

dominion, n. 1. Control or the exercise of control. 2. A territory or sphere of influence; a realm. 3. A self-governing nation in the British Commonwealth.

The Dominion

news from the grassroots

www.dominionpaper.ca • July/August 2010 • Issue #69

Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement

The Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement

Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement, Reconsidered

page 6

Abdelrazik's dark anniversary

page 5

Villanueva's double punishment

page 14

Goldcorp drilled

page 18

G20 in photos

page 12

Media Co-op Locals in print

page 22



MEMBER SUPPORTED COOPERATIVE MEDIA WWW.MEDIACOOP.CA/JOIN	\$3
 7 72006 86187 8 06	

CANADA		POSTES
POST		CANADA
Postage paid		Port payé
Publications Mail		Poste-publications
41375022		



In This Issue:

LABOUR

“There Is No Neutral”
by *Shailagh Keaney* • 4

FEATURES

A Dark Anniversary
by *Amy Miller* • 5

ENVIRONMENT

The Canadian Boreal Forest
Agreement Reconsidered
by *Dawn Paley* • 6

ORIGINAL PEOPLES

Can There Be a Salmon People
Without Wild Salmon?
by *Kim Petersen* • 8

Cuts to First Nations Programs
Keep Coming
by *Maya Rolbin-Ghanie* • 10

PHOTO ESSAY

Toronto G20 2010
by *Toronto Media Co-op* • 12

Whose Woods These Are
by *Matthew Lowell* • 24

CANADIAN NEWS

Double Punishment for Vil-
lanueva
by *Robyn Maynard* • 14

ACCOUNTS

The Same Boat
by *Eva Bartlett* • 17

BUSINESS

Goldcorp Drilled
by Shareholders
by *Valerie Croft* • 18

COMIC

Indelible
by *Heather Meek* • 20

LITERATURE & IDEAS

by *Ndija Anderson* & *Sean Patrick
Murphy* • 21

FEATURES

Media Co-op Locals Go To
Print
by *Geordie Gwalgen Dent*, *Kaley
Kennedy* & *Isaac Oommen* • 22

Community groups and grassroots organizations, via the **Toronto Community Mobilization Network**, organized themed days of resistance in the buildup to the G8/G20 convergence. Thousands of people attended films, speeches and marches, rallying around environmental justice, anti-poverty, disAbility rights, queer rights, migrant justice and Indigenous sovereignty. Organizers consistently drew links between different types of oppression and how the G8/G20 represents “the rich and the few.”

Overnight between June 26 and 27, several organizers were detained or arrested before any actions took place. One organizer, **Farrah Miranda**, was thrown into an unmarked car and driven around the city for 40 minutes before being dropped again on a street corner.

The Ontario government announced the enactment of **Public Works Detention Act** around the G20 security fence, allowing police to search and request ID of anyone withing five metres of the fence, and to arrest anyone who refused to comply. The change in law ostensibly came into effect without any public notice or announcement, resulting in at least one arrest where the man had no idea he had broken the law.

On June 29th, it was revealed that the **Toronto Police Service** had lied and that the law was never actually enacted.

Police attacked a jail solidarity rally at the temporary detention centre at the **Toronto Film**

Studios, charging the crowd and trampling on protesters sitting on the street. Hundreds of people were also arbitrarily detained for several hours in a rain storm in downtown Toronto.

Journalists covering the summits for both mainstream and independent media outlets faced significant police repression. Several journalists from the **Alternative Media Centre** were detained illegally, arrested, and/or had their equipment confiscated, including independent journalist Amy Miller, who was detained at the Toronto Film Studios and was subjected to threats of gang rape by police. **The Canadian Association of Journalists** and the **International Press Institute** have both come out against the actions of the police towards journalists.

The G20's final communique served up instructions to governments to slash their deficits in half by 2013. Critics say this burden will fall disproportionately on those who can least afford it, including students, people living in poverty and pensioners.

Millions of workers went on strike in **Italy**, **Greece** and **France** to oppose proposed “austerity plans” which would cut social spending and impact wages.

New studies of European and OECD countries in the **British Medical Journal** found that cuts to social welfare programs result in increased mortality rates, in some cases more so than cuts made directly to health care spending.

Bank of Canada Governor Mark Carney appointed the CEO

of **Goldman Sachs'** Canadian subsidiary as a special advisor to the central bank to give advice on regulatory reform. Goldman Sachs has been accused of having profited from the current economic crisis, and received the largest pay out of any bank from AIG's bailout fund, totaling \$12.9 billion. One prominent economist described the appointment as “the fox guarding the henhouse.”

Toronto Police **Chief Bill Blair** was caught misleading reporters when displaying so called “weapons” seized during G20 raids, searches, and arrests. The stock included a crossbow seized in an unrelated incident, and chainmail armour and padded arrows seized from a man on his way to a role-playing game. Police had claimed that protesters had

planned to set the arrows on fire and shoot them.

The Mohawk Council of **Kanesatake** rejected a proposed niobium mine in the Seigneurie of Lake of Two Mountains outside Montreal on land held by the Mohawks through Aboriginal title and treaty rights. The project, owned by Niocan Inc., was recently presented to the Quebec government for approval.

Members of the **Barriere Lake** Algonquin community and



solidarity activists have launched a campaign against the imposition on their community of Section 74 of the Indian Act by the Federal Government. Section 74, which has not been forcibly enacted since 1924, would allow Indian Affairs Minister Chuck Strahl to impose an electoral system on the Indigenous community, which currently uses a traditional selection system.

