetings with representatives of the companies to inform them that their products were made from old-growth trees. They discovered that one of the companies, Scott Paper, used Clayoquot wood to make toilet paper (Berman, 2011: 100). Scott Paper, like many other companies, first claimed they only purchased product from sustainable logging and then, when faced with the chain-of-custody data, redirected the campaigners to their government (Berman 2011: 100).

Following these initial meetings, the campaigners would re-group and create a plan for consumer campaigns that they would present to the companies. In the case of Scott Paper, they created a potential sticker featuring the company’s iconic puppy saying,

“I destroy rainforests!”³⁹ They presented the sticker plan to the company and promised that these would be stuck on all of their products immediately if they did not change their purchasing practices (Berman, 2011: 101; Stanbury and Vertinsky, 1997: 20).⁴⁰ Soon after the second meeting, Scott Paper cancelled their \$1.5 million contract.⁴¹

Not all the companies agreed to cooperate. Those who refused became the public face of the boycotts. Building on the public disapproval of logging Clayoquot Sound that had been developed during the blockades, the campaigners connected the issue of clearcutting with specific companies. Consumers were then asked to stop purchasing certain retail products (Stanbury and Vertinsky, 1997: 20). Protests were held outside corporate headquarters and at stores, and advertisements were placed in major newspapers (CD VI/7/221). All of these tactics were meant to demonstrate that consumers would choose to support companies that sourced from sustainable forestry.

One of the biggest campaigns was against Pacific Bell, a telephone company in California. Their campaign consisted of a variety of innovative protests including: putting stickers on public phone books that read “Don’t let your fingers do the chopping!”, setting up a giant phone booth outside their annual general meeting that rang every sixty seconds, representing the rate which rainforests were being cut down, and hanging huge posters between buildings denouncing the company’s role in rainforest destruction (Berman, 2011: 101-102; Stanbury and Vertinsky, 1997: 22; CD VI/7: 212). The impact of the campaign was not limited to the target company. The boycott campaigns had a ripple effect as companies who wished to avoid the bad publicity began canceling contracts with suppliers of products from Clayoquot Sound. Eventually, this led to MacMillan Bloedel shutting down the Clayoquot division and entering into negotiations with the environmentalists in 1996 (Berman, 2011: 102).

Negotiations

Interim Measures Agreement

³⁹Berman, 2012 : <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jWCmcQs-6jo> Accessed March 6, 2013

⁴⁰ Interestingly, the campaigners did not think that their threat would work and had actually already printed the stickers and prepared them to be sent out.

⁴¹ Berman, 2012: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jWCmcQs-6jo> Accessed March 6, 2013

Shortly after the announcement of CLUD, the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations submitted a complaint to the BC provincial Ombudsman. They claimed that the government had not sufficiently consulted them and, in failing to do so, had overlooked their interests in the land-use decision (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 174). The ombudsman affirmed their grievance and recommended that the government reformulate the decision with meaningful inclusion of the First Nations peoples (Shaw, 2003: 42). With local and international attention building as a result of the blockades and protests, the BC government was forced to accept the Ombudsman's recommendations (Castro and Nielson, 2001: 232). In 1993, the government of BC began pre-treaty negotiations to establish a co-management agreement with the Central Region bands of the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations.

The First Nations were not opposed to logging in Clayoquot however wanted it to be done in a more sustainable way (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 174). With negotiations ongoing, the chiefs became concerned that the protests by environmentalists in Clayoquot Sound would jeopardize their opportunity for joint resource management (Berman, 2011: 83). First Nations and environmentalists began to collaborate in creating a plan for acceptable logging. Together they created a map of which areas would be acceptable for selective logging and which valleys would be preserved (Berman, 2011: 88).⁴²

In 1994, the chiefs negotiating with the provincial government invited some of the environmentalists to attend an important meeting to show support. The environmentalists stood behind the First Nations—both literally and figuratively—as they presented their proposal for co-management of the Sound. The government negotiators were taken aback by the presence of the environmentalists, whom they thought would oppose any agreement that involved logging (Shaw, 2003: 42). This gave a boost to the First Nations negotiations and was identified as a turning point in the negotiations (Berman, 2011: 90). Finally on March 19, 1994 the Interim Measures Agreement (IMA) was signed between the Central Region First Nations of the Nuu-chah-nulth and the government of BC (CD IV/3: 25).

⁴² They found that the pristine valleys that held significant ecological importance often overlapped with areas considered spiritual for the Nuu-chah-nulth (Berman, 2011: 88).

The IMA established the Central Region Board (CRB), in which the First Nations would have fifty-one percent of membership on the board (CD IV/4: 31; Berman, 2011: 90). Furthermore, they were granted double-majority decision-making power.⁴³ This meant that not only would decisions need to be passed by a majority of the board, but also by a majority of the First Nations members (Goetze, 2005: 254). IMA's decisions on land-use would be informed by the Scientific Panel—a group of First Nations representatives and scientists commissioned by the government to provide recommendations on sustainable development (Shaw, 2003: 45). The First Nations leaders celebrated the Interim Measures Agreement (IMA) as reclamation of the rights of their ancestors to manage and preserve their land (CD IV/4: 31). One negotiator described the Nuu-chah-nulth perspective of the IMA as follows: “We have a place at the table and we have a big voice and we have all the knowledge about resources that’s been passed down from generation to generation. We have something to say about how things go in Clayoquot Sound” (quoted in Goetze, 2005: 249).

Ending Clearcutting

After years of protests and boycotts, MacMillan Bloedel's public reputation was severely damaged (Berman, 2011: 149). The company referred to the boycotts as a wake-up call for the need to shift towards environmentally sustainable forestry practices (Stanbury and Vertinsky, 1997: 23). MacMillan Bloedel's first major step in 1996 was to suspend all its operations in Clayoquot Sound for a year (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 175).⁴⁴ Soon after logging was suspended, they hired a new CEO: Tom Stephens. He was selected for his legacy of repairing the broken social reputations of corporations.⁴⁵ His task was to end the embarrassing international boycotts and rebuild the company (CD VI/19). The change in leadership and the suspension of logging opened the door for a new relationship with environmentalists (Berman, 2011: 149).

In April of 1998, Stephens began working with environmentalists to create a business plan that would turn MacMillan Bloedel into a profitable eco-forestry company

⁴³ The double-majority power has never been invoked by the First Nations in favour of consensus (Goetze, 2005: 254).

⁴⁴ This was followed one year later by a permanent closure in 1997 (CD VI/21).

⁴⁵ Stephens had previously helped revive a Denver company whose brand had been tarnished over failing to respond effectively to public criticism for manufacturing asbestos (CD VIII/4).

(Berman, 2011: 150). The company spent \$600000 on the project, which for months had forestry workers collaborating with Greenpeace to explore alternative harvesting options (CD VIII/4).⁴⁶ They examined the economic, environmental and social implications that the changes would have, and created a business plan. Eventually, they developed a strategy that spread the company's harvesting operations over a much larger area, replaced clearcutting with selective logging and protected key ecological areas (Berman, 2011: 150). The proposal was brought to the board of directors and approved in June 1998.

When MacMillan Bloedel announced its decision to end clearcutting and pursue eco-forestry, it made waves in the forestry industry (CD VIII/4). Some competitors openly acknowledged the merits of the plan and many began to develop a strategy to go 'green' (Paquet, 1998; CD VIII/ 4). The joint efforts of environmentalists and MacMillan Bloedel went beyond creating a sustainable plan for Clayoquot Sound; it shifted the way forestry operated around the world (Berman, 2011: 152).

Creating Iisaak and Signing the Memorandum of Agreement

As part of the Interim Measures Extension Agreement (IMEA) of 1996, MacMillan Bloedel and the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations had agreed to pursue a joint venture logging company: Iisaak Forestry Resources Ltd. (Iisaak).

In November 1998, MacMillan Bloedel and the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations established Iisaak Forestry Resources LTD. The company ownership was shared between MacMillan Bloedel—who owned forty-nine percent of the shares—and the Nuu-chah-nulth—who owned fifty-one percent of the shares.⁴⁷ Self-described as “an innovative ecologically sensitive forest management company,” the company committed itself to harvest logs according to environmental standards and Nuu-chah-nulth tradition.⁴⁸ To ensure environmental sustainability, the company committed to practicing exclusively selective logging and to preserving several pristine valleys (Berman, 2011: 90).

⁴⁶ The effort was nicknamed “The Snark Project” after the Lewis Carrol poem about a ship of fools hunting a prize that probably doesn't exist (CD VIII/4).

⁴⁷ As of 2002, Iisaak Forestry Resources LTD is completely owned by the Nuu-chah-nulth.

⁴⁸Iisaak Forestry Resources LTD: <http://www.iisaak.com/> (Accessed April 5, 2013)

Shortly after its creation, Iisaak initiated negotiations with several ENGOs to develop a memorandum of understanding (MOU). The motivation for reaching an agreement with environmentalists was two-fold. First, conflicts in the past had damaged the MacMillan Bloedel's reputation and also delayed operations resulting in lost profits. By including environmentalists they hoped to ensure that the new company would not face similar opposition regarding its ecological impact (CD VI/21). Secondly, with agreement from environmentalists, the products of the new company could be marketed as eco-friendly. Establishing a company on environmentally sustainable principles would both boost profitability and create more jobs per tree cut (CD VI/21). With the overlap of economic and environmental interests, the creation of a joint venture and MOU facilitated the relationship between the logging industry and environmentalists (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 177).

Environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGO) agreed to support Iisaak's operations, actively engage in promoting markets for products produced by Iisaak, and to develop ongoing mechanisms for sustaining cooperation.⁴⁹ This arrangement was made official in the MOU signed between Iisaak and several ENGOs including the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, the Sierra Club of Western Canada, Greenpeace Canada and the Natural Resources Defense Council (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 177).⁵⁰

The blockades, demonstrations, boycotts and negotiations all contributed to increasing the salience of local First Nations and environmental interests in Clayoquot Sound. Their efforts culminated in the creation of Iisaak that addressed the various interests of the participants. Founding the company brought an end to decades of conflict in Clayoquot Sound.

Success

The Clayoquot Sound campaign has been heralded as a success by academics, activists and society (Conway, 2004: 6; Berman, 2011: 39; Shaw, 2003: 43; Chaloupka;

⁴⁹ *ibid*

⁵⁰ Friends of Clayoquot Sound did not sign the MOU. They chose to abstain so they could monitor the company's activities (Shaw, 2003: 55).

2003: 84). Evaluating success of the Clayoquot Sound requires exploration of both the perceived failures and accomplishments.

Complicating Factors

The Clayoquot campaign has a number of complicating factors for evaluating success. The first challenge is the absence of a single understanding of campaign goals within the environmental movement. Some environmentalists believed that every tree needed to be saved. For them, any compromise was seen as unacceptable (Berman, 2011: 88). On the other hand, environmentalists trying to save forests around the world were frustrated that the demand would result in more logging in other areas. Preserving Clayoquot Sound came at the expense of another forest to meet global demand (Berman, 2011: 111).

A second complicating factor is that, although there is an agreement in place, it is not legally binding. Furthermore, even its designation as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve does not guarantee preservation of the rainforest. As a result, over the years, tensions have risen when proposals for logging in pristine regions of the rainforest have been presented (CBC, 2008; Shaw, 2003: 59). Presently, none of Clayoquot Sound is permanently protected.

Achievements

Two questions help to define success. First, did the campaign achieve its goals (Tofflon-Weiss and Roberts, 2005: 78; Kenney, 2001: 188)? In the case of Clayoquot Sound, the environmental campaign set out to save the old-growth rainforests. By 1999, CLUD had been replaced with the CRB, MacMillan Bloedel had stopped clearcutting in the Sound, and a logging company committed to preserving ecological integrity had been established. And today, the old-growth rainforests of Clayoquot Sound are still standing (Berman, 2011: 90). Therefore, it can be argued that the campaign did achieve its goals.

Second, was the group recognized as a legitimate opponent (Giungi, 1998: 383; Brulle, 2000: 81; Kenney, 2001: 189)? When the representatives in favour of environmental conservation walked away from the CSSDTF in 1991, government and industry proceeded with the process without them. The absence of environmental

interests was not a major concern. Less than ten years later, when MacMillan Bloedel and the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations were developing a plan for a joint venture, they sought out agreement from environmentalists for their plan. The transformation of the influence that environmentalists held in Clayoquot Sound occurred over the course of the campaign. Their influence began to grow with wide spread support during the protests. It continued to develop as they were able to use public opinion to influence the purchasing habits of major corporations, and it culminated with environmental interests holding considerable weight in Clayoquot Sound. In light of this shift, it would appear that the campaign was successful in this regard as well.

The campaign has been celebrated as a success story in the environmental movement. Much of what the campaigners were able to accomplish was a result of the approach they took. Throughout the campaign, activists asked a lot of questions and strived to appreciate the complexity of issues at stake. They changed their approach as needed, while staying focused on their goal of ensuring environmental sustainability. They emphasized building relationships to mobilize support and create agreements. They were creative in their approach. From music and stunts to the creation of a MOU with a forestry company, they approached the conflict in unexpected and innovative ways. And they took risks. At the start of the campaign, the most obvious risk was being sent to jail. As they created agreements, the risk was working with the very group that had once been the opponent. In short, the Clayoquot campaign reflects the aspects of the moral imagination.

The following three chapters will explore some of the key turning points in the Clayoquot campaign through the lens of the four disciplines of moral imagination. Chapter four will look at the decision to provide training in peaceful civil disobedience for blockaders. Chapter five will focus on the consumer campaign that led to Scott Paper canceling their contract. And chapter six will examine the negotiations that led to the creation of Iisaak Forest Resources LTD and the corresponding MOU.

CHAPTER 3: The Clayoquot Campaign and Turning Points

“Things are only impossible until they’re not”.
- Jean-Luc Picard⁵¹

The Clayoquot Sound campaign was a major event in Canadian environmental history (Berman, 2011: 78). But what made this campaign so significant? Why did it stand out? The importance of the campaign has been the focus of numerous books, articles and theses over the years and has been explored from a variety of perspectives.⁵²

The Clayoquot campaign has several features that make it worth studying: global scale, multifaceted approach, the commitment to nonviolence, the role of women and its achievements. This chapter will explore these features and some of the key moments that shifted the direction of the conflict.

Why is it so important?

Scale

Taking the Conflict Beyond the Local: National and International Support

As stated earlier, Clayoquot Sound is a relatively small and remote geographical area in Canada. It is not an epicenter of Canadian politics, being that it is far from any of the major cities—Vancouver and Victoria are the closest—and has a low population density. And prior to 1993, it was not very well known even in Canada. Clayoquot Sound was not a place where important things were supposed to happen (Magnusson, 2003: 3).

Yet, despite being socially, politically and geographically peripheral, the local logging controversy became a national and international issue. Protesters against the Clayoquot Land Use Decision (CLUD) came from across Canada and around the world. Demonstrations were organized at Canadian embassies in several countries.