Toronto played host to Canada's first ever Veggie-Pride Parade to celebrate and promote vegetarianism and veganism. Similar events have taken place in New York, LA and Rome.

International outcry about the Israeli assault on the **Gaza Freedom Flotilla** continued, with thousands of people gathering in cities across Canada, including Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Vancouver and Halifax to denounce the attack which included the killing of Turkish activists, to and send a message of solidarity to the Palestinian people. Israel announced it would establish a commission to investigate the attack—Canada will serve as one of two external observers. Initially the Canadian government released a press statement saying Canada was “Concerned by Israel’s Decision to Set up Independent Public Commission Concerning Flotilla Incident.” The statement was retracted less than 30 minutes later and changed to, “Canada Welcomes Israel’s Decision.”

Israel’s claim that soldiers acted in self-defense has been questioned further after the release of raw footage from aboard the *Mavi Marmara*.

Innu communities in **Quebec and Labrador** established a blockade to prevent mining operations owned by New Millennium Capital and Labrador Iron Mines Holdings from going ahead without prior, informed consent. The blockade has been supported by the Innu Strategic Alliance, which represents around 12,000 people in the region of Northern Quebec and Labrador, Innu traditional territory known as Nitassinan.

The United States announced the discovery of more than \$1 trillion worth of minerals in **Afghanistan**, including gold, copper, zinc, cobalt and lithium. Sources claim that the development and extraction of these resources could become the backbone of the local economy. Others have pointed out that the US has known about these reserves since at least 2007.

A **Mexican** teenager was shot and killed by United States border patrol on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande which divides the two nations. This comes shortly after a promise from US President Barak Obama to increase military presence along the border, and a report from a CIA operative that the US has Special Forces operatives working in Mexico.

An 11-year-old explained to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that Indigenous people continue to suffer from Canada’s **residential schools** program. Harper apologized for residential schools last June. One hundred and fifty thousand people were forced to attend the schools.

A **Canadian documentarian** has successfully sued former Canadian ambassador to Guatemala Kenneth Cook for slander.

New Brunswick energy company Irving Oil pulled out of tidal power research in the **Bay of Fundy** citing concerns over the commercial viability of tidal power technology.

Toronto PRIDE Grand Marshals and Honoured Dykes returned their awards and gave PRIDE Toronto a “shame” award for banning the term “Israeli apartheid” from PRIDE activities and marches. PRIDE Toronto reversed the ban.

A **South African doctor** has invented a new rape deterrent which she distributed during the World Cup. The female condom has “teeth-like hooks” and, once attached to the penis, can only be removed by a doctor. Twenty-eight per cent of South African men say they have raped a woman or girl.

To read the complete Month in Review, visit www.dominionpaper.ca. To receive the Dominion’s Month in Review by email, write us: info@dominionpaper.ca.

Corrections:

- *Though often perceived as one, R&D is not technically an NGO as implied in “Funding Axe Sharpened on Foreign Policy” (Issue, 67: March/April 2010).*
- *Journalists Dawn Zuppelli and Ted Forsythe were not denied entry to Canada as reported in “February in Review” (Issue 67: March/April 2010).*
- *Mayor Doughty’s name was spelled incorrectly in “From H-Ville to G-Spot” (Issue 68: May, 2010).*

~ ISSN 1710-0283 ~
www.dominionpaper.ca
info@dominionpaper.ca
 PO Box 741 Station H
 Montreal, QC H3G 2M7

The Dominion is a pan-Canadian media network that seeks to provide a counterpoint to the corporate media and direct attention to independent critics and the work of social movements. *The Dominion* is published monthly in print and on the web.

Publisher

The Dominion
 Newspaper Co-operative

Board of Directors

Tracy Glynn (writer)
 Harjap Grewal (reader)
 Dru Oja Jay (editor)
 Hillary Lindsay (editor)
 Moira Peters (editor)

Editorial Collective

Dru Oja Jay
 Hillary Lindsay
 Tim McSorley
 Moira Peters
 Cameron Fenton

Original Peoples Editor

Kim Petersen

Literature Editors

Shane Patrick Murphy
 Megan Stewart

Copy Editors

Marco Adamovic
 Jesse AY
 Chad Brazier
 Joel Butler
 Kendra Martin
 Sean McMillen
 Tim McSorley
 David Parkinson
 Moira Peters
 Ryan Peterson
 Aurora Prelevic
 Julia Vanderham
 Claire Williams
 Zander Winther

Comic Artist

Heather Meek

*Cover illustration by Angela Sterritt
 Spot illustrations by Sylvia Nickerson*

We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canada Periodical Fund (CPF) for our publishing activities.

Canada



“There Is No Neutral”

Striking Vale workers push politicians, residents to back anti-scab legislation

by Shailagh Keaney

SUDBURY—As the longest strike in Sudbury’s history rolls on, United Steelworkers union organizers are calling for an end to the use of replacement workers, blaming the practice for prolonging the strike.

“If there was anti-scab legislation in place, this strike would’ve been over months ago,” Bernie Arsenault told *The Dominion*. Arsenault, a member of Steelworkers Local 6500, added that the use of replacement workers is new in the experience of the Steelworkers.

Three-thousand three-hundred Steelworkers from locals 6500 in Sudbury and 6200 in Port Colborne have been on strike against mining giant Vale Inco since July 13, 2009, in what has become the longest strike in the history of all three parties. Central issues in the contract bargaining process are pension plans, workers’ nickel bonuses, seniority transfer rights, the contracting out of jobs and the reinstatement of nine activists who were fired during the course of the strike.

To increase pressure, United Steelworkers Local 6500 declared May “anti-scab month,” distributing flyers to homes around the Sudbury area appealing to citizens to support proposed provincial

anti-replacement worker legislation.

The Steelworkers union also convinced Sudbury city council to adopt a symbolic motion in support of anti-replacement worker legislation. At the end of May, 10 months and one week into the strike, the Local 6500 held a rally in front of Sudbury Member of Provincial Parliament Rick Bartolucci’s office, calling on him to end his neutrality on the subject of replacement workers.

“When you sit on the fence, your backside is facing somebody, and I think we all know who that somebody is,” rally organizer Jamie West said through a megaphone. “There is no neutral. When you’re silent, when you refuse to take a stand and you hold office, you automatically take the side that has the most money.”

A release from Bartolucci’s office stated “Mr. Bartolucci has and will continue to oppose the use of replacement workers.” Yet Bartolucci remained silent when the anti-replacement worker bill passed its first reading in provincial parliament.

Such legislation existed for a brief period in the 1990s after being introduced by Bob Rae’s NDP government, but was scrapped by Mike Harris’ Conservatives.

A group called CANARYS



A striker speaks about the need of anti-replacement worker legislation at a union rally at MPP Bartolucci’s office. Bartolucci has refused to take a decisive stand.
Shailagh Keaney

(Community Activists Need Answers Regarding Your Safety) formed in response to the strike, and has supported the push to end the practice of hiring replacement workers.

“Of course the scabs have a huge effect on the Sudbury community, from dividing the community to the implications that they will have on safety,” explains Laurie McGauley, a founder of CANARYS and long-time community activist.

“A lot of work has gone into making things safer at the

mine over the decades, and the union has been intrinsic to this” continued McGauley. “Now we have people coming from other communities, who are not trained and who do not have experience with the mine, operating without a union that has experience in a mine, which is a very dangerous operation.”

McGauley’s concern over safety mixes with her sobering vision of what a defeat of the strike could mean: “If [Vale Inco] manages to break this strike, that would have huge repercussions for all workers in Ontario, all over North America, because it would be a signal to everybody that replacement workers can be used to bust a union. To bust a historically-strong union like [United Steelworkers Local] 6500 is a huge symbolic loss for all unions in Canada as well as in north America.”

The proposed anti-replacement worker bill is expected to go through its second reading in November. In the meantime, intermittent talks between Vale Inco and Steelworker Locals 6500 and 6200 continue.

Shailagh Keaney is a writer and gardener living in occupied Atikameksheng Anishinawbek territory.

Subscribe

Subscribe to the Dominion or sustain the Media Co-op:

Sign me up! I want to become a sustaining member at:

- \$20/month — one investigative feature by an independent journalist*
 \$50/month — 2,000 colour copies distributed across Canada*
 \$100/month — one month of dedicated media coop organizing*
 other (monthly): _____

I can’t become a sustainer right now, but I’d like to become a:

- Subscribing member (\$50 for 20 issues)
 Member (\$30 for two years)
 Just one year: Subscribing Member (\$25) Member (\$15)

Name/Address: _____

Email: _____ Phone: _____

Sustaining members only:

- I have attached a void cheque; I authorize withdrawal of the amount indicated.

A Dark Anniversary

Abousfian Abdelrazik languishes under UN watch list



Coco Riot

by Amy Miller

MONTREAL—“There are certain anniversaries that should never take place. The lack of action by the Harper government is unacceptable. Why is Abousfian still waiting for his name to be cleared?” asks Mary Foster, an organizer with the Abousfian Abdelrazik support committee “Project Fly Home.”

On June 4, 2009, Federal Court Judge Rossel Zinn issued a stern ruling that Minister of Foreign Affairs Lawrence Cannon had been acting in bad faith and that the Canadian government would need to bring Abdelrazik back to Canada from Sudan. One year later, Abdelrazik continues to wait for his name to be removed from the United Nations Security Council Committee 1267 “Consolidated List,” colloquially known as the Al-Qaeda and Taliban Terrorist List, or, for short, the “1267 List.” Being on the list impedes Abdelrazik from functioning in the most basic of ways.

Abdelrazik recently sat down at a busy coffee shop in downtown Montreal to speak with *The Dominion* about what he has dubbed “living in a prison without walls.”

A victorious grassroots movement brought Abdelrazik home last fall after six years of forced exile and imprisonment in Sudan. Abdelrazik tried to

establish the cornerstones of a regular life—reconnect with family; find an apartment; see what work was available; and get through administrative tasks such as opening a bank account.

“It was very confusing and shameful how I was treated. Less than a week after depositing a small amount in my new account, I was contacted by Caisse Desjardins and told my account had been frozen and that they were unsure as to why but that there was nothing they could do. So no pension and no money and what I am supposed to do?” Abdelrazik asks quietly.

His legal team quickly learned that the reason behind the freeze was that he is still on the 1267 List. Beyond the complete asset freeze, Abdelrazik is also subjected to a total flight ban, and it is illegal for any employer to hire him or for him to receive social assistance, making it difficult to cover his and his children’s basic expenses. Listed individuals face vague allegations; they have no right to a hearing before they are placed on the list; and they are provided with no evidence to support the claims against them. In response, Project Fly Home launched a “Break the Silence” campaign to have him de-listed and to create a surge of popular support.

“Once again it is Lawrence Cannon and his department who have the ability to take me off the

list. They refuse to tell me why I am on it, and why they have not worked to take me off of it,” Abdelrazik explains.