⁵¹ "When the Bough Breaks." Roddenberry, Gene . *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. CBS. 15 Feb. 1988.

⁵² Books include the following: Warren Magnusson and Karen Shaw's *A Political Space: Reading the Global Through Clayoquot Sound* (2003); Tzaporah Berman and Mark Young's *This Crazy Time* (2011); Tzaporah Berman, Maurice Gibbons, et al.'s *Clayoquot & Dissent*; Robald MacIsaac and Anne Champagne's *Clayoquot Mass Trials: Defending the Rainforest* (1994). Theses include the following: Pablo Bose's *Damning Development: The Rise of the "New Grassroots" in the Clayoquot Sound and the Narmada Valley* (2000); Priscilla Mae Boucher's *Ecology, Feminism and Planning: Lessons from Women's Environmental Activism in Clayoquot Sound* (1997) and Christine Callihoo's *Participation Equality in the Public Process: The Clayoquot Land Use Decision* (2000). Articles include the following: Pierre Walter's "Protest and the Struggle for The Clayoquot Sound Rainforest" (2007) and Michael Pendleton's "Beyond the threshold: The Criminalization of Logging" (2008).

Environmental diplomacy became the main focus of Canadian officials in Europe as they tried to minimize the economic damage the campaign had had on Canada's forestry industry (Hayter and Soyez, 1996: 149). It is remarkable that the campaign was able to transform a local conflict into an international controversy (Magnusson, 2003: 8).

When the conflict first began, environmentalists were unable to significantly affect decisions regarding land use in Clayoquot Sound. The lack of influence that environmentalists had is evident in the example of their role on the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force (CSSDTF). The environmental representatives were not heeded when they proposed a halt to logging while an interim decision was made about where logging could continue. And when they quit the CSSDTF, the negotiations continued without environmental representation. The power imbalance led to numerous allusions to a "David and Goliath" situation (Shaw, 2003: 27; Pitte-Brooke, 2004: 279; Berman, 2011: 103).⁵³ It was not until environmentalists began working to build support outside the Sound that their influence became tangible. Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS) Director, Valerie Langer emphasized that their success was due to a small number of people who were able to "stop thinking locally and instead became global advocates for local issues" (quoted in Bose, 2000: 115).

The campaigners formed alliances with international environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS) in order to widen their reach. Among the international ENGOS that participated in the campaign were the Rainforest Action Network (RAN), the Sierra Club and, significantly, Greenpeace. Greenpeace became involved early in the campaign leading up to the summer of protest. Its global presence and experience developing environmental campaigns contributed to spreading awareness (Shaw, 2003: 37; Hayter and Soyez, 1996: 145). It was through Greenpeace that the band Midnight Oil became involved in the campaign.⁵⁴ The concert that they played in the 'Black Hole' attracted mass media attention and huge numbers of participants to the Sound. Greenpeace was also able to mobilize international support through their national chapters. For example, Greenpeace Germany organized events and media stunts during British Columbia (BC) Premier Michael Harcourt's visit to Europe (Berman, 2011: 104).

⁵³ Bossin, 1999: <http://www3.telus.net/oldfolk/women.htm>. (Accessed: March 27, 2013)

⁵⁴ Peter Garrett, the band's lead singer, was on the board of directors for Greenpeace from 1993 to 1995.

Through collaboration with international ENGOs, the local question of logging Clayoquot Sound became a topic of discussion to the global community (Magnusson, 2003: 6; Krajnc, 2001: 81).

International public support for the environmentalists of Clayoquot Sound that had been built during the blockades was mobilized during the market campaign. The market campaign aimed to dissuade big companies from buying products made from Clayoquot Sound old-growth wood. Environmentalists argued that, by buying products made from the trees of Clayoquot Sound, the companies were indirectly supporting unsustainable logging practices (Hayter and Soyez, 1996: 149). Several companies cancelled contracts following meetings with campaigners.

In some cases, in order to convince corporations to alter their purchasing practices environmentalists encouraged consumers to boycott products that came from Clayoquot Sound. The boycotts threatened the positive public perception of brands and created economic pressure on the companies (Stanbury and Vertinsky, 1997: 19). As numerous multi-million dollar contracts were dropped, the influence of environmental interests increased (Stanbury and Vertinsky, 1997: 20). As Tzeporah Berman explained: “It’s one thing to fight or ignore a bunch of hippies blockading a logging road; it’s quite another when those activists are backed by some of the largest corporations in the world” (Berman, 2011:110).

Media

The media plays an important role for all actors—government, industry, and activist groups—in any social campaign. The media’s coverage is especially important for groups that are unable to influence government decisions through official channels—such as consultations or advisory panels—and have a lower capacity for direct lobbying (Hansen, 2010: 51). Because they cannot influence government directly, they rely on increasing public support to sway decision-makers. These groups often turn to mass media to mobilize the broader public and validate the issue as one that is important to society (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993: 116).

While media coverage was important for MacMillan Bloedel and the BC Government, it was particularly important for the environmentalists. Environmentalists

had not been able to influence government decisions through the CSSDTF nor did they have an impact in CLUD. Therefore, environmentalists aimed to increase their political influence through the media (Hansen, 2010: 6; Bose, 2000: 117; Kennedy, 1994: vii). For the Clayoquot campaign, as with other social campaigns, obtaining media coverage was integral to building public support and social pressure (Hansen, 2010: 6; Shaw, 2003: 40).

The campaign began to develop a mediascape for Clayoquot Sound. The metaphor of mediascape is conceptualized in Arjun Appadurai's work on globalization (Appadurai, 1990a: 6-7).⁵⁵ Mediascape refers to:

Image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places (Appadurai, 1990b: 299).

A mediascape allows individuals to experience places through the media without ever being physically present. In doing so, the mediascape extends the experiential reach of individuals beyond their immediate geographic setting (Szer and Toogood, 2003: 225). The perception of interconnectedness that is formed through images in the media links far spread regions of the world and creates a sense of community and responsibility beyond the local setting (Hayter and Soyez, 1996:146; Appadurai, 1990a: 5).

The Clayoquot conflict became a feature of the international mediascape during the summer of 1993. Events like Midnight Oil's concert and the daily blockades attracted international media coverage (Chaloupka, 2003: 67). Through the coverage the campaign was able to deliver their message that the logging on the Sound was wrong and there were people willing to defend the forests. The news reports and programs connected audiences globally to the local conflict in Clayoquot Sound (Shaw, 2003: 29).

While the media covered competing versions of the events, the images favoured the environmentalists' claims (Arvai and Mascarenhas, 2001: 710; Hayter and Soyez, 1996: 149). Images of clearcuts were often powerful enough to convince audiences that BC logging practices were unacceptable without delving into environmentalists' more

⁵⁵ Appadurai developed five dimensions of globalization which are as follows: *ethnoscape*, *ideoscapes*, *technoscapes*, *finanscapes* and *mediascapes*.

technical criticisms (Hayter and Soye, 1996: 149). Clearcuts and extensive erosion were powerful symbols of the negative impacts of MacMillan Bloedel's forestry practices.

Additionally, the blockades held visual significance. The environmentalists appeared to be polite and calm by practicing peaceful civil disobedience during the summer of protest (Shaw, 2003: 40). The deployment of blockaders was an effort to convey that they were regular people with whom the audience could identify and encourage others to join the campaign (Bose, 2000: 118). The perception of the protesters was strengthened relative to the pro-logging counter-protesters at the blockades, who were more aggressive and less organized (Shaw, 2003: 40). Through the presentation of images of environmental devastation and the protesters, viewers became connected to the events and the issues being debated.

Furthermore, the media attention began to create a sense of community amongst people who opposed logging in the Sound. The sense of collective responsibility went beyond provincial and national boundaries. The consumer boycotts and campaigns in Europe and the US were indicators that there was a community of environmental supporters for Clayoquot Sound around the world (Stanbury and Vertinsky, 1997: 19). The extent to which the Clayoquot campaign was able to integrate their perspectives into the local, national and international mediascapes is notable.

Multifaceted Strategies

The Clayoquot Campaign employed various strategies until its end in 1999. During the campaign activists employed protests, boycotts, and negotiations as they pushed for the conservation of the Sound. While many of the tactics overlapped, each approach served a different purpose. The first strategy of the campaign was the protests during the summer of 1993. The protests were intended to demonstrate that the democratically elected government did not have public support to follow through with CLUD (Berman, 2011: 57). The strategy of protest was effective in raising public support. The polls reflected that a majority of British Columbians disagreed with CLUD (CD III/C/16: 276). Internationally, Canada was developing a reputation for being an "environmental outlaw" (MacIsaac and Champagne, 1994: 62). And thousands of people had come to Clayoquot Peace Camp to show support.

The campaigners introduced a new strategy to their campaign when it was clear that popular disapproval would not sway the political decision-makers. Building on public support, the market campaign created financial pressure on MacMillan Bloedel through consumer boycotts. Companies such as Scott Paper and Kimberly Clark cancelled contracts when faced with potential consumer boycotts (Stanbury and Vertinsky, 1997: 24). The campaign against Pacific Bell not only impacted the target company, but created uncertainty amongst other clients of MacMillan Bloedel (Berman, 2011: 102).

Throughout the campaign, the environmentalists were willing to work with any group sincerely committed to conserving Clayoquot Sound, including MacMillan Bloedel. Indeed, when the economic impact of the market campaign could not be ignored and MacMillan Bloedel reached out to negotiate, the environmentalists agreed. They worked with the company to develop the ‘Snark Project’: a plan that would balance the financial needs of MacMillan Bloedel with conservation of the environment (CD III/4). By negotiating with the forestry industry, the environmentalists were able to save a large amount of the forest that otherwise would have been cut down.

By adjusting their strategy, the campaigners were able to keep sight of their vision of saving Clayoquot Sound throughout the campaign. Focusing on the long-term objective of saving the rainforest rather than a specific approach allowed activists to adapt to the changes—or lack of change following the protests—in the conflict (Bose, 2000: 126). The iterative approach to the campaign based on changes in the conflict demonstrates a level of sophistication in their strategies.

Non-violent Resistance

The environmental campaign encouraged “power to” make change rather than “power over” (Berman quoted in Walter, 2007: 254). The campaigners maintained their commitment to “power to” make change in always being willing to negotiate with MacMillan Bloedel and the government (Bose, 2000: 126). Furthermore, the blockades embodied the philosophy of “power to” make change through the participants’ commitment to nonviolence.

One of the reasons that the campaign’s civil disobedience was effective was that it was well informed about non-violent resistance. The organizers had both theoretical

knowledge and practical experience in civil disobedience. They had developed their understanding of social change through studying historical movements, including the Indian independence movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and the anti-nuclear campaigns of the Greenham Common Peace Camps in the United Kingdom (Berman, 2011: 45). And numerous experienced protestors volunteered their expertise in training protestors, further strengthening the campaign's ability to maintain nonviolence (MacLaren, 1994: 9).

During the summer of 1993, thousands of people from various backgrounds—international and local, young and old, priests and Wiccans, business people and hippies—came to oppose the logging of Clayoquot Sound (Berman, 1994: 4).⁵⁶ They were often confronted by pro-logging groups, which frequently led to high levels of tension (Shaw, 2003: 40).⁵⁷ However, even with so many people in a high stress setting, the blockaders remained nonviolent throughout the summer.

Credit for this achievement has largely been given to the educational sessions that were encouraged for all participants (Berman, 2011: 45; Walter, 2007: 256). The workshops offered practical advice, including how best to be arrested and the legal process (MacLaren, 1994: 65). In training, protestors also discussed the history of non-violent protest and what they were trying to achieve through the blockades (MacLaren, 1994: 64).⁵⁸ In discussing the strategy and the reason for the approach, the participants were more committed to non-violence and equipped to respond to tensions during the protest (Walter, 2007: 255). Maintaining order and nonviolence is impressive for a campaign of this size.

Women

The role of women is another feature of the Clayoquot campaign that has been studied (Boucher, 1997; Stoddart and Tindall, 2011; Wine, 1997). Shelley Wine's documentary, *Fury for the Sound*, explores the extent to which women led the campaign

⁵⁶ Not all of the blockaders were opposed to all logging in Clayoquot Sound. For example, one day a group of loggers came to blockade to demonstrate opposition to the type of harvest that was being practiced (Berman, 2011: 52).

⁵⁷ The tension is visible in Shelley Wine's documentary *Fury For the Sound* (1997) and was reported by a number of protestors (Berman, 2011: 51; MacLaren, 1994: 36)

⁵⁸ Appendix A is a detailed overview of the workshops.

for the conservation of Clayoquot Sound. Wine, and others, have highlighted that women made up over two-thirds of the arrestees at the blockades and were the main spokespeople of the campaign (Walter, 2007: 261; Wine, 1997).⁵⁹

However, the number of women involved is not the main reason why the gendered aspect of this campaign has been studied. Rather, it was the intentional inclusion of specific feminist principles in the campaign. The feminist principles of gender equality, nonviolence and consensus were integrated in the structure of the Peace Camp and the blockades (MacLaren, 1994: 10). The organizers believed that the outcomes of the campaign would reflect the processes that were used to achieve them (Berman, 2011: 45).

The campaign aimed to change the practices of logging industry and government—two social domains dominated by men. The hyper-masculinity of MacMillan Bloedel was identified as detrimental to its public image in an internal paper written by a consultant, Rosey Siney (CD II/C/2: 5). Siney suggested that, to improve public perception, MacMillan Bloedel should reevaluate their use of words that imply dominance and reflect a resource-centered worldview (e.g. extraction and liquidation) (CD II/C/2: 3). She also included a list of terms that were more ‘feminine’ and were considered more socially acceptable.

Shortly after the internal paper was written, the CSSDTF was set up based on participation and consensus (two of the terms Siney stated were socially acceptable in the internal paper) (CD II/C/2: 33).⁶⁰ However, the new more ‘feminine’ approach was not realized in the negotiations. During CSSDTF meetings leading up to CLUD and the 1993 protests, decisions would often be pushed to a vote and the majority (made up of government and industry) would rule (Boucher, 1997: 264). The result was that a number of representatives—including those for the environmentalists and tourism industry—did not have their concerns addressed in the process. The CSSDTF continued the pattern of dominance where industry had power over decisions and other views were excluded.

The summer of protest has been studied as an eco-feminist campaign that challenged the dominance of a highly masculine industry (Stoddart and Tindall, 2011;

⁵⁹ <http://www3.telus.net/oldfolk/women.htm> (Accessed March 13, 2013)

⁶⁰ Other acceptable terms included nurturing, sustainable, preservation, conservation and participation. (CD II/C/2: 33)

Boucher, 1997). One of eco-feminism's main claims is that "gender inequality and the domination of nature are connected and they should be addressed as components of the same system of oppression and privilege" (Stoddart and Tindall, 2011: 343). Therefore, the campaigners founded the Peace Camp on three feminist principles—the use of consensus-based decision making, equality of women and men, and the absence of violence (MacLaren, 1994: 10).