Break the Silence has been gaining momentum, with major unions and labour federations such as the Canadian Labour Congress, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, the Canadian section of the International Machinists and most recently the Canadian Association of University Teachers publicly endorsing the initiative and agreeing to hire Abdelrazik for short term contracts. Despite large labour organizations engaging in acts of civil disobedience, Cannon continues to reject responsibility for de-listing Abdelrazik and claims it is up to Abdelrazik himself to get off the list. So far there have been no legal repercussions for unions and organizations actively working to oppose the sanctions against Abdelrazik.

While individuals can apply to be de-listed, says Foster, the process is highly politicized and nearly impossible to get through without state support. But the Canadian government could lift the sanctions itself. “Cabinet could immediately pass an Order in Council to modify or repeal the regulations which implement the 1267 regime in Canada,” Foster explains.

The Dominion received no response from Cannon or Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT) by the time of print, but on May 18, Canwest Global quoted Cannon as saying: “All I can say is that in the past I tried to make sure that Mr. Abdelrazik had the support he needed to be removed from the UN list. That attempt, unfortunately, failed.”

A precedent backs Abdelrazik’s assertion that the responsibility for de-listing falls upon Cannon and the Department of Foreign Affairs. On June 3, 2002, on a recommendation from the then-Liberal Minister of Foreign Affairs, the regulations implementing the 1267 regime in

Canada were modified to exempt Liban Hussein, an Ottawa citizen who was arrested November 7, 2001, at the request of the United States. The US accused him of supporting terrorism. The exemption effectively ended the sanctions against the only Canadian on the list at the time, and his name was subsequently removed from the Security Council’s 1267 List.

In the first week of June, Abdelrazik’s legal team filed to the Federal Court of Canada a challenge against the United Nations 1267 List. Comparable challenges have been filed in Switzerland and Belgium; both countries saw their federal courts strike down the 1267 regime as unconstitutional and undemocratic. “It is quite risky for countries to put people on the 1267 List because it will undoubtedly be challenged in the high courts because it is so starkly against basic due process,” says Foster.

In his judgment that forced the Canadian government to bring Abdelrazik back to Canada, Federal Court Judge Zinn wrote, “I add my name to those who view the 1267 Committee regime as a denial of basic legal remedies and as untenable under the principles of international human rights. There is nothing in the listing or de-listing procedure that recognizes the principles of natural justice or that provides for basic procedural fairness...It can hardly be said that the 1267 Committee process meets the requirement of independence and impartiality when, as appears may be the case involving Mr. Abdelrazik, the nation requesting the listing is one of the members of the body that decides whether to list or, equally as important, to de-list a person. The accuser is also the judge.”

University of Ottawa Law Professor Amir Attaran has been closely following the case of Abdelrazik and cautions against

The Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement, Reconsidered

ENGOs sign over right to criticize, companies continue to log caribou habitat

by Dawn Paley

VANCOUVER—The announcement of the Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement (CBFA) was celebrated by environmental groups as a historic deal that could save a significant amount of sensitive woodland caribou habitat.

An early criticism of the deal was that Indigenous governments and organizations were left out of the creation of the agreement.

An early criticism of the deal was that Indigenous governments and organizations were left out of the creation of the agreement. The public was also left in the dark while the CBFA was negotiated in secret between nine environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) and 21 forestry companies.

There is no change in the amount of harvesting, only in the locations where harvesting takes place. The deal still allows 684,461 hectares to be cut in caribou habitat.

The 71-page agreement has yet to be released on the CBFA website. The Vancouver Media Co-op obtained a leaked copy shortly after the deal was announced.

Greenpeace and the other ENGOs involved in the agreement have chosen their words carefully. Greenpeace has called the deal an “unprecedented accord...covering more than 72 million hectares of public forests, an area twice the size of Germany.” The agreement includes what the proponents are calling a series of interim measures to protect caribou habitat while various levels of government take action to create protected areas for caribou.

Further investigation reveals that this agreement aims to silence all criticism of logging practices

in the boreal forest in return for less than two years of diverting harvesting and road building from 72,205 hectares of woodland caribou habitat into other areas of the boreal forest.

The 21 logging companies involved in the deal are grouped together as the Forest Products Association of Canada (FPAC).

Together, FPAC member firms hold tenures for over 72 million hectares of boreal forest, stretching north from the Northwest Territories down through northeastern British Columbia and continuing east all the way to Newfoundland. Included in these tenures are 29,336,953 hectares of caribou range lands, according to

the report.

Between April 1, 2009 and March 31, 2012, FPAC companies had scheduled to harvest and build roads on 756,666 hectares inside caribou range lands. That means according to existing industry plans, the vast majority of caribou range lands were not slated to be harvested by the spring of 2012, when the current agreement expires.

Far from protecting caribou lands in their entirety, the outcome of the CBFA reduces the FPAC affiliate cut in caribou range lands from 756,666 to 684,461 hectares until spring 2012. This means 72,205 hectares of harvesting and road building will be “deferred” to “areas outside of caribou range.” In other words, there is no change in the amount of harvesting, only

in the locations where harvesting takes place.

While the agreement technically “covers” a forest twice the size of Germany, the amount of caribou range that will not be cut before 2012 as a result of the agreement is only slightly larger than the city of Toronto.

The deal still allows 684,461 hectares to be cut in caribou habitat. This, despite the fact that an expert committee of the Canadian Wildlife Service recently recommended that virtually all industrial activity within woodland caribou range be suspended. In agreeing to the CBFA, the nine ENGOs involved are actively supporting the logging of an area larger than the entire province of Prince Edward Island within caribou habitat between now and 2012.