In contrast with the male dominated processes of the past, such as the CSSDTF, the Peace Camp was organized to include everyone in decisions. Consensus-based decision making was practiced during daily meetings in the Peace Camp, which were held to determine the strategies for the blockades and organize the logistics of the camp (MacLaren, 1994: 30; Walter, 2007: 254). The use of consensus-based decision making and valuing women and men's societal voices during the discussion challenged patriarchal systems of competition and winning at the expense of others. This approach encouraged participants to voice ideas and concerns in a safe setting (Boucher, 1997: 280).

The commitment to nonviolence further challenged patriarchal understanding of power as "power over." As was mentioned earlier, the organizers promoted "power to" make change (Berman, 1994: 5). While violence is an effort to force the hand of the opponent, nonviolence encourages collaborative engagement in the conflict. The 'Peaceful Direct Action Code' reflects these feminist values—care and equality—in a number of its points including the following: "our attitude is one of openness, friendliness and respect toward all beings we encounter" (Berman, 1994: 5).

Achievements

Understanding how to effect constructive change in the environmental movement has become ever more pressing over the past several years as issues such as climate change become better understood. Generally, environmental organizations are comparatively less resourced and politically influential than industry and government.⁶¹ The campaign in Clayoquot Sound suggests that these limitations do not determine the

⁶¹ This is a general characterization of the environmental movement however it should be noted that there are exceptions to this rule. A sample pool of the seventy largest ENGOs in 2005 had budgets from \$1 million to \$245 million. (Hoffman and Bertels, 2010: 53).

outcome of the conflict. The scale, the approach and the participation are all features that led to and reflect the achievements of the campaign. It is this last and perhaps the most significant aspect of the campaign that has attracted the most attention: Clayoquot Sound's rainforests have been conserved.⁶² In light of the power disparity between MacMillan Bloedel and the environmentalists, the conservation of Clayoquot Sound and the establishment of a sustainable logging company in 1999 is a remarkable achievement. Furthermore, the changes to logging in Clayoquot Sound had repercussions for forestry across Canada and around the world (CD IV/4). Understanding the strategies and characteristics of the campaign can guide future environmental efforts.

Tzeporah Berman

Throughout the campaign Tzeporah Berman was involved in developing strategy and addressing challenges as they arose. As the blockade coordinator, she oversaw the protests and ensured nonviolence. She became the spokesperson and the face of the campaign when she was arrested on charges of aiding and abetting. After the summer of protest, she worked on the market campaigns, creating chain-of-custody research on which companies were purchasing Clayoquot wood and attending meetings with specific companies, and near the end of the campaign, she participated in negotiations with MacMillan Bloedel and First Nations. Her involvement from the beginning to the end gives her valuable insight into how the different aspects of the campaign led to the creation of Iisaak.

Berman began her career as an environmental advocate in Clayoquot Sound but has since worked on a number of other campaigns and initiatives in the environmental movement. She has run campaigns that have protected over twelve million acres of forest, including the Great Bear Rainforest in BC and the Boreal Forest in Northern Canada. In 2000, she co-founded San Francisco based ForestEthics—an ENGO that encourages corporations to practice environmentally responsible purchasing. Through talks and, at times, market campaigns, they have successfully altered procurement practices of numerous companies, including Starbucks, Victoria's Secret and Staples (Langlois, 2009: 50). In order to facilitate responsible purchasing, she has also been involved in

⁶² Evidence of the campaign as 'successful' was explored in the preceding chapter.

developing the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) certification. FSC certification provides a means of identifying sustainable forestry products and is supported by environmentalists and indigenous peoples around the world (Berman 2011: 112).

Over the past decade, Berman has been recognized as one of the most influential environmentalists in Canada. The Royal British Columbia Museum named her one of the 150 people who have changed British Columbia's history. *Reader's Digest* magazine has accorded her the title "Queen of Green" and *Utne Magazine* has named her one of the "Fifty Visionaries Who are Changing Your World" (Langlois, 2009: 46; Goetz et al., 2008). Most recently, she has been conferred an honorary degree from University of British Columbia in 2013.⁶³ The recognition she has received reflects both the extent and quality of her work in the environmental movement.

She has since shared her experiences with Clayoquot Sound and other campaigns through essays, books and speaking engagements (Berman, 2012; Berman, 2011; Berman and Gregg: 2011; Berman, 1994). These autobiographical references offer readers insight into the development and execution of environmental campaigns, in particular, the Clayoquot campaign.

Tipping Points

Berman shares some of the lessons she learned in her most recent book *This Crazy Time* (2011). In particular, she recounts her experiences in the Clayoquot campaign and others that followed. Throughout, she identifies key moments that changed the direction of the campaign towards preserving Clayoquot Sound. She refers to these instances as tipping points. According to Berman, tipping points "are moments when opinions and decisions shift quickly and dramatically—when new concepts, theories, or ideas spread like wildfire [...and] create political space and opportunity for change" (Berman, 2011: 4). The following are excerpts that capture the moments she identified as tipping points:

1) *The Summer of Protest*

⁶³ Amos, 2013: <http://www.publicaffairs.ubc.ca/2013/03/19/first-nations-advocate-and-eco-activist-among-honorary-degree-recipients/> (Accessed March 31, 2013)

The summer of 1993 was an important moment in Canada because, for the first time, regular citizens had voice loud enough to break through convention and ask hard questions about the full cost of industrial activity. The protest and resulting trial sparked important debates that had unimagined consequences across the country. Years later I would meet industry executives who told me of changed practices, or government officials, who talked about areas they protected in order to avoid ‘another Clayoquot Sound’ [...] the summer of 1993 [was] when Canada began to see the forest for the trees. (Berman, 2011: 79)

2) *Supporting the Nuu-chah-nulth in the Interim Measures Agreement (IMA) Negotiations*

The doors opened and we all filed in and stood behind the chief’s chairs. The chiefs said, “Our friends here have just come to observe the meetings. They’re here in support of our request for an interim measures agreement.” The government went slack-jawed and I think several broke a sweat. The meeting was a massive success and a turning point in talks about Clayoquot Sound. Afterwards, the government agreed to a whole new decision-making regime in Clayoquot Sound called the Central Region Board, on which First Nations had 51% of decision-making power. (Berman, 2011: 90)

3) *The Pacific Bell Boycott Campaign*

The next day Linda Coady from MacMillan Bloedel called me at the Greenpeace office in San Francisco. ‘This has to stop,’ she said. ‘We just can’t do our business. Our customers are going crazy and now this Pacific Bell thing... what do we have to do?’

I said, ‘You have to stop logging Clayoquot Sound.’

She said, ‘Fine. We’ll shut down the whole division. We need to talk.’ (Berman, 2011: 102)

There is no question in my mind that the Pacific Bell campaign was a tipping point, and Linda Coady has since confirmed it in my discussions with her. (Berman, 2011: 321)

4) *Collaboration with MacMillan Bloedel on the ‘Snark Project’*

It was an incredible moment. The implications of how deeply we are all shifting the ideology of Canada’s approach to its forests and how living or not living in harmony with nature impacts the people who work in the industry, were suddenly clear [...] It started being less about us against them and more about how we, as a society craft a different way of living on the planet. (Berman, 2011: 152)

These moments of change were culminations of previous efforts in the campaign. For example, the magnitude of the Peace Camp was in part due to the ongoing peace training. Additionally, the environmentalists' support of the IMA was a result of previous negotiations with First Nations leaders.

Turning Points and the Moral Imagination

Turning Points and Tipping Points

Berman's definition of "tipping points" runs parallel to Lederach's definition of "turning points." The comparison is remarkable when they are side by side. Recall Berman's definition: "moments when opinions and decisions shift quickly and dramatically [...and] create political space and opportunity for change" (Berman, 2011: 4) and Lederach's definition of turning points from chapter one:

Moments pregnant with new life, which rise from what appear to be barren grounds of destructive violence and relationships. This unexpected new life makes possible processes of constructive change in human affairs and constitutes the moral imagination. (Lederach, 2005: 29)

First, both definitions refer to a moment. A 'moment' generally refers to a brief period of time or an exact moment in time. While this definition functions well in many instances, these two authors have applied it in cases of extended periods of time. Lederach suggests that turning points must be considered through an "expansive, not narrow view of time" (Lederach, 2005: 22). He reflects on how we are living in a turning point this decade following the events of September 11, 2001.⁶⁴ The global community is faced with the decision of how to respond which is an opportunity to turn away from violence. In the story of the women from Wajir, the turning point of transforming the market into a safe zone happened over the course of a few weeks. The examples he provides of turning points demonstrate the temporal flexibility of his conception of 'a moment.'

Berman's examples reflect a similarly broad understanding of what constitutes 'a moment.' While describing her work with Greenpeace International, she states that the global community is at a "critical moment in our history" due to effects of climate change

⁶⁴ On September 11, 2001, two airplanes were crashed into the Twin Towers in New York City.

(Berman, 2011: 12). According to Berman, the development of the renewable energy market and the attitudes of many powerful leaders, including those of United States President Barack Obama, have created a tipping point (Berman, 2011: 4). This change is happening over the course of several years. In the Clayoquot campaign, the summer of protest, the Pacific Bell campaign and collaboration with MacMillan Bloedel all represent moments that lasted for several months. In the case of supporting the First Nations in the IMA negotiations, the moment was less than an hour.⁶⁵ These examples recognize that turning points may happen quickly or may be a gradual transformation. However long, these are moments of change.

The second commonality between the two definitions is that they both describe a significant change. Lederach contrasts the “barren grounds of destructive violence” with the “unexpected new life” emerging from the change. Berman uses the adjective “dramatically” to describe the magnitude of the change. Once again, the similarity is depicted in the examples. In Lederach’s story of the peasants in Colombia, the turning point saw the transfer of control of the region from the military to the locals. In describing the impact of the Snark Project, Berman notes that this was a completely new way of operating that impacted forestry around the globe (Berman, 2011: 152).

Finally, the third common element of the two definitions is the direction of the change. The choice of terms—tipping and turning—inherently suggests change; however, both authors suggest a specific direction of change. In part, this is a reflection of the subject matter they are exploring; Lederach inquires into turning points in violent conflicts and Berman explains tipping points in conflicts over environmental degradation. In both, the context of violent conflicts and extensive clearcutting, the dramatic change they are seeking is in the direction of a sustainable peace. Lederach uses the metaphor of a continental divide to explain turning points. In the same way that water flows towards different shores from this one geographic point, so is it with turning points: one side flows towards fear, the other towards love (Lederach, 2005: 42).

The nature of the change is reflected in their word choice. Berman’s definition claims that tipping points “create political space and opportunity for change” (Berman,

⁶⁵ The support continued in the long term, but the moment that she refers to as a tipping point was a meeting with the government.

2011: 4). Lederach's language mirrors the expression of room for growth: "unexpected new life makes possible processes of constructive change" (Lederach, 2005: 29). In short, turning points and tipping points redirect the conflict away from destruction towards constructive social interactions. I will use 'turning points' because it is the term used by Lederach, whose concept of the moral imagination is informing the analysis that will follow.

Moral imagination of Berman's Turning Points

Lederach argues that turning points are realized through the "capacity of the human community to generate and maintain our moral imagination" (Lederach, 2005: 23). The moments identified by Berman as turning points in the Clayoquot campaign provide insight into dimensions of social change in other environmental campaigns. The four disciplines of the moral imagination offer insight into why these moments were transformative.

All of Berman's turning points involve the development of new relationships. During the summer of protest, it was a relationship of humans with the environment around them. Society began to see the ecosystem and trees of Clayoquot Sound rather than only a resource to be harvested (Berman, 2011: 79). In the second instance, environmentalists forged a relationship with the First Nations in their negotiations with the BC Government, thereby strengthening their position. The Pacific Bell campaign was an exercise of transforming a relationship that had been characterized by imbalance of power. And the 'Snark Project' instance brought to light the interconnectedness of the two former opponents.

Through the campaign, one of the major challenges was altering how Clayoquot Sound was valued. The discipline of paradoxical curiosity facilitated this transformation. In the summer of 1993, the campaign incited the public to question the rationale of the land-use plan and demand change that would not just value the region for the resource wealth it held. The cases of the IMA negotiation and the Snark Project involved the environmental advocates expanding their understanding of the different interests. Recognizing the complexity of the situation made space for previously unimagined alternative options. The campaign against Pacific Bell

prompted MacMillan Bloedel to seek a way to incorporate environmental sustainability into their business plan. Berman's turning points emerged from a pursuit of deeper understanding of others' interests, which led to flexibility in the conflict and generated novel responses.

Creativity was also a characteristic of the four turning points of the campaign. Environmentalists were innovative in their strategies to capture the public's attention as was seen through the vibrancy of the blockades and the Peace Camp. The blockaders were presented as regular people civilly disobeying a court injunction on moral grounds (Chaloupka, 2003: 78). Perception of the blockaders as average citizens made it easy for others to imagine themselves as part of the campaign, and many did join the blockades (Berman, 2011: 50). Furthermore, incorporating 'fun' into the campaign through song, dance and humour made the campaign more accessible to the public and helped the protesters manage their emotions (MacLaren, 1994: 46).

The market campaigns were also a creative response to an insufficient response from government and industry following the summer of protest. The environmentalists were creative throughout the boycott campaigns in finding ways to link corporations to the clearcutting in Clayoquot Sound. For example, the environmentalists created stickers in phone booths and banners that said "Let your fingers do the chopping!" (Berman, 2011: 101).

When they began negotiating with the First Nations and MacMillan Bloedel, the environmentalists were collaborating to create a sustainable development plan for Clayoquot Sound. Initially, the campaign was advocating that all the trees should be saved (Berman, 2011: 84). However, as they recognized the complexity of Clayoquot Sound, they began to find creative ways of incorporating other interests.

Each of these turning points had a component of risk. While some risks are obvious, such as being arrested for blockading, others were subtler. One of the biggest risks they took was in opting for civil disobedience. Whereas previous blockades had aimed to stop logging immediately, the 1993 blockades aimed to build opposition to logging with high profile, short blockades.⁶⁶ They risked the loss of trees in the short-

⁶⁶ Most blockades were over within a few minutes. However the day of mass arrests took seven hours to clear the road, and the biggest blockades stopped the trucks all together (Berman, 2011: 65).

term to save the forest in the long-term. Blockaders also faced personal risk. They risked facing imprisonment, fines, and police records; all factors that could impact their reputation and in some cases jobs (MacLaren, 1994: 11).

When the environmentalists entered into negotiation with the First Nations and later with MacMillan Bloedel, they needed to examine how environmental and economic factors could be balanced. Creating agreements with both groups meant that the environmentalists would have to be more flexible in their demands and some logging would be permitted. They chose to allow selective logging in exchange for conservation of the forests. Incidentally, for this decision to negotiate with industry, they faced criticism from some within the environmental movement.

The Clayoquot campaign had a number of turning points. Berman identified four turning points that offer insight into what were moments of significant change in the campaign. Through her work, I have identified the following three additional turning points: civil disobedience training, collaboration with the Nuu-chah-nulth, and the Memorandum of understanding with Iisaak Forest Resources LTD (Iisaak). Many of the turning points I identified overlap with Berman's. For example, the turning point 'civil disobedience training' identifies a specific aspect of the summer of protest that Berman suggested was a turning point. Similarly, the turning point 'collaboration with the Nuu-chah-nulth' is similar to Berman's tipping point of the IMA; however, it precedes the meeting with the BC government. I have also identified the creation of Iisaak as a turning point because it created a new approach to logging and established a means of addressing environmental conflicts collaboratively.

The next chapter will explore these three turning points through the four disciplines of the moral imagination.

CHAPTER 4: Moral Imagination of the Clayoquot Campaign

“We do not need magic to transform our world. We carry all of the power we need inside ourselves already.”
– JK Rowling⁶⁷

The Clayoquot campaign entailed a long process of changing the way that forestry operated in Clayoquot Sound. Transforming the British Columbia (BC) Government’s policies, and MacMillan Bloedel’s logging practices required that the campaign employ multiple strategies to adapt to challenges that arose. The changes in MacMillan Bloedel and the BC Government that occurred did not happen suddenly; from the start of the summer of protest in 1993 to the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 1999, the campaign ran for almost six years. Additionally, the changes often required varying degrees of encouragement. Initially the changes were prompted by increased public pressure—blockades and boycotts being prominent examples. However, later on, industry voluntarily engaged with environmental campaigners. By working with environmentalists they were able to increase the marketability of their products and improve their public image. There were numerous turning points during the campaign that transformed the conflict, leading towards more sustainable practices.

Identifying specific moments in the campaign as turning points is difficult for two reasons. First, turning points build on previous efforts and lead to subsequent events that become, in turn, turning points. The continuity between these moments makes it difficult to distinguish the cause of the shift. A second challenge is that identifying the turning points is a subjective exercise. While confident that the turning points identified are significant moments of change, another writer may be inclined to highlight other moments.

The previous chapter mentioned the turning points—referred to also as tipping points—in the campaign according to one of the campaign organizers, Tzeporah Berman. In this chapter, I identify three additional turning points for the campaign: civil disobedience training at Stanley Park, environmentalists’ support for the Interim

⁶⁷ Rowling, JK. "Harvard's 2008 Commencement Address." Harvard's 2008 Commencement. [Http://vimeo.com/1711302](http://vimeo.com/1711302), Cambridge. 28 Mar. 2013. Address.

Measures Agreement (IMA), and the creation of a MOU between Iisaak Forestry Resources Ltd. (Iisaak) and environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs). I will describe the significance of each followed by an exploration of how the four disciplines of the moral imagination were manifest.

Civil Disobedience Training in Stanley Park

Following the announcement of the 1993 Clayoquot Land Use Decision (CLUD), environmental activists began to prepare for a summer of protests. During the early planning the decision was taken to pursue nonviolent civil disobedience as the form of resistance would take (Berman, 2011: 40). In order to communicate this decision to supporters, the organizers set up civil disobedience training camps. The training sessions provided information about the rainforest and logging, as well as skills for interacting with the media. The workshops also discussed the history and philosophies of civil disobedience (MacLaren, 1994: 64-66). The training sessions were conducted by experienced protesters from previous protests in Clayoquot Sound and other campaigns around the world (Berman, 2011: 40; MacLaren, 1994: 6). The preliminary training sessions set the stage for the summer blockades.

The largest civil disobedience training leading up to the summer of protest was held in Stanley Park in Vancouver (Berman, 2011: 40). The training session was free of charge and open to the general public. Hundreds of people came to participate and the event drew media attention to the campaign (Berman, 2011: 41). The training in Stanley Park communicated to both politicians and the broader public that there was opposition to CLUD and that the protest would be peaceful and organized.

The blockades in the summer of 1993 were dramatically different from previous logging blockades in Clayoquot Sound in two ways. First, in 1993, the goal of the blockade had shifted. Previous blockades had aimed to stop loggers accessing the trees they were going to cut (Shaw, 2003: 40). The protesters employed a variety of techniques to achieve this. Some were more assertive (e.g. cantilevering protesters on a post overhanging a bridge), while other blockades had protesters sitting in the road (Berman, 2011: 38). The frustration of the loggers being prevented from going to work and the

determination of the environmentalists to save the forests often led to heated confrontations (Langer and Bates, 1993: 81).

Rather than focusing on blocking the loggers, the 1993 protests were directed towards the provincial government and MacMillan Bloedel. By allowing themselves to be carried or led off the road, the protesters were no longer focused on blocking the loggers from their work. Instead, they were demonstrating their dissent to CLUD and MacMillan Bloedel's logging practices (Gibbons, 1994: 92). I do not mean to suggest that there was no confrontation during the summer—supporters of logging were frequently present at the blockades and were vocal in their disagreement. However, by not responding in a confrontational manner to counter protesters, the blockaders were not against the loggers. Instead, they were opposing the logging. Not being against the loggers, meant that loggers were welcome to join the protests (Berman, 2011: 52; Chaloupka, 2003: 82).

The second difference was the inclusiveness of who could participate in the blockades. The organizers were intentional in their efforts to build a coalition that included a wide range of participants (Chaloupka, 2003: 82). Central to creating an inclusive protest was the training. Training taught the protesters how to respond to tension and violence peacefully and effectively (MacLaren, 1994: 12). Committed to respect all people, the protesters were peaceful and civil throughout the summer as they sat on the road, waiting to be escorted away by the RCMP officers (Berman, 1994: 5). The comportment of the protesters challenged previous perceptions of them as being radical environmentalists. Instead, the protesters were seen as regular citizens to whom the public could relate (Shaw, 2003: 40; Berman, 2011: 40; Langer, 1994: 189).

The training in Stanley Park set the tone for the remainder of the summer. The preliminary training workshop was covered by the media and became a platform for the campaign to communicate two messages. The first was that CLUD was controversial (Berman, 2011: 47). The second was that there would be opposition in the form of nonviolent civil disobedience (Berman, 2011: 41). The continuation of training throughout the summer ensured that the spirit of nonviolence would be maintained throughout the blockades.

Building Momentum: The Moral Imagination of the Training in Stanley Park

The success of social campaigns and movements is often measured in terms of how many people participated.⁶⁸ Realizing the importance of numbers in capturing media attention, the organizers worked to have at least 200 people join the protest in Clayoquot Sound (Berman, 2011: 39). The training in Stanley Park was the first step to reaching that goal.

John Paul Lederach argues that while numbers are important, what is more important is having the right people involved (Lederach, 2005: 89). Lederach suggests that through inclusion of specific people, platforms for sustainable social change are established (Lederach, 2005: 90). He compares the ability of a small group of people in starting a large protest to the physics of a siphon (Lederach, 2005: 93). Siphons allow liquid to be moved from one large container to another through the use of a tube. A small amount of liquid is brought up the tube through suction. Once the liquid is over the highest point of the tube and begins to descend into the second container, the rest will follow without the continuous application of pressure (Lederach, 2005: 93). In trying to move liquid from one container to another, the initial effort is not to move it all at once.

Applying the explanation of a siphon to social protests, Lederach suggests that organizers of a campaign should raise the following question: “Who...if they were able to move together against gravity, would as their momentum built, bring a much wider set of people with them?” (Lederach, 2005: 93).

Using the metaphor of the siphon, the Stanley Park training was the pressure that brought the first bit of liquid past the highest point of the tube. The organizers of the Clayoquot campaign did not aim to have a massive protest immediately. Instead, the organizers introduced the idea of mass protest gradually starting with the training (Berman, 2005: 43). The media coverage communicated the message of how the peaceful

⁶⁸ Some examples of news coverage that focuses on the number of participants includes the 2012 Québec Student Protests (<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2011/11/10/quebec-tuition-strike.html> accessed March 31, 2013); The 2011 Keystone XL pipeline protests (<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/story/2011/09/26/ottawa-oilsands-protest-parliament-hill.html> accessed March 31, 2013); and the 2010 protests against proroguing parliament (<http://www.cbc.ca/news/yourcommunity/2010/01/thousands-protest-parliaments-suspension.html> accessed March 31, 2013).

protest would be conducted to the broader community and triggered the flow of supporters.

The training specifically attracted supporters who were interested in peaceful protest. These people in the siphon metaphor were the first bit of liquid to pass the highest point of the tube. Strategically focusing on attracting participants interested in civil disobedience ensured a certain quality of people. Participants were not perceived as radical environmentalists prepared to do anything to stop the logging. Instead, the participants were perceived as average people prepared to stand up and peacefully voice their opposition to CLUD (Shaw, 2003: 40; CD III/D/3: 295-298). Outside observers could relate to the people at the training and some began to imagine themselves joining the campaign. The training encouraged viewers to reconsider the frequent presentation of the protesters as radical environmentalists (Chaloupka, 2003: 82).

Training began to redefine the relational space of previous protests. Civil disobedience training emphasized that the goal was to “create dialogue between activists and their opponents” (MacLaren, 1994: 67). The participants were taught that in taking a nonviolent stand against the decision, their opponents would have to respond. If opponents to the blockade responded with violence, the position of the blockaders would be strengthened (MacLaren, 1994: 68).

Furthermore, civil disobedience redirected the focus of the blockade from the loggers towards the Government and MacMillan Bloedel. Had the protesters engaged aggressively with the loggers, the conflict would have been between the individuals. By not responding to the loggers, the issues remained the topic of protest. In fact, over the course of the summer several loggers joined the blockades (Berman, 2011: 52). Had the protest been confrontational towards loggers, they would not have participated.

The training provided participants with the skills and techniques for civil disobedience. Emphasizing nonviolence reduced the risk of the protests becoming chaotic. Reducing the risk of physical violence did not, however, eradicate risk. The training instead focused on providing information regarding the risks involved in blockading. The trainers facilitated an exploration of the participants’ fears and discussed how taking the risk would strengthen the campaign (MacLaren, 1994: 12).

Environmental Support for First Nations in the Interim Measures Agreement

Following the announcement of CLUD, the BC Government had been “conducting a war on two fronts” with criticism coming from both environmentalists and First Nations (Shaw, 2003: 213). Environmental criticisms of the government were receiving wide spread coverage in the media due to the blockades. At the same time, the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations had made formal complaints over the decision and were threatening to seek a court injunction to stop all logging in Clayoquot Sound (Shaw, 2003: 42; Parai and Esakin, 2003: 174; CD III/C/11: 253).

In an effort to regain control of the conflict, the government entered into negotiations with the First Nations, who were—unlike the environmentalists—open to the option of logging. In addition to the higher likelihood of finding common ground, working with the First Nations was also seen as a strategy of ‘divide and conquer’ (Berman, 2011: 87). By negotiating with the First Nations, the environmentalists’ staunch opposition to logging would position the two groups against each other.

The division between the environmentalists and the First Nations did initially cause tension. While the Interim Measures Agreement (IMA) negotiations were in progress, Greenpeace brought one of their ships to protest the continuation of logging in Clayoquot Sound (Berman, 2011: 82). The Chiefs worried that the presence of environmental opposition would jeopardize the progress that had been made in the negotiations (Berman, 2011: 83). The decision was made to summon Tzaporah Berman (she had been hired as a Greenpeace forest campaigner at this point) to meet the Central Region Chiefs and demand that Greenpeace desist.

During the first meeting, the Chiefs expressed extreme displeasure with the environmentalists’ continued protest (Berman, 2011: 83). While the experience had not been pleasant for Berman, however, it had been revelatory. She realized that an outright ban on logging would deprive First Nations of an opportunity for badly needed economic development (Berman, 2011: 89). Furthermore, a rigid stance on the issue of logging was continuing a historic pattern of imposition of ideas on the First Nations peoples (Berman, 2011: 89; Sandilands, 2003: 161).

The meeting between Berman and the Chiefs led to another turning in the campaign: the collaboration between the First Nations and the environmentalists.

Following the first meeting, the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations and the environmentalists began to work together and develop a proposal for the IMA. Together they developed a plan that preserved certain ecologically important areas. The environmentalists agreed that they would support selective logging outside the specified areas and lobby for increased First Nations' participation in decisions regarding Clayoquot Sound (Berman, 2011: 88).

The First Nations invited the environmentalists to join them during an important meeting at the BC Legislature. The unexpected alliance between environmentalists and First Nations shifted the power dynamics of the negotiations and led to the establishment of the Central Region Board (CRB) in the IMA. Through the CRB, First Nations were accorded double majority allowing them to ensure that environmental interests would be considered in decisions regarding Clayoquot Sound (Berman, 2011: 88; Shaw, 2003: 213). The IMA was signed on March 19, 1994, and accorded the First Nations the institutional authority to oversee resource development in Clayoquot Sound.

Building a Platform: The Moral Imagination in collaborating with First Nations

According to Lederach, platforms of social change refer to “people in relationship who generate creative processes, initiatives, and solutions” (Lederach, 2011: 182). Platforms create the foundation for addressing conflict and are flexible to changes that arise (Lederach, 2011: 48). Platforms are infused with the four disciplines of the moral imagination. Collaboration between the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations and the environmental campaigners was the development of a platform. For instance, the question of logging in the Sound had resulted in a division between the two groups. Instead of remaining firmly attached to their ideas, the two sides began a dialogue to find a possible solution. Jointly the two were able to find an alternative way forward that addressed concerns of environmentalists and First Nations.

The search for an alternative required that both groups suspend their judgment of what should happen in Clayoquot Sound regarding logging; an essential feature of the discipline of paradoxical curiosity (Lederach, 2005: 37). After the first meeting with the Chiefs, Berman began to consider what a ‘solution’ to the conflict would look like (Berman, 2011: 86). She began to recognize the complexity of the issues in Clayoquot

Sound. In particular, she acknowledged the economic potential that logging held for First Nations communities (Berman, 2011: 84). In suspending judgment, she did not relinquish her vision of conserving the sound. Rather she expanded her vision to include First Nations communities as well.

The platform was developed through in-depth exploration of different and previously unexplored options. Seeking out alternatives required curiosity and humility from both groups. Lederach describes curiosity as a sign of respect because it reflects the belief that the interests of the other are worth considering (Lederach, 2005: 123). The two groups began to meet and discuss what would be an acceptable way forward. The first step was for the environmentalists to identify key areas that should be excluded from any logging. When the campaigners presented the map to the Chiefs they discovered that the areas identified as being particularly ecologically important were also the spiritual areas for the First Nations (Berman, 2011: 88). The inquiry for deeper understanding led to the discovery that there was existing common ground between the two groups (Berman, 2011: 88).