According to section 14.F of the deal, “FPAC members will publicly state that between April 1 2009 and March 31, 2012 there will be no harvesting or road building in approximately 28,651,492 hectares of caribou range in their tenures (or over 97.6 per cent of the caribou habitat in managed forest).”

By reducing the overall number of hectares of caribou range they refer to, logging companies and ENGOs can claim a near total halt on logging in caribou range lands, even though they’ll still log 684,461 hectares, almost 10 times the area they’re claiming to have saved.

Finally, the “three year” deal actually started more than a year ago, on April 1, 2009: industry promises for harvesting deferrals expire April 1, 2012.

But the numbers game is far from the only Orwellian aspect of the Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement.

Until April 1, 2012, nine ENGOs have signed on to work together with FPAC companies in “developing and advocating for policies and investments that

improve the competitiveness of the Canadian forest sector, create a climate of greater investment certainty, while at the same time have a neutral to positive impact on the sector’s ecological performance.”

In addition, these ENGOs have agreed to express a “continuum” of support for FPAC members, ranging from “recognizing that [sic] the leadership represented by the commitment of FPAC Members to develop and

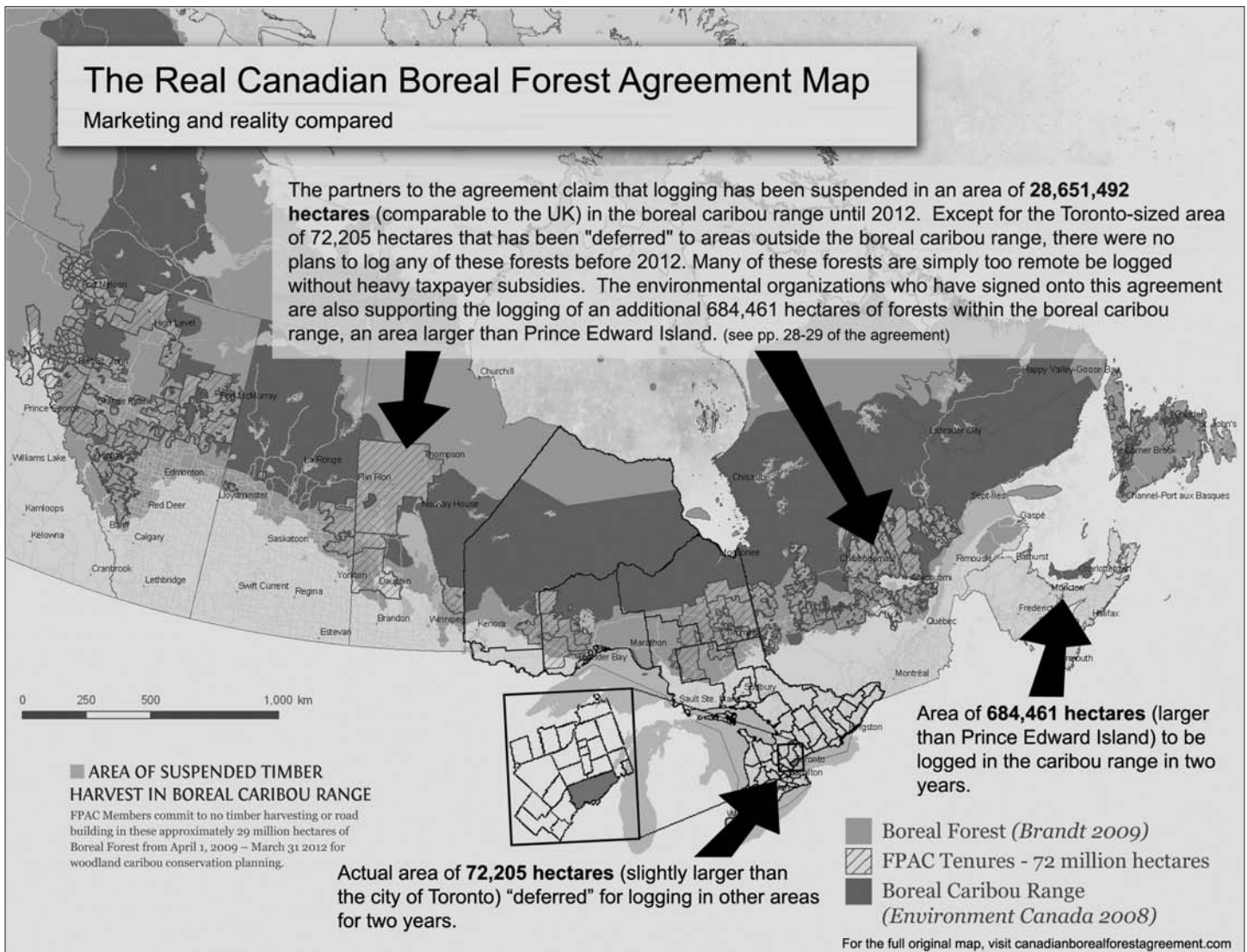
Signatories to the CBFA

ENGOs

- Canadian Boreal Initiative
- Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
- Canopy
- David Suzuki Foundation
- ForestEthics
- Greenpeace
- The Nature Conservancy
- Pew Environment Group
- International Boreal Conservation Campaign
- Ivey Foundation

Logging companies (FPAC)