Platforms are based on relationships and were central for the agreement between the First Nations and the environmental campaigners (Lederach, 2005: 182; Berman, 2005: 88). Berman's realization that the needs of the First Nations communities that emerged from the first meeting with the Chiefs was a recognition of, what Lederach refers to as, the web of relationships (Lederach, 2005: x). Common interest in the future of Clayoquot Sound linked the First Nations and the environmentalists, and led to the negotiations. The subsequent meetings shifted the nature of the relationship away from the fear and frustration of the first meeting, towards mutual respect and proactive engagement; a shift described by Lederach as important (Lederach, 2005: 42; Berman, 2011: 83 and 87). Gradually trust was established and the First Nations and environmentalists agreed to a plan for the IMA. The discussions created space for a relationship defined by collaboration and increased the influence of the First Nations in the IMA negotiations with the government (Berman, 2011: 88).

The possibility that the environmentalists would agree to collaborate with the First Nations had been unexpected and demonstrates the flexibility of the campaign (Berman, 2005: 90). The environmentalists had previously been unmovable in their

assertion that no logging should occur in Clayoquot Sound (Berman, 2005: 84). Responding to unexpected opposition from the First Nations by discussing options established the platform of change (Lederach, 2005: 88). Developing the platform of change required considerable creativity. The challenge was to find an approach that would be environmentally sustainable and still include logging. Above all, creating a proposal required the environmentalists imagined the web of relationships and the implications the alliance would have for the conflict (Lederach, 2005: 88).

The decision to discuss the possibility of logging in Clayoquot Sound required that the environmentalists abandon the stance of, “not one tree will fall!” (Berman, 2011: 84). Abandoning the inflexible position against logging meant environmentalists were stepping “into the unknown without any guarantee of success” (Lederach, 2005: 39). The environmentalists’ support for First Nations and therefore selective logging resulted in criticism from some previous supporters of the campaign (Berman, 2011: 84). However, Berman responded to the criticisms by stating that being unwilling to negotiate was “not campaigning, it’s just complaining” (Berman, 2011: 85). Her response reflects the importance of taking risk and entering into “the messy ambiguity of complexity” of trying to find a way forward (Lederach, 2005: 163). The environmentalists risked the certainty of their position against all logging in favour of a solution that would consider a broader scope of interests.

Establishing Iisaak Forestry Resources LTD

In 1996, the BC Government and the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations renewed the IMA. The Interim Measures Extended Agreement (IMEA) included a clause to establish a joint logging venture between MacMillan Bloedel and the First Nations. Negotiations began in 1997 and the agreement that established the company Iisaak Forestry Resources Ltd (Iisaak) was signed in 1998.

Following the creation of Iisaak, the forestry company began negotiating with ENGOs. Participating in the negotiations were representatives from Iisaak (Central First Nations of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council and MacMillan Bloedel) and several of

ENGOS.⁶⁹ The negotiations led to the development of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 1999 with most of the ENGOS being signatories (CD IX/8: 4).⁷⁰

The company committed to environmentally sustainable forestry including practicing selective logging and protecting pristine valleys (Berman, 2011: 90; Shaw, 2003: 56). First Nations benefited from the company because it created employment opportunities for their communities and enhanced their capacity to determine resource extraction activity in Clayoquot Sound.⁷¹ Iisaak was also an opportunity for MacMillan Bloedel to improve their public image and tap into the market for eco-wood products (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 176).

The creation of Iisaak marks a turning point in the conflict in Clayoquot Sound. Iisaak balanced environmental, First Nations and industry interests; an achievement that had been unimaginable a few years earlier (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 177). The MOU with the ENGOS was a departure from the highly adversarial quality of the relationship between the forestry industry and the environmentalists (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 176). In an explanation of the MOU, Matt Price with the Natural Resource Development Council (NRDC) described the change in the following manner: “Clearly, any kind of consensus between traditionally warring parties is significant in itself” (CD IX/10: 1). Iisaak is now entirely owned by First Nations and the MOU has remained in place ensuring commitments to environmental sustainability are upheld.

Creating a Sustainable Agreement: The Moral Imagination of Iisaak and the MOU

The Clayoquot conflict had long been framed as industry versus the environment (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 167; Berman, 2011: 51). The development of the IMA and the ‘Snark Project’ were the first efforts to engage forestry, environmental and First Nations concerns. The creation of Iisaak and the corresponding MOU established a platform that would enhance collaboration between the different groups (Shaw, 2003: 56). Iisaak

⁶⁹ The ENGOS included in the MOU were the Rainforest Action Network, Greenpeace International, Greenpeace Canada, the Sierra Club, the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, and the Natural Resources Defense Council. (CD IX/4: 8).

⁷⁰ Friends of Clayoquot Sound participated in the discussion however did not sign the MOU in order to maintain an advocacy voice that was not bound by the MOU (Shaw, 2003: 55).

⁷¹ Iisaak, :<http://www.iisaak.com/historicagreements.html> (accessed March 31, 2013)

deconstructed the divisions between pro-logging and pro-environment to establish a vision of environmentally sustainable logging.

The discipline of paradoxical curiosity requires recognition of complexity in conflict and rejects the simplistic categorizations of the positions (Lederach, 2005: 35). Developing Iisaak required all parties to engage in the discipline of paradoxical curiosity. The negotiations sought a way to combine the categories of economic development and ecological integrity, categories that had previously been considered mutually exclusive. In fact, when the MOU was announced, Iisaak described its commitment to environmental protection as a “benefit” rather than a “cost” to the company (CD IX/8: 6). Trying to establish a forestry company on environmental values reflects a search for options that had not been considered before (Lederach, 2005: 36).

Agreements are often perceived as being a solution to end a conflict (Lederach, 2005: 44). Lederach argues that this is a misconception. Instead agreements should be understood as a new way to engage in a conflict (Lederach, 2005: 47). Lederach’s understanding of agreement is reflected in the MOU between the ENGOS and Iisaak. Rather than ending the conflict, the MOU provided a new way for environmentalists to engage in conflict with Iisaak. Adriane Carr from the NRDC reflected the MOU’s potential for engaging environmental interests by saying: “The Memorandum of Understanding provides a new model for resolve, partnership and forest management that can be acclaimed world wide” (CD IX/8: 4).

Excitement over the creation of the MOU was accompanied by pragmatic acknowledgement that its implementation would be challenging. The ENGOS’ support of the company was—and still is—predicated on Iisaak remaining committed to sustainable logging. The standard for sustainable logging depended on the recommendations of the Scientific Panel.⁷² If Iisaak failed to uphold the standard described in the MOU, the ENGOS could withdraw their support (Shaw, 2003: 56).

The MOU was created to hold the two parties in relationship to ensure that the logging practices of Iisaak remained sustainable. In particular the MOU specified that a small working group of representatives of Iisaak and the ENGOS would be created to

⁷² The Scientific Panel releases reports on sustainable practices for forestry based on aboriginal traditional knowledge and western science (Shaw, 2003: 45).

“identify and recommend ongoing mechanisms for sustaining cooperation” (CD IX/3: 3). In other words, maintaining the relationship would ensure that the change was “genuine” (Lederach, 2005: 55).

Lederach argues that conflict transformation requires that individuals and communities imagine themselves in relationship with their enemies (Lederach, 2005: 34). The negotiation required that MacMillan Bloedel, the First Nations and the environmentalists work with groups that had previously been antagonistic; reflecting Lederach’s understanding of conflict transformation. Establishment of Iisaak and the signing of the MOU were the recognition of a wider set of relationships. Environmentalists were no longer focused solely on preserving the rainforest. MacMillan Bloedel’s scope expanded to include environmental and First Nations’ interests as well as those of its employees and stakeholders. First Nations were connecting the environmental and economic interests to benefit their communities and the rest of Clayoquot Sound (CD IX/8: 6). The focus of developing constructive relationships is not about winning at the expense of another group, but finding mutually beneficial agreement; such was the case in developing Iisaak (Lederach, 2005: 96; Shaw, 2003: 55).

Creativity was essential to the negotiations. Lederach describes the discipline of creativity as “the capacity to give birth to something new that in its birthing changes our world and the way we see things” (Lederach, 2005: 27). At the start of the summer of 1993, cooperation between MacMillan Bloedel and environmental campaigners seemed inconceivable. However, after five years of conflict MacMillan Bloedel reached out to the environmentalists to help develop a company that would be ecologically sustainable (Parai and Esakin, 2003: 177; Shaw, 2003: 55). The negotiations to create Iisaak required imagining that a compromise was possible.

Developing the MOU created a new approach to forestry based on the environmental and economic realities of Clayoquot Sound. Negotiators had to be creative in order to address the financial needs of the company and communities while ensuring environmental protection (CD IX/ 3: 1). To address environmental concerns, Iisaak committed to follow recommendations from the Scientific Panel and exclude specified pristine areas from its logging operations (CD IX/8: 1). Iisaak further committed to

contributing to the regional economy by providing employment (CD IX/8: 5). Through the negotiations, a new type of forestry was created in Clayoquot Sound (CD IX/8: 6).

The MOU offered security to the signatories that their diverse interests would be considered and that confrontational conflicts would end. However, to achieve that security meant that all interests would have to reach a compromise. The environmentalists not only were going to allow logging, but they agreed to work within the process to resolve disputes (CD IX/10: 2). In agreeing to the MOU the environmentalists were also agreeing to end their traditional methods of campaigning. Therefore, the MOU presented significant risk for the ENGO signatories.

Iisaak's agreement to the MOU also entailed risk. The management of the company would be highly influenced by the recommendations of a third party (the Scientific Panel) and the environmentalists on the working group (CD IX/10: 1). The commitment to "manage adaptively" reduced the company's control over its operations in favour of cooperation with environmental groups (CD IX/5). The development of the MOU was, in the words of Lederach, a "step into the unknown without any guarantee of success" (Lederach, 2005: 39).

Clayoquot Sound is an interesting case study for scholars trying to understand environmental conflicts, primarily because of its achievements. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Clayoquot campaign impacted the way that logging was practiced in Clayoquot Sound and in the forestry industry more broadly (Berman, 2011: 150). MacMillan Bloedel's development of environmentally sustainable logging practices "[sent] competitors scrambling to put a 'green' face on their logging operations" (CD XIII/4: 1). One of the logging competitors in the region surrounding Clayoquot Sound, International Forest Products, has increasingly involved First Nations in their operational planning to compete with Iisaak.⁷³ And the campaign for Clayoquot Sound gave momentum to subsequent campaigns for the other forests in BC, particularly the Great Bear Rainforest (Walter, 2007: 249).

The Clayoquot campaign employed various strategies in pursuit of its goal to protect Clayoquot Sound. The turning points identified in this chapter and Berman's from

⁷³ Interfor: http://www.interfor.com/pdf/Environment/Reports/Environment_Report_Responsibility.pdf (Accessed March 21, 2013)

the past summer suggest that the training, blockades, boycotts and negotiations all played a role in the final result. Exploring the turning points demonstrates how the four disciplines of the moral imagination shifted the direction of the conflict towards collaboration between groups.

Environmental Campaigns and Moral Imagination

The moral imagination offers insight into how to engage in environmental conflicts. The Clayoquot campaign is an example of how the four disciplines contribute to enhancing environmentally sustainable practices. Indeed, much of what Lederach has described in *The Moral Imagination* is reflected in the work and writings of Tzeporah Berman. In this section, I will outline how Berman's recommendations for environmental activists reflect the four disciplines of the moral imagination.

“Protest is important, but we need to create solutions, not just noise”⁷⁴

Berman is an advocate for the need to develop solutions to the environmental problems.⁷⁵ While raising public awareness is important, she suggests that it is not sufficient. In the Clayoquot campaign, she described working with the First Nations to find a proposal for the IMA that the environmentalists could support as the moment she made the shift towards trying to imagine a way forward (Berman, 2011: 84).

Being opposed to a policy decision or industry practice is much easier than finding an acceptable alternative. If the current arrangement is not acceptable, then the question is: what is? Developing solutions requires a curiosity to explore alternatives. Paradoxical curiosity enables activists to “situate [themselves] in a changing environment with a sense of direction and purpose and at the same time develop an ability to move with the unexpected” (Lederach, 2005: 118). Applying the discipline of paradoxical curiosity, any solution must acknowledge the current realities and find a new approach that would be environmentally, economically and socially acceptable. Activists must be prepared to continuously re-evaluate solutions and address problems as they arise.

⁷⁴ Berman, 2012: “*Be the Change*,” *The Ottawa International Writers’ Festival*.

⁷⁵ ‘Solutions’ in this case is not the rigid solutions that cannot accommodate change. Rather the solutions proposed by Berman resemble the idea of platforms.

One of the major challenges is that every form of alternative-energy has environmental drawbacks. Some examples include the following: hydroelectricity produced through the creation of dams damages the surrounding ecosystem by submerging it in water; and wind turbines pose risk of avian mortality and are considered visually unaesthetic. Berman recognizes the environmental concerns regarding the development of alternate-energy sources, however, insists that, “we don’t have time to be protesting windmills instead of oil rigs” (Berman, 2011: 265). Deciding which energy-form to publicly promote requires activists to accept that solutions are imperfect and still find a way forward.

Furthermore, to declare support for a specific alternative-energy, activists risk losing support of other environmentalists. Berman has been faced with the criticism that she is a “sell-out” for her role in establishing agreements with industry. In the Clayoquot campaign, Berman was criticized for allowing selective logging to continue (Berman, 2011: 88). More recently, a number of environmentalists spoke out against Berman’s support for the Ontario Government’s 2009 decision to replace its entire fleet of vehicles with electric cars (Berman, 2011: 249). The risks associated with the alternative-energy solutions are trade-offs on the path to more sustainable environmental practices.

In discussing the challenge of addressing climate change, Berman writes: “One of the major fallacies of our age is that we are besieged with ‘environmental problems’ that are overwhelming and unstoppable. The nature of the term denies human agency and distances us from individual and collective responsibility” (Berman, 2011: 298). Berman’s call for action reflects Lederach’s explanation of humility—“to combine a sense of meaningful contribution and place with intentional recognition that we are part of a larger whole” (Lederach, 2005: 107). While the problems seem daunting, humility can serve to empower people to recognize that they are able to have an impact on society as a whole.

Relationships are a central component to Berman’s message for activism. As was mentioned, over the years she has faced criticism for working with industry and reaching compromises. However, her position reflects both the importance of paradoxical curiosity and relationship focus. Refusing to work with people in industry and government limits

the capacity for change.⁷⁶ Instead, she emphasizes that the strategies for communicating must be diverse and aim to include as many people as possible (Berman, 2011: 264). Broadening the scope of who should be included in building environmentally sustainable solutions recognizes the web of relationships as a medium through which change can happen.