- AbitibiBowater Inc.
- Alberta-Pacific Forest Industries Inc
- AV Group
- Canfor Corporation
- Canfor Pulp Ltd Partnership
- Cariboo Pulp & Paper Co
- Cascades Inc
- Daishowa-Marubeni International Ltd
- FF Soucy Inc
- Howe Sound Pulp and Paper Ltd Partnership
- Kruger Inc
- Louisiana-Pacific Canada Ltd
- Mercer International
- Mill & Timber Products Ltd
- NewPage Corporation
- Papier Masson Ltee
- SFK Pate
- Tembec
- Tolko Industries Ltd
- West Fraser Timber Co Ltd
- Weyerhaeuser Company Ltd



The agreement aims to silence all criticism of logging practices in the boreal forest in return for less than two years of diverting harvesting and road building from 72,205 hectares of woodland caribou habitat into other areas of the boreal forest. *Petr Cizek and Dru Oja Jay*

implement the CBFA” to “demonstrating support for products from the boreal operations of FPAC members.”

To ensure that the days of Greenpeace dropping banners from Abitibi-Bowater’s HQ are long forgotten, the agreement stipulates that ENGOs will take back whatever bad things they may have said about FPAC member companies in the past.

This mandatory change in tone by environmental groups takes a couple of forms.

According to Section 6.3.D.ii, “Where an FPAC Member demonstrates an impediment to selling forest products to a specific customer from the boreal as a result of past or current

advocacy work or communications, ENGOs will communicate with that customer to confirm they are receiving all joint communications related to progress in implementing the CFBA and that this should be taken into consideration in making procurement decisions.”

The agreement also stipulates that ENGOs will “review and update” their websites to “remove or update any information superseded by the CFBA.” For example, should Canfor find a photo or story about their activities in the boreal forest on the Forest Ethics website objectionable, “immediate steps will be taken to revise that material.”

The agreement also means that if an environmental group

which is not a signatory of the deal should happen to tell someone from, say, the David Suzuki Foundation about plans to denounce one of the companies involved in the CBFA, the person from the Suzuki Foundation must warn FPAC member companies immediately.

ENGOs and FPAC will then jointly plan how to respond, which includes actively working together to “have such a third party appropriately modify its position and/or public statements.” This legalese means that the ENGOs and FPAC might jointly threaten to sue or sue the third party. In the past, industry has undertaken such SLAPP (Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation) suits,

but it is precedent-setting that ENGOs have now become willing participants in striking down criticism of forest practices across Canada.

In return for swapping 72,205 hectares of harvesting out of the boreal forest and maintaining “voluntary deferrals” for another two years, the CBFA transforms the nine ENGOs involved into a promotional service, protection racket and intelligence gathering service for twenty one companies that are actively logging woodland caribou habitat within the boreal forest.

Dawn Paley is a Vancouver-based journalist and a member of the Vancouver Media Co-op.

Can There Be Salmon People Without Wild Salmon?

by Kim Petersen

TRADITIONAL TERRITORY OF SNUNEYMUXW FIRST NATION (NANAIMO, BC)—On May 8, 2010, thousands of people flowed across the lawns of BC's legislature in Victoria to protest open-net salmon farming, which Indigenous communities and others are blaming for catastrophic declines in the wild salmon population.

Calling for wild salmon to take priority over farmed salmon, a contingent led by First Nations set off on April 23 from Sointula, at the north end of Vancouver Farms, and walked for two weeks to Victoria.

Two local dailies, *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Province*, both gave a figure of about 1,000 at the legislature, while *The Globe and Mail* estimated 4,000, but Alexandra Morton, one of the organizers of the "Get Out Migration" march, counted many more.

"The Parliament lawns reportedly hold 20,000 people and looking out over the sea of people less than one-third of the lawn was visible," said Morton.

The Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest were historically referred to as the Salmon People—their communities and culture thrived in unison with the salmon, which provided sustenance for humans and much of the ecosystem.

But the increasing number of commercial fish farms, which raise salmon in open-net cages in the ocean, poses a threat to First Nations.

Farmed salmon have been blamed for increasing parasitic sea lice and causing viral epidemics among wild salmon.

"The fish farms operating in our territories are killing wild salmon, the lifeblood of all life that reside in our territories and the lifeblood of our culture," said Bob Chamberlin, Chief of the Kwicksutaineuk Ah-kwa-mish First Nation (KAFN) on north-eastern Vancouver Island, near Alert Bay.

In a February 18, 2010 press



The Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest were historically referred to as the Salmon People—their communities and culture thrived in unison with the salmon.

Don Staniford

release, Grand Chief Stewart Phillip, President of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) stated, "The UBCIC has long-held the opinion that salmon fish farms has proven [sic] to have had a lethal and irreversibly toxic impact on indigenous runs of wild salmon. Especially where there is a concentration of fish farms in waters used by juvenile salmon exposed to the high concentrations of sea-lice from these fish farms."

During the Vancouver Olympics, the UBCIC Executive joined 45 people who participated in a fast that supported the Musgamagw Tsawataineuk Tribal Council's (MTTC) opposition to fish farm tenures in the Broughton Archipelago, in northwest Vancouver Island. They fasted for 29 hours, one hour each for the 29 salmon farms operating in the traditional territory of coastal MTTC.

The UBCIC took aim at Norway, home to most of BC's salmon-farming corporations.

"Norway voted to adopt

the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It was an historical vote and to Indigenous peoples it is regarded as a solemn commitment to universal human rights," said Assembly of First Nations National Chief Shawn A-in-chut Atleo. "Companies headquartered in countries who voted to adopt the Declaration, such as Norway, should apply the standards of the Declaration in all of their relationships with Indigenous Peoples domestically and internationally."