The benefits of building relationship with senior management in industry, she notes, are twofold. First, it ensures that the changes made by the corporation are genuine (Berman, 2011: 181). Engaging with managers, agreements to enhance environmental practices will be more than simply a public relations campaign. Second, it is through identifying key people interested and able to improve environmental practices that change is able to cascade through the whole of the organizations (Berman, 2011: 182). Relationships are the platforms to create and sustain the change in industry practices.

Through the moral imagination individuals and communities are encouraged to engage constructively in conflict to develop solutions to perplexing challenges. And this willingness to engage in conflict is exactly what is needed in face of present environmental problems. The Clayoquot campaign and the subsequent work of Tzeporah Berman suggest that the four disciplines of the moral imagination are as effective in environmental campaigns as they are in settings of protracted social conflict. The severity of the environmental challenges facing the global community seems a daunting task. Following Lederach, I propose that the moral imagination offers a way of approaching the challenge effectively and collectively.

⁷⁶ Berman and Gregg, 2011: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pEfsK2H6nsM> (Accessed March 12, 2013)

CONCLUSION

“If you look at the science about what is happening on earth and aren’t pessimistic, you don’t understand the data. But if you meet the people who are working to restore this earth and the lives of the poor, and you aren’t optimistic, you haven’t got a pulse.”
- Paul Hawken⁷⁷

In less than a decade, the Clayoquot campaign transformed a peripheral concern for ecological sustainability into the guiding principle of the main forestry company in the Sound. The campaign actively engaged in the conflict in pursuit of environmental conservation. The environmentalists built relationships with various groups, developed creative responses to challenges that arose, maintained an openness to explore the issues, and regularly took risks. Clayoquot Sound demonstrates the potential that conflict holds for creating positive environmental change.

The Clayoquot Campaign and the Moral Imagination

This thesis explored the campaign to save Clayoquot Sound’s temperate rainforest through the lens of the moral imagination. In particular, the research focused on identifying the four essential disciplines of the moral imagination during moments of change in the campaign.

The first step of the research was to create the groundwork for the subsequent analysis. The theoretical component of this thesis was drawn from John Paul Lederach’s book, *The Moral Imagination*. The first chapter focused on summarizing the moral imagination and outlining its central role in generating social change. Particularly important were the four disciplines of the moral imagination: paradoxical curiosity, relationship focus, creativity and willingness to take risk.

The second step was to provide context for the campaign. The history of the conflict in Clayoquot Sound provides the necessary information to identify moments that created change. Through various primary documents, memoirs, autobiographies, films, and secondary literature, I developed a condensed history of the events that led to the creation of Iisaak Forestry Resource Ltd. and the conservation of the rainforests. The

⁷⁷ Hawken, Paul. "Healing or Stealing?" University of Portland Commencement Address 2009. [Http://www.up.edu/commencement/default.aspx?cid=9456](http://www.up.edu/commencement/default.aspx?cid=9456), Portland. 20 Mar. 2013. Address.

history provided in the second and third chapters is merely a snapshot of the conflict; however, it is essential for situating the campaign in the broader setting. Furthermore, context served to identify key moments of change —called turning points—in the conflict. The broader context enabled the comparison of the conflict before and after the turning points, establishing that a change occurred.

The third step was to explore the Clayoquot campaign through Lederach's concept of the moral imagination. Turning points were the focus of the research because they are, according to Lederach, manifestations of the moral imagination (Lederach, 2005: 29). Identification of turning points provided an entry point to analyze the moral imagination of the Clayoquot campaign.

The third chapter described several turning points—also referred to as tipping points—identified by Tzaporah Berman in her book, *This Crazy Time* (2011). She described four moments in particular: the summer of protest, supporting the Interim Measures Agreement, the Pacific Bell market campaign and the 'Snark' project. A precursory exploration of each of these moments revealed the presence of the four disciplines of the moral imagination throughout.

In the fourth chapter, I identified an additional three turning points in the Clayoquot campaign. Drawing on the context of the conflict, I argued how each was a turning point by comparing the changes that arose from the event. From there, each one was explored through the four disciplines of the moral imagination. I found that all the turning points involved a deepening appreciation for complexity, an unexpected response to conflict, a component of risk, and especially, the development of a new form of relationship. The achievements that resulted from the turning points suggest that the moral imagination led to significant change in the Clayoquot conflict.

Furthermore, Berman discusses how change has occurred in other campaigns. Much of the guidance she offers—build relationships with people in industry, be prepared to explore alternatives, take risks—reflect the disciplines of the moral imagination. This suggests that the moral imagination contributes positively to environmental campaigns in general.

Limitations of the Research

The research suggests that the four disciplines of the moral imagination in environmental campaigns can lead to meaningful change. However this conclusion has its limitations.

First, this research focused specifically on the role of the moral imagination in the campaign, not on identifying all factors that contributed to the campaign's achievements. This thesis is not suggesting that the moral imagination is solely responsible for conserving the Sound. Indeed, access to financial resources, endorsements from celebrities, and rising environmental awareness throughout society, all contributed to building momentum for change. While these were outside of the scope of this paper, they would be interesting areas for further research.

Second, it is not generalizable nor does it provide a step-by-step guide for environmental campaigns. While the Clayoquot campaign provides an example of how the moral imagination is effective, it does not mean it would be so in every case. However, Berman's experience on subsequent campaigns suggests that the moral imagination is applicable to the broader environmental movement. Exploring the role of moral imagination in other campaigns and the environmental movement in general would be an excellent topic for further research.

Moral Imagination and Environmental Conflicts

The quote at the start of this last chapter captures the paradox of the ecological challenges facing society today. On the one hand, the situation is dire. The ice caps are melting at an unprecedented rate and causing concern about rising sea levels. Drought is spreading, threatening food and water supply. And disquietingly, the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has reached 392 parts per million—forty-two parts per million over what is considered the upper limit by many climate experts. On the other hand, there is cause for hope. The environmental movement has developed an international community that is working tirelessly to change the way society operates. Campaigners have led protests of thousands to voice opposition to proposed projects like Keystone XL and the Northern Gateway Pipeline. The clean energy industry saw over \$42 billion

dollars worth of investments in 2005 and continues to grow. And the movement has been, by and large, non-violent.

So how do we save the earth, and in doing so, save ourselves? I cannot offer a solution. I do not think that only one exists. Instead, I suggest an approach: engage in conflict and be guided by the disciplines of the moral imagination. Recognize that each one of us can make a meaningful contribution to changing the way society operates. Acknowledge and foster the relationships that exist between everyone and our ecosystem. Imagine and develop different ways of living and engaging with each other. Take risks and try to effect change.

“What we have before us are some breathtaking opportunities disguised as insoluble problems.”
- John W. Gardner⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Gardner, John. "Engineer of the Great Society, 1965." *PBS*.
[<http://www.pbs.org/johngardner/chapters/4.html> (Accessed April 2, 2013).]

APPENDIX A

The Clayoquot Documents

VOLUME 1

II. 1984-1992

A. Meares Island

1. Tribal Park Declaration
2. Meares Island Newsletter '84 (selections)
3. MacMillan Bloedel (MB) Briefing Notes on Meares Island

B. Pre-Sustainable Development

1. Tourism Study, Tofino Chamber of Commerce (selections)
2. Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) Land Question

C. Tofino Steering Committee on Sustainable Development (1989-1990)

1. Steering Committee Brief to Land Use Committee of BC
2. MacMillan Bloedel (MB) Land Use Paper

D. Task Force on Sustainable Development (1990- 1991)

1. Announcement of Task Force, terms of reference
2. PRs from first Share meetings
3. Newsletter of the Task Force
4. Report of the Task Force (selections)
5. Analysis of the Failure of the Task Force (selections)

E. Meares Island Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Strategy Steering Committee

1. Brief on interim conservation
2. Tofino Steering Committee response to decision
3. Resignation of all environmental representation
4. Resignation of tourism representative from CSSDSSC
5. Newsletter of CSSDSSC (workshop summaries)
6. Cultural Heritage Background Study - Clayoquot Sound
7. Nuu-chah-nulth Sustainable Development Interest
8. Background Report on tourism in Clayoquot Sound
9. Share letter re lack of environmental representation
10. Newsletter #2 of CSSDSSC
11. International Media on Clayoquot Sound
12. Strategy Document Draft #2 (final draft) (selections)
13. New Democratic Party (NDP) forestry position paper

III. 1993

A. Pre-Land Use Decision/Escalation of International Campaign/Failure of CSSDS

1. New York Times Advertisement
2. Monday Magazine article on FCS

3. Interfor response to New York Times ad
4. Letters to Harcourt about Clayoquot

B. Land Use Decision (result of failure of CSSDSSC) -- April 13 (and fallout)

1. News Release on Clayoquot Land Use Decision (CLUD)
2. Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE)
3. TC article
4. Globe and Mail cover story on Clayoquot
5. Government mailout on Decision
6. International Woodworkers of America (IWA) Chretien

C. Summer/blockades

1. Injunction
2. July 1st Day Protest announcement
3. Vancouver Sun article
4. Welcome to Peace Camp Handout
5. Midnight Oil articles
6. Macmillan Bloedel ad
7. San Francisco Chronicle article
8. Vancouver Sun Article on Conflict of Interest
9. Nuu-cha-nulth response to Decision, ad
10. Tzeporah Berman's arrest ad
11. Maclean's cover story on Clayoquot (plus MB ads)
12. Vancouver Stump, ad
13. Certificate of Arrest
14. Announcement of Scientific Panel
15. Update on Clayoquot Land Use Decision
16. MacMillan Bloedel briefing notes on Clayoquot

D. Trials/Fallout of blockades

1. Justice Bouck's Decision (first trials) (selections)
2. Articles in response to Bouck's Decision
3. TC articles responding to Bouck's Decision
4. Greenpeace ads: International campaign
5. Ad, "Brazil of the North"
6. "B.C. NOT 'Brazil of the North'" (Forest Alliance)(selections)
7. Not Guilty, Vol 1. (Newsletter for arrestees)
8. Media Articles

VOLUME 2

IV. 1994

1. Science Panel Report #1 (selections)
2. Announcement of Interim Measures Agreement (IMA)
3. Vancouver Sun article on IMA
4. Clayoquot Land Use Decision, Update #2

5. Science Panel Report #2 (selections)
6. Greenpeace,NTC,MB correspondence
7. Paper Europe Supplement (selections)

V. 1995

A. Science Panel/CRB/International Campaigns

1. Ad, MB's Criminal Record
2. Science Panel Report #3, First Nations Perspective
3. A Vision and Its Context, Global Context
4. Forest Alliance New York Times ad
5. Clayoquot Biosphere Project (CBP) article
6. Ad, Visit Beautiful British Columbia
7. Ahousaht Tourism Initiative Press Release
8. Resolutions on Clayoquot by California city councils
9. CBP Symposium on Scientific Research in Clayoquot
10. BBC Wildlife Editorial and Article
11. SHARE document

B. Treaty Negotiations

1. Landmark court cases, Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs
2. Benefits and Costs of Treaty Negotiations
3. Report on Social and Economic Impact of Treaty Negots

VI. 1996

1. FOCS Update 96
2. CRB Newsletter
3. Announcement of Interim Measures Extension Agreement
4. TC article, FRBC funds MB to offset costs
5. Article by Karen Charleson
6. Hollywood Ad article from Globe and Mail
7. Briefing Notes, Rainforest Coalition Campaign
8. CRB Discussion Paper on Tenure Renewal in Clayoquot
9. Press releases from environmental groups
10. Greenpeace response to Supreme Court decision
11. CRB Background and Discussion paper
12. Traditional Ecological Knowledge Group
13. FOCS Newsletter Fall, Winter 1996, '97
14. Press releases on Biosphere status endorsement
15. CBP Research Symposium letter
16. University of British Columbia Forestry Newsletter
17. BC Business article
18. Briefing Notes, Rainforest Coalition, Winter 1997
19. Vancouver Sun article
20. FOCS letter to Glen Clark
21. TC articles on MacMillan Bloedel's shutdown

VOLUME 3

VII. 1997

1. FOCS Newsletter Spring 1997
2. Backgrounder on Ma-Mook Development Corporation
3. Discussion Paper on Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve Proposal

VIII. 1998

1. FOCS Report - Implementing the Scientific Panel
2. Discussion Paper on proposed research & education initiatives
3. Discussion Paper-Clayoquot Sound UNESCO Biosphere Reserve
4. Globe and Mail article on MacMillan Bloedel rethinking clearcutting
5. Nomination Document on proposed Clayoquot Sound UNESCO Biosphere Reserve
6. Government of British Columbia-Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks information document on Clayoquot Sound as a Biosphere Reserve

IX. 1999

1. Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve Nomination Document
2. Greenpeace report - Broken Promises
3. Memorandum of Understanding between Iisaak Forest Resources Ltd. and Environmental Groups
4. Weyerhaeuser News Release - Acquisition of MacMillan Bloedel
5. Weyerhaeuser News Release - Confirmation to continue forest practices initiated by MacBlo
6. Gov. of B.C. - Ministry of Forests news release on transfer of timber harvesting agreements from MacBlo to Iisaak
7. Gov. of British Columbia - Ministry of Forests backgrounder on transfer of TFL 44 from MacBlo to Iisaak
8. Iisaak Forest Resources Ltd.- Information document
9. Weyerhaeuser news release - completion of MacBlo acquisition
10. Discussion paper on MOU and Iisaak

X. 2000

1. Globe and Mail - U.S. Environmentalists swing axe at Canadian forest industry
2. Government of Canada News Release - Designation of Clayoquot Sound as Biosphere Reserve
3. Draft document for Great Bear Rainforest MOU
4. Globe and Mail - Dedication of Clayoquot Sound as Biosphere Reserve

APPENDIX B

Format for a 3 1/2 Hour Non-Violence Training Workshop

1. Introduce trainer (2 min.)

Who, where from, experience in nv action.

Explain hand signals.

Explain FOCS guidelines.

2. Explain Peaceful Direct Action Code (5 min.)

- Our attitude is one of openness, friendliness, and respect toward all beings we encounter
- We will not use violence, either verbal or physical, towards any being.
- We will not damage any property and will discourage others from doing so.
- We will strive for an atmosphere of calm and dignity
- We will carry no weapons.
- We will not bring or use alcohol or drugs.

3. Affirmation (15-20 min.)

Ask people to give a short statement about why they are here at Clayoquot Sound to protest. (Depending on how many in group—if more than 20—30 this can be done in pairs.)

4. Explain history of NV (5 – 10 min.)

Ask for other examples, i.e. Ghandi, suffragettes, strikes, civil rights movement, nuclear resistance.

5. Brainstorm violence and non-violence (20 min.)

What do people consider a violent act? What do they consider non-violent acts?

6. Fears (15—20 min.)

Speak in groups of 5 about fears of direct action—have one person take notes and report back to group. (Explain that some of these fears will be answered in rest of workshop.) A good idea would be to provide paper and pens for recording.