"Norwegian-owned salmon farms operating in our traditional territorial waters are killing wild salmon and strangling the lifeblood of our whole culture," said Chief Chamberlin.

The plight of the salmon has been linked with the poor health of the First Nations. In 1997, Chief Simon Lucas of the BC Aboriginal Fisheries Commission issued a warning about the negative impact of salmon farming on wild salmon.

"The issue for us is about

home, about how we're dying," he said. "If you affect in any way the clams and the other marine life, you're going to affect us."

In *The Salmon People: The Story of Canada's West Coast Salmon Fishing Industry*, author Hugh W. McKervill writes about the integral role salmon play in Indigenous cultures of the North Pacific Coast.

"The people of the North Pacific Coast were and still are 'The Salmon People,'" he writes. The capture of first salmon is celebrated as if the salmon were an "honoured guest of the rank of a visiting chief." But colonists changed the Indigenous peoples' relationship with salmon.

"Native peoples controlled their fisheries through right of use and exclusion that predated non-Native interference," writes University of British Columbia law professor Douglas C. Harris. "The Native's claim was a moral and ultimately legal claim, based not only on efficient management or material need but also on a

sense of right that originated within their cultures.”

But the moral and legal claim of the Indigenous peoples was not triumphant.

“After 1894, no part of the Native fishery was exempt under Canadian law from state regulation; in this sense the legal capture of the resource was complete,” Harris writes.

Harris describes the law as an instrument of cultural domination used by colonial powers to take and justify control of other territories and peoples.

More recently, First Nations have begun attempting to use the law to their advantage, to stop salmon farming.

On February 4, 2010, KAFN filed a class-action lawsuit against the BC government’s regulation of open net-cage salmon farms.

Chief Chamberlin said the lawsuit was a last resort.

“We have been patient and respectful, attending countless meetings while damage continues to be inflicted on the wild salmon

by open net-cage salmon farms,” he said. “Wild salmon stocks throughout the entire Broughton are in a sustained and serious decline; some salmon runs may become extinct and never be replaced. The salmon have existed here as long as we have, and it is essential to the survival of our distinct aboriginal culture that plentiful stocks of wild salmon survive.”

Harris told *The Dominion* that the KAFN civil suit says much about the status quo.

“The fact that this dispute is being deliberated, argued, and decided in a Canadian court is revealing of the longer ongoing colonial control,” Harris said.

Turning to the BC courts might be interpreted as recognition of colonial jurisdiction, Harris said. With an independent court option closed to First Nations, weighing the survival of wild salmon against Indigenous rights becomes a “strategic decision.”

Among the crowd of wild salmon advocates gathered

at Centennial Square behind Victoria City Hall—prior to the final march to the Parliament Buildings—was John Haughen of the Nlaka’pamux Nation.

“[Legal action] is the only tool we have since we’ve been allowed to hire lawyers and use the courts,” he said.

Deata Taylor of the Dzawada’eneuw First Nation on Kingcome Inlet supports Chief Chamberlin’s lawsuit. She does not, however, recognize the jurisdiction of the BC courts in First Nation territories.

“We should decide whether fish farms should be in our territories,” she said.

For more than a decade, a broad coalition of groups has been advocating a solution. In 1997, the Salmon Aquaculture Review alliance—whose members included First Nations, environmental groups, fishers unions, and legal advocacy groups—called for replacing net-pens with closed containment systems. These systems are closed off from and

do not disrupt natural ocean environments.

Not all First Nations eschew salmon farming.

In 1987, Larry Greba of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans started aquaculture work for the Kitasoo/Xai’xais Nation on Klemtu Island in the Broughton Archipelago. He noted a collapse in commercial salmon fishing in the late 1980s, which caused the Kitasoo/Xai’xais to turn to salmon farming and form a partnership with Marine Harvest. The Kitasoo/Xai’xais retained control over the development of the aquaculture sites so they could ensure a sustainable operation.

Greba focused on the economic impact for the community.

“The current situation for Kitasoo economically from salmon farming are 60 full time jobs, of which 18 are year round at the farm and 42 are with fish harvesting/transport and processing for 7–9 months per year at the

continued on page 23

SUPPORT local, independent news!



For as little as \$5 a month, you can own your media!

Become a sustainer now: www.mediacoop.ca/join

Vancouver Media Co-op vancouver.mediacoop.ca

OWN YOUR MEDIA HALIFAX!

WRITE IT, RECORD IT, READ IT, SUPPORT IT.

HALIFAX.MEDIACOOP.CA

OWN IT!

MEDIACOOP.CA/JOIN

EMAIL: HILLARY@MEDIACOOP.CA

HALIFAX. 1 : 25,000

1. St. Matthew's Church D-4
 2. Church of England Institute D-6
 3. I.C. Association Building E-6
 4. City Club D-8
 5. Ballfield Club E-9

Cuts to First Nations Programs Keep Coming

Budget 2010 uses pretty words, slashes funding to Aboriginal services

by Maya Rolbin-Ghanie



The First Nations University of Canada – with the greatest number of aboriginal teachers in any university in the world – had its federal funding withdrawn, and will close as of August 31. Garson Hunter

MONTREAL—Canada's 2010 Budget, released on March 4, 2010, addresses some crucial issues facing Indigenous peoples within its borders today.

"Budget 2010 invests \$10 million over two years to address the disturbingly high number of missing and murdered Aboriginal women. Concrete actions will be taken to ensure that law enforcement and the justice system meet the needs of Aboriginal women and their families," according to the Canadian government's budget website.