7. Ask each person to go and look for a stick about 8” long and 1/2” in diameter.

THIS COULD BE A GOOD TIME FOR A SHORT BREAK

8. Play the Stick Game

9. Explain Consensus Decision Making (20 min.)

Role play on consensus. Give an example of everyday life: ordering a pizza, or deciding on what movie to go to (with 3 people) or decide what would be a good idea for tomorrow’s action (with whole group). Talk about how to act in groups.

10. Differences (15 min.)

Cultural, age, sexual and religious and spiritual differences and the importance of not pushing your opinions on others—avoidance of racism and sexism, ageism, etc. Explain that the camp is run on feminist principles.

11. Explain Conflict Resolution (60 min.)

How do we act under pressure in an anger situation? Do role play of bad example with 2 people (e.g. one person borrowed neighbour's car without permission and dented it, or do Roar, Roar) get 2 others to do it better. Then talk about anger escalation and 4 minute height of anger. Try to de-escalate the anger before it reaches height. Give examples of our own action at bridge when anger didn't work and when our calm response did.

Needs of All Humans—ourselves and our opponents

- to be safe
- material well being (food, clothing and shelter)
- to belong to a group
- to be recognized
- to have control over our lives
- meaning to our lives—values, beliefs spiritualism

Role playing on Conflict Resolution, Hassle Lines—do the first one with “All out” anger and then get forest protectors to try to diffuse the anger Reverse roles to try to get all people to understand what it is like to be in someone else's shoes.

12. Affinity Groups and the Buddy System (15 min.)

Explain importance of affinity groups and the buddy system and support system. Talk about the danger of “going it alone” to the person and the group. Spontaneous action is fine if well thought out but ask people to tell at least one person beforehand. One badly thought out act could cause harm to the whole group's safety.

13. Safety in Action (10 min.)

Personal Safety: (Especially for those planning to risk arrest.) Make sure you have small amount of sustaining food, water and enough warm clothing (layers). Some money on you (quarters) possibly your toothbrush and clean underwear. Remove necklaces and earrings and tie back long hair or wear a hat. NO DRUGS OR ALCOHOL. If you have personal medical needs make sure you have medication with you clearly labelled. Explain about group safety.

14. Arrest Situation (20 min.)

Go through arrest situation step by step from getting up in the morning, to going to the action, arrest if applicable, going to jail, lawyers, etc. Discourage questions until you have finished and ask people who have specific questions to ask you afterwards. This section can go on and on and get depressing.

15. Windup (5 min.)

Stand together holding hands for a few moments thinking about why we are here and visioning the old growth still standing many years from now. Image yourselves as a tree with roots going down into the group through all the layers into the molten centre where power comes from, drawing that strength up into your own bodies. Then sing a song. Try to end on a positive feeling.

Bibliography

- Allison, Dale C.. *The sermon on the mount: inspiring the moral imagination*. New York: Crossroad Pub., 1999. Print.
- Amos, Heather. "First Nations Advocate and Eco-Activist Among Honorary Degree Recipients ." *UBC Public Affairs*. N.p., 19 Mar. 2013. Web. 24 Mar. 2013. <<http://www.publicaffairs.ubc.ca/2013/03/19/first-nations-advocate-and-eco-activist-among-honorary-degree-recipients/>>.
- Anderson, Leland. "A More Excellent Way: Moral Imagination & the Art of Judging." *Symposium on the judiciary*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame Law School, 2008. 399-424. Print.
- Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Theory, Culture & Society* 7 (1990): 295-310. Print.
- Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Public Culture* 2.2 (1990): 1-24. Print.
- Assefa, Hizkias. "Coexistence and Reconciliation in the Northern Region of Ghana." *Reconciliation, justice, and coexistence: theory and practice*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001. 165-186. Print.
- Arvai, Joseph L., and Michael J. Mascarenhas. "Print Media Framing of the Environmental Movement in a Canadian Forestry Debate." *Environmental Management* 27.5 (2001): 705-14. Print.
- Azar, Edward, and Nadia Farah. "The Structure of Inequalities and Protracted Social Conflicts: A Theoretical Framework." *International Interactions* 4.4 (1981): 317-335. Print.
- BC Integrated Land Management Bureau. "Clayoquot Sound Land and Resource Management Plan - Key Elements." *Integrated Land Management Bureau*. N.p., n.d. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <http://archive.ilmb.gov.bc.ca/slrp/lrmp/nanaimo/clayoquot_sound/archive/files/claykey.htm>.
- Berman, Tzeporah. "Be the Change." The Ottawa International Writer's Festival. Oneness-World Communications. Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa. 27 Oct. 2012. Speech.
- Benford, Robert. "The Half-Life of the Environmental Justice Frame: Innovation, Diffusion, and Stagnation." *Power, Justice, and the Environment: A Critical Appraisal of the Environmental Justice Movement*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2005. 37-53. Print.

- Berman, Tzaporah, and Allan Gregg. "Tzaporah Berman on past and present environmental challenges." *YouTube: Allan Gregg In Conversation*. Allan Gregg, 22 Oct. 2011. Web. 21 Jan. 2013.
<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pEfsK2H6nsM>>.
- Berman, Tzaporah. "Takin' it Back." *Clayoquot & Dissent*. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press/Cacanadadada, 1994. 1-7. Print.
- Berman, Tzaporah, and Mark Young. *This Crazy Time: Living our Environmental Challenge*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2011. Print.
- Bose, Pablo. *Damning Development: The Rise of the "New Grassroots" in the Clayoquot Sound and the Narmada Valley*. Diss. Simon Fraser University, 2000. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.
- Bossin, Bob. "The Clayoquot Women." *Bob Bossin's Old Folk-Singer's Homepage*. TELUS Internet Services - Member Services, 1 Sept. 1999. Web. 23 Mar. 2013.
<<http://www3.telus.net/oldfolk/women.htm>>.
- Boucher, Priscilla M. *Ecology, Feminism, and Planning: Lessons from Women's Environmental Activism in Clayoquot Sound*. Diss. University of British Columbia, 1997. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.
- Braun, Bruce. *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. Print.
- Brown, William P. *The Ethos of the Cosmos: The Genesis of Moral Imagination in the Bible*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1999. Print.
- Brukum, N.K. "Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana 1980-1999: An Appraisal." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 4/5 (2000): 131-147. Print.
- Buchanan-Smith, Margie, and Jeremy Lind. *Armed Violence and Poverty in Northern Kenya: A case study for the Armed Violence and Poverty Initiative*. Bradford: University of Bradford, 2005. Print.
- Bullard, Robert, and Glenn Johnson. "Environmental Justice: Grassroots Activism and Its impact on Public Policy Decision Making." *Environmental Sociology: From Analysis to Action*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. 120-136. Print.
- Burke, Edmund. *Reflections on the revolution in France: and on the proceedings in certain societies in London relative to that event*. The 2nd ed. London: Printed for J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, M.DCC.XC, 1790. Print.
- Callihoo, Christine. "Participation Equality in the Public Policy Process: The Clayoquot Land Use Decision." Diss. University of Northern British Columbia, 2000. Print.

- Castro, Alfonso Peter, and Erik Nielson. "Indigenous People and Co-management: Implications for Conflict Management." *Environmental Science and Policy* 4 (2001): 229-239. Print.
- Catriona, Sandilands. "Between the Local and the Global: Clayoquot Sound and Simulacral Politics." *A political space reading the global through Clayoquot Sound*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. 139-168. Print.
- CBC. "A new era of 'good wood'." *CBC Archives*. N.p., n.d. Web. 2 Apr. 2012. <http://archives.cbc.ca/environment/environmental_protection/clips/3927/>.
- CBC. "CBC Digital Archives - Clearcutting and Logging: The War of the Woods - A little place called Clayoquot Sound." *CBC*. N.p., 13 Apr. 1993. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/economy-business/natural-resources/clearcutting-and-logging-the-war-of-the-woods-1/a-little-place-called-clayoquot-sound.html>>.
- CBC. "Clayoquot logging could lead to more blockades: environmentalists - British Columbia - CBC News." *CBC*. N.p., 29 July 2008. Web. 18 Mar. 2013. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/story/2008/07/29/bc-clayoquot-logging-protest.html>>.
- CBC. "Keystone pipeline protest nets 117 arrests on Hill - Ottawa - CBC News." *CBC*. N.p., 26 Sept. 2011. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/story/2011/09/26/ottawa-oilsands-protest-parliament-hill.html>>.
- CBC. "Quebec students stage massive tuition fee protest - Montreal - CBC News." *CBC*. N.p., 10 Nov. 2011. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2011/11/10/quebec-tuition-strike.html>>.
- CBC. "Thousands protest Parliament's suspension - Your Community." *CBC*. N.p., 25 Jan. 2010. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/yourcommunity/2010/01/thousands-protest-parliaments-suspension.html>>.
- Chaloupka, William. "There Must Be Some Way Out of Here: Strategy, Ethics, and Environmental Politics." *Political Space Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. 67-91. Print.
- "Clayoquot Documents." *University of Victoria - Clayoquot Sound*. N.p., n.d. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <<http://web.uvic.ca/clayoquot/clayoquotDocuments.html>>.
- Conway, Janet M.. *Identity, Place, Knowledge: Social Movements Contesting Globalization*. Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood, 2004. Print.

- Cortex Consultants. "A Quick Reference: British Columbia's Timber Tenure System." *Cortex Consultants*. N.p., n.d. Web. 28 Mar. 2013. <www.cortex.ca/TimberTenSysWeb_Nov2001.pdf>.
- Davis, Gerald F., Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, and Mayer Zald. *Social Movements and Organization Theory*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Print.
- Deangelo, Harry, and Linda Deangelo. "Ancient Redwoods and the Politics of Finance: the Hostile Takeover of the Pacific Lumber Company." *Journal of Financial Economics* 47 (1997): 3-53. Print.
- della Porta, Donatella , and Dieter Rucht. "The Dynamics of Environmental Campaigns." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 7.1 (2002): 1-14. Print.
- Delicath, John, and Kevin Deluca. "Image Events, the Public Sphere, and Argumentative Practice: The Case of Radical Environmental Groups." *Argumentation* 17 (2003): 315-333. Print.
- Diani, Mario, and Doug McAdam. *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Print.
- Domask, J. "From Boycotts to Global Partnerships: NGO's, the Private Sector and the Struggle to Protect the World's Forests." *Globalization and NGOs: Transforming Business, Government, and Society*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003. 157-186. Print.
- Doyle, Timothy. *Environmental Movements in Minority and Majority Worlds: A Global Perspective*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2005. Print.
- Dwivedi, O. P., Patrick Kyba, Peter Stoett, and Rebecca Tiessen. *Sustainable Development and Canada: National & International Perspectives*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2001. Print.
- Farmer, Sarah. "Criminality of Black Youth in Inner-city Schools: A Moral Panic, Moral Imagination, and Moral Formation." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 13.3 (2010): 367-381. Print.
- Fisas, Vicence. *La Paz Es Posible*. Barcelona: Intermon Oxfam, 2002. Print.
- FitzGerald, Dawn. *Julia Butterfly Hill: Saving the Redwoods*. Brookfield, Conn.: Millbrook Press, 2002. Print.
- "Friends of Clayoquot Sound: Logging: Markets Campaigns." *Friends of Clayoquot Sound*. N.p., n.d. Web. 2 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.focs.ca/logging/marketscampaigns.asp>>.

- Friends of Clayoquot Sound. "Friends Of Clayoquot Sound: About FOCS." *Friends Of Clayoquot Sound: Dedicated to Protecting the Biocultural Diversity of Clayoquot Sound*. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Mar. 2013. <<http://focs.ca/about/about-focs/>>.
- Fury for the Sound: The Women at Clayoquot*. Dir. Shelley Wine. TellTale Productions, 1997. VHS.
- Gamson, William A., and Gadi Wolfsfeld. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (1993): 114-125. Print.
- Gibbons, Maurice. "The Clayoquot Papers." *Clayoquot & dissent*. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press/Cacanadadada, 1994. 73-103. Print.
- Gibson, James William. *A Reenchanted World: The Quest for a New Kinship with Nature*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009. Print.
- Giungi, Marco. "Was It Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 371-393. Print.
- Glave, James. "Tzeporah Berman's Green Idea." *Vancouver Magazine* 1 Nov. 2009: 1-9. *Vancouver Magazine: News and Features*. Web. 15 Mar. 2013.
- Goetzman, Keith, Julie Hanus, Judith Lewis, Hannah Lobel, Danielle Maestretti, and Elizabeth Ryan. "50 Visionaries Who Are Changing Your World." *Utne Reader: Alternative Coverage of Politics, Culture, and New Ideas*. N.p., 13 Nov. 2008. Web. 24 Mar. 2013. <<http://www.utne.com/2008-11-13/50-Visionaries-Who-Are-Changing-Your-World.aspx>>.
- Gow, David D.. *Countering Development: Indigenous Modernity and the Moral Imagination*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. Print.
- Hanna, Kevin S., Douglas A. Clark, and D. Scott Slocombe. "Conflict and Protected Areas Establishment: British Columbia's Political Parks." *Transforming Parks and Protected Areas: Policy and Governance in a Changing World*. New York: Routledge, 2008. 137-150. Print.
- Hansen, Anders. *Environment, Media and Communication*. London: Routledge, 2010. Print.
- Hatch, Christopher. "The Clayoquot Protests: Taking Stock One Year Later." *Clayoquot & Dissent*. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press/Cacanadadada, 1994. 199-208. Print.
- Hatch, Ronald. "The Clayoquot Show Trials." *Clayoquot & Dissent*. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press/Cacanadadada, 1994. 105-153. Print.

- Hayter, Roger, and Dietrich Soyez. "Clearcut Issues: German Environmental Pressure and the British Columbia Forest Sector." *Geographische Zeitschrift* 84.3 (1996): 143-156. Print.
- Hendry, Jamie. "Influential Environmental Stakeholders: A Ground Model Process for Effecting Change." *Stakeholders, the Environment and Society*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Pub., 2004. 62-92. Print.
- Hill, Julia Butterfly. *The Legacy of Luna: The Story of a Tree, a Woman, and the Struggle to Save the Redwoods*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 2000. Print.
- Hoberg, George, and Edward Morawski. "Policy Change Through Sector Intersection: Forest and Aboriginal Policy in Clayoquot Sound." *Canadian Public Administration* 40.3 (1997): 387-414. Print.
- Holzer, Boris. "Transnational Protest and the Corporate Planet." *Environmental Sociology: From Analysis to Action*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. 357-370. Print.
- "Iisaak Forest Resources Ltd." *Iisaak Forest Resources Ltd.*. N.p., n.d. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.iisaak.com/>>.
- Ingram, Gordon. "The Ecology of a Conflict." *Clayoquot & Dissent*. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press/Cacanadadada, 1994. 9-71. Print.
- Integrated Land Management Bureau. "Clayoquot Decision Balances Environmental, Economic and Social Values." *Integrated Land Management Bureau*. N.p., 13 Apr. 1993. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <http://archive.ilmb.gov.bc.ca/slrp/lrmp/nanaimo/clayoquot_sound/archive/files/nr041393.htm>.
- Interfor. "Interfor: Responsibility Report." *International Forest Products Ltd.* N.p., n.d. Web. 6 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.interfor.com/environment/improvement>>.
- Kroc Institute: "Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies: John Paul Lederach." *Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies | Research, Teaching, Strategic Peacebuilding*. University of Notre Dame, n.d. Web. 4 Mar. 2013. <<http://kroc.nd.edu/facultystaff/faculty/john-paul-lederach>>.
- Johnson, Mark. *Moral Imagination: Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. Print.
- Ken, Menkhaus. "The Rise of a Mediated State in Northern Kenya: the Wajir Story and its Implications for State-building." *Afrika Focus* 21.2 (2008): 23-38. Print.

- Kenney, Douglas. "Are Community-based Watershed Groups Really Effective? Confronting the Thorny Issue of Measuring Success ." *Across the Great Divide: explorations in collaborative conservation and the American West*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2001. 188-193. Print.
- King, Leslie, and Deborah McCarthy. *Environmental sociology: from analysis to action*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. Print.
- Kirk, Russell. "The Russell Kirk Center: The Moral Imagination by Russell Kirk." *The Russell Kirk Center*. The Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal, n.d. Web. 30 Mar. 2013. <<http://www.kirkcenter.org/index.php/detail/the-moral-imagination/>>.
- Kirk, Russell. *Eliot and His Age; T.S. Eliot's Moral Imagination in the Twentieth Century*. 2nd ed. New York: Random House, 2008. Print.
- Krajnc, Anita. "Green Learning: The Role of Scientists and the Environmental Movement." Diss. University of Toronto, 2001. Print.
- Kriesberg, Louis. *Constructive Conflicts from Escalation to Resolution*. 3rd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007. Print.
- Krill, Jennifer. "Rainforest Action Network." *Good Cop/Bad Cop: Environmental NGOs and Their Strategies Toward Business*. Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, 2010. 208-220. Print.
- Kurtz, Roger. "The Moral Imagination at Work in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia: Reconsidering The Thirteenth Sun by Daniachew Worku." *Research in African Literature* 41.4 (2010): 1-25. Print.
- LaWare, Margaret. "Circling the Missiles and Staining Them Red: Feminist Rhetorical Invention and Strategies of Resistance at the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common." *NWSA Journal* 16.3 (2004): 18-41. Print.
- Langer, Valerie, and Jan Bates. "Women Out Front in Clayoquot Sound." *Canadian Woman Studies* 13.3 (1994): 81-83. Print.
- Langlois, Christine . "The Queen of Green." *Reader's Digest* Nov. 2009: 46-53. Print.
- Lavallee, Loraine, and Peter Suedfeld. "Conflict in Clayoquot Sound: Using Thematic Content Analysis to Understand Psychological Aspects of Environmental Controversy." *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 29.3 (1997): 194-209. Print.
- Lederach, John Paul. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996. Print.
- Lederach, John Paul. *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Print.

- Libiszewski, Stephan. "What is Environmental Conflict?" *Center for Security Studies*. N.p., 26 Feb. 2009. Web. 25 Feb. 2013. <<http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/7362/1/What%20is%20Environmental%20Conflict.pdf?1>>.
- Liddington, Jill. *The Road to Greenham Common: Feminism and Anti-militarism in Britain Since 1820*. Syracuse University Press. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1991. Print.
- Luke, Timothy. "On the Political Economy of Clayoquot Sound: The Uneasy Transition from Extractive to Attractive Models of Development." *A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. 91-112. Print.
- MacIsaac, Ronald, and Anne Champagne. *Clayoquot mass trials: defending the rainforest*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1994. Print.
- Magnusson, Warren. "Introduction: The Puzzle of the Political." *A political space reading the global through Clayoquot Sound*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. 1-20. Print.
- Maiese, Michelle. "Engaging the Emotions in Conflict Intervention." *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 24.2 (2006): 187-195. Print.
- Maingon, Loys. "Clayoquot: Recovering From Cultural Rape." *Clayoquot & Dissent*. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press/Cacanadadada, 1994. 155-196. Print.
- As It Happens*. Maitland, Alan. CBC. 13 Apr. 1993. Radio.
- Maykut, Pamela S., and Richard Morehouse. *Beginning qualitative research: a philosophic and practical guide*. London: Falmer Press, 1994. Print.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney G. Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. *Dynamics of contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Print.
- McBay, Aric, Lierre Keith, and Derrick Jensen. *Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2011. Print.
- McCollough, Thomas E.. *The Moral Imagination and Public Life: Raising the Ethical Question*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers, 1991. Print.
- McFaul, Thomas R.. *Transformation ethics: developing the Christian moral imagination*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2003. Print.
- McLaren, Jean. *Spirits Rising: The Story of the Clayoquot Peace Camp, 1993*. Gabriola, B.C., Canada: Pacific Edge Pub., 1994. Print.

- McLean, George F., and Richard T. Knowles. *Moral Imagination and Character Development*. Washington, D.C.: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2004. Print.
- McLoed, Doug. "Social Protest." *Oxford Bibliographies*. Oxford University Press, n.d. Web. 2 Apr. 2012.
<<http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199756841/obo-9780199756841-0005.xml;jsessionid=E6D1DBBE3943AE8C03EFAB9B8D7139>>.
- McMillan, Alan D.. *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuuchah-nulth, Ditidaht and Makah*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999. Print.
- Meertens, Donny, and Nora Segura-Escobar. "Uprooted Lives: Gender, Violence and Displacement in Colombia." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 17.2 (2006): 165-178. Print.
- Meyer, David S., Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett. *Social movements: identity, culture, and the state*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Print.
- Miall, Hugh. "Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task." *Berghof Handbook*. Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, n.d. Web. 25 Mar. 2013. <www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/miall_handbook.pdf>.
- Moore, Luke. "Clayoquot Sound: A Summer of Protest." *Peace and Environment Resource Centre*. Peace and Environment Resource Centre, n.d. Web. 17 Mar. 2013. <<http://207.112.105.217/PEN/1993-11/s-moore.html>>.
- Moore, Mik. "Coalition Building Between Native Americans and Environmental Organizations in Opposition to Development: The Case of the New Los Padres Dam Project." *Environmental sociology: from analysis to action*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. 371-393. Print.
- Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. "Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council Treaty Processes." *Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council*. N.p., n.d. Web. 6 Apr. 2013.
<<http://www.nuuchahnulth.org/tribal-council/treaty.html>>.
- Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. "Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, Welcome." *Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Mar. 2013.
<<http://www.nuuchahnulth.org/tribal-council/welcome.html>>.
- Paquet, Maggie. "The Changing Face of Forestry." *Watershed Sentinel - Environmental News Magazine from British Columbia, and the world! | Bi-monthly magazine.* N.p., n.d. Web. 17 Mar. 2013.
<<http://www.watershedsentinel.ca/content/changing-face-forestry>>.

- Parai, Brian, and Thomas Esakin. "Beyond Conflict in Clayoquot Sound: The Future of Sustainable Forestry." *Natural Resource Conflict Management Case Studies: An Analysis of Power, Participation and Protected Areas*. Rome: UN Food and Agricultural Organisation, 2003. 163-182. Print.
- Pegg, Brian . "Dendrochronology, CMTs, and Nuu-chah-nulth history on the west coast of Vancouver Island." *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 24.1 (2000): 77-88. Print.
- Peretz Glazer, Myron, and Penina Midgal Glazer. "On the Trail of Courageous Behavior." *Environmental Sociology: From Analysis to Action*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. 451-467. Print.
- Pezzullo, Phaedra. "Contextualizing Boycotts and Boycotts: The Impure Politics of Consumer-Based Advocacy in an Age of Global Ecological Crises." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 8.2 (2011): 124-145. Print.
- Pralle, Sarah Beth. *Branching Out, Digging In: Environmental Advocacy and Agenda Setting*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2006. Print.
- Pul, Hyppolyt. "Exclusion, Association and Violence: Trends and Triggers in Northern Ghana's Konkomba-Dagomba Wars." *The African Anthropologist* 10.1 (2003): 39-82. Print.
- Ramsbotham, Oliver, Hugh Miall, and Tom Woodhouse. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. 3rd ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2011. Print.
- Rapp, Hilde. "Citizen Peacemakers." *World and I: Innovative Approaches to Peace* Fall (2006): 75-85. Print.
- Reed, Matthew. *Rebels for the Soil the Rise of the Global Organic Food and Farming Movement*. London: Earthscan, 2010. Print.
- Reychler, Luc, and Thania Paffenholz. *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001. Print.
- Robert, Kennedy. "Foreword." *Clayoquot Mass Trials: Defending the Rainforest*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1994. vii-ix. Print.
- Rodriguez, Clemencia, and Amparo Cadavid. "From Violence to Discourse: Conflict and Citizens' Radio Stations in Colombia." *Conflicts and Tensions*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2007. 313-325. Print.
- Rossi, Philip J., and Paul A. Soukup. *Mass Media and the Moral Imagination*. Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, 1994. Print.

- Sanz de Santamaría, Alejandro. "From Violence and Impoverishment to Peace and Economic Reconstruction: Description of the achievements of The Carare Peasant Workers Association." *Systems Research and Behavioural Science* 12.1 (2007): 66-71. Print.
- Schirmer, Jennifer. "The Claiming of Space and the Body Politic within National Security States: The Plaza de Mayo Madres and The Greenham Common Women." *Remapping Memory: The Politics of Timespace*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. 185-220. Print.
- Shaw, Karena. "Encountering Clayoquot, Reading the Political." *Political Space Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. 25-63. Print.
- Sierra Club BC. "New Risk of Logging in Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve: Sierra Club BC." *Sierra Club BC*. Sierra Club, 19 Jan. 2012. Web. 18 Mar. 2013. <<http://www.sierraclub.bc.ca/media-centre/press-releases/new-risk-of-logging-in-clayoquot-sound-biosphere-reserve>>.
- Stanbury, W.T, and Ian Vertinsky. "Boycotts in Conflicts Over Forestry Issues: The Case of Clayoquot Sound." *Commonwealth Forestry Review* 76.1 (1997): 18-24. Print.
- Stefanick, Lorna. "Baby Stumpy and the War in the Woods: Competing Frames of British Columbia Forests." *BC Studies* 130.Summer (2001): 41-68. Print.
- Stephenson, Max. "Exploring the Connections among Adaptive Leadership, Facets of Imagination and Social Imaginaries." *Public Policy and Administration* 24.4 (2009): 417-435. Print.
- Stevens, Edward. *Developing the Moral Imagination: Case Studies in Practical Morality*. Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, 1997. Print.
- Stewart, Charles. *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991. Print.
- Stoddart, Mark, and D.B. Tindall. "Ecofeminism, Hegemonic Masculinity, and Environmental Movement Participation in British Columbia Canada, 1998-2007: "Women always clean up the mess."" *Sociological Spectrum* 31 (2011): 342-368. Print.
- Svendson, Ann; Boutilier, Robert. "From Conflict to Collaboration: Stakeholder Bridging and Bonding in Clayoquot Sound." 60th Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Toronto, Ontario. 20 Aug. 2000. Address.

- Szerszynski, Bronislaw, and Mark Toogood. "Global Citizenship, the Environment and the Media." *Environmental Risks and the Media*. London: Routledge, 2003. 218-228. Print.
- Tara, Goetze. "Empowered Co-Management: Towards Power-Sharing and Indigenous Rights in Clayoquot Sound, BC." *Anthropologica* 47.2 (2005): 247-265. Print.
- Tarrow, Sidney. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Print.
- "The Clayoquot Documents." *A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound*. University of Victoria, n.d. Web. 23 Feb. 2013.
<<http://web.uvic.ca/clayoquot/clayoquotDocuments.html>>. A compilation of documents pertaining to the conflict in Clayoquot Sound.
- Toffolon-Weiss, Melissa, and Timmons Roberts. "Who Wins, Who Loses? Understanding Outcomes of Environmental Injustice Struggles." *Power, justice, and the environment: a critical appraisal of the environmental justice movement*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2005. 77-90. Print.
- "TzaporahBerman.com: Biography." *TzaporahBerman.com*. N.p., n.d. Web. 24 Mar. 2013. <<http://www.tzaporahberman.com/>>.
- Unknown. "Wilderness & Resistance: Bears, Blockades & Burning Bridges." *Do or Die: Voices from the Ecological Resistance* 6 (1997): 87-92. *Do or Die*. Web. 16 Mar. 2013.
- Valerie, Langer. "Epilogue." *Clayoquot Mass Trials: Defending the Rainforest*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1994. 189-191. Print.
- WCWC. "1993 Stumpy comes to Vancouver TV news story: Wilderness Committee." *Wilderness Committee: An Organization that Believes in Action - Canada's Largest Membership-based Wilderness Preservation Society*. N.p., 15 Sept. 1993. Web. 17 Mar. 2013.
<http://wildernesscommittee.org/video/1993_stumpy_comes_vancouver_tv_news_story>.
- WCWC. "1993 Stumpy comes to the BC Legislature: Wilderness Committee." *Wilderness Committee*. N.p., 26 Sept. 1993. Web. 24 Feb. 2013.
<http://wildernesscommittee.org/1993_stumpy_comes_the_bc_legislature>.
- WCWC. "1994 Stumpy on British TV: Wilderness Committee." *Wilderness Committee: An Organization that Believes in Action - Canada's Largest Membership-based Wilderness Preservation Society*. N.p., 16 June 1994. Web. 17 Mar. 2013.
<http://wildernesscommittee.org/video/1994_stumpy_british_tv>.

- Walter, Pierre. "Adult Learning in New Social Movements: Environmental Protest and the Struggle for the Clayoquot Sound Rainforest." *Adult Education Quarterly* 57.3 (2007): 248-261. Print.
- Webel, Charles, and Johan Galtung. *Handbook of peace and conflict studies*. London: Routledge, 2007. Print.
- Welch, Christina. "The Spirituality of, and at, Greenham Common Peace Camp." *Feminist Theology* 18.2 (2010): 230-248. Print.
- Weldon, Gail. "Post-conflict Teacher Development: Facing the Past in South Africa." *Journal of Moral Education* 39.3 (2010): 353-364. Print.
- Weldon, Gail. "Memory, Identity and the Politics of Curriculum Construction in Transition Societies: Rwanda and South Africa." *Perspectives in Education* 27.2 (2009): 177-189. Print.
- White, Brian. *Authoring the Tourism Landscape of Clayoquot Sound*. Diss. Simon Fraser University, 1999. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.
- Williams, Oliver F. *The Moral Imagination: How Literature and Films can Stimulate Ethical Reflection in the Business World*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997. Print.
- Wine, Shelley. "Fury for the Sound: The Documentary." *Fury for the Sound: The Women at Clayoquot*. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Mar. 2013. <www.furyforthesound.org/>.