Director of the Native Women's Association of Canada's (NWAC) Sisters in Spirit (SIS) initiative, Kate Rexe, thought it likely, upon hearing this, that her work would continue to be funded.

NWAC began its Sisters in Spirit initiative in 2004, for the purpose of doing research and compiling data on the increasingly high numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Canada. On April 14th, 2010, SIS added 62 new names to the 521 cases of missing or murdered native women and girls it uncovered over the previous five

years. According to Indigenous activists, this number is as high as 3000. This statistical discrepancy and quick increase, along with other numerical considerations, is seen by many as evidence that cutting funding to the research at this juncture is a huge mistake. According to NWAC's 2010 report, *What Their Stories Tell Us*, 226—or 39 per cent—of the cases identified to date have occurred in the past 10 years. Statistics on this matter were practically non-existent before SIS became what many consider the country's leading resource on the issue.

In spite of the government's \$10 million allotment, funding for SIS expired in March 2010. Budget 2010 named violence against Indigenous women a priority, yet there has been no word yet as to whether any of the money will go toward the six-year old initiative.

Craig Benjamin of Amnesty International helped to complete the 2004 *Stolen Sisters* report in partnership with NWAC.

"NWAC's list is from limited sources. It presents only part of a picture. ... Police record

the ethnicity of victims only 60 per cent of the time. ...Most officers I've spoken to have no understanding of the importance of recording this info. Most see the term 'Aboriginal' as a physical description—if she looks like it, she is, if she does not look Aboriginal in their eyes, they don't record it. ...In the very fact that the numbers are unknown, we begin to get a sense of the failure of the government," says Benjamin.

Rexe says that the Status of Women office, which funded SIS, has stated that there should be no more research, that now is the time for action.

Critics point out that it would be impossible to measure the success or failure of any action without continued research.

NDP Aboriginal Affairs critic Jean Crowder worries about the ambiguity of the government's funding commitment.

"Our concern is that it's going to go all into policing [on reserves], which would be a major problem," says Crowder.

The Conservatives have yet to announce the funding allocation, and have not specified when they

plan to do so.

"Politically the government controls and manipulates the timing of announcements. ...It leaves organizations completely up in the air. And I mean that shouldn't happen. It's a new fiscal year. People need to know if they're going to continue to operate," says Crowder.

The government's lack of specificity in its financial commitments to First Nations programs in this year's budget is not an isolated incident.

The text of the budget states, "Budget 2010 commits an additional \$199 million over the next two years to ensure that necessary mental health and emotional support services continue to be provided to former [residential school] students and their families, and that payments to former students are made in a timely and effective manner."

"When we heard that—mental health and support services—we thought, well, that's us," said Mike DeGagné, the Executive Director of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF).

The AHF was established

in 1998 and given a mandate “to encourage and support, through research and funding contributions, community-based Aboriginal-directed healing initiatives which address the legacy of physical and sexual abuse suffered in Canada’s Indian Residential School (IRS) System, including intergenerational impacts.”

Less than two years after Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s apology for the Canadian government’s role in administering the IRS system, AHF funding has not been renewed in Canada’s 2010 budget, leaving 134 foundation-funded healing projects across the country without the means to continue operating. Many organizations were forced to close their doors as of March 31, 2010, when the cuts took effect.

The Native Women’s Shelter of Montreal (NWSM), not as unlucky as some others, lost a third of its funding due to the cuts and has been forced to let three staff members go, including its sexual assault counselor.

“Without the AHF funding, we can provide the basics like food and shelter, but there’s a really high percentage of the women that come through that have been sexually assaulted. Now that we’re getting our funding cut, we won’t have that specialized employee anymore,” said Nakuset, the shelter’s Executive Director.

Co-founder of the Native Youth Sexual Health Network, Jessica Yee, speaks to why the budget cuts came as such a big surprise to most people.

“It [the budget] was all covered up in nice language. And that’s the scary thing about the Conservative movement in general. ...They’re getting really good at using social justice language, or trying to use social justice language, to either fool us or to pretend like they give a shit when they don’t. ...It’s smart because it masks itself, but it’s to the point where they’re trying to use our own tools against us, so it’s really important to dismantle that and see through it.”

Although the AHF’s funding agreement forbids any form of advocacy, supporters of the foundation have written letters,

signed petitions, and even engaged in a few demonstrations and direct actions to convince the Canadian Government of the importance of renewing their funding.

A December 2009 report on the evaluation of the AHF undertaken on behalf of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) concluded that “[T]here is presently no equivalent alternative that could achieve the desired outcomes with the rate of success that the AHF has achieved.”

The report recommends that the government continue support for the AHF at least until the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) process is complete in 2011. The IRSSA provides payments to former students who lived at one of 139 officially identified residential schools, the last of which closed its doors in 1996.

Half of the \$199 million allocated to deal with residential school trauma is going to Health Canada’s First Nations and Inuit Health Branch and half to the IRSSA.

While the latter will provide small amounts of financial compensation to IRS survivors, the former will provide health services to individuals. But neither of these will do the work that the AHF was doing: providing culturally relevant, community-based, non-governmental healing programs. Many communities formerly served by AHF-funded initiatives do not even have Health Canada services in close proximity, making reduced accessibility to services another problem brought about by tearing down a well-functioning network in favour of one run by the government.

“I looked at the Health Canada website, and the hoops you have to jump through to access services is [sic] daunting,” says Crowder.

Much as with the AHF, she says, Canada seems to be prioritizing the individual over the community in the funding case of the First Nations University of Canada (FNUC) as well.

“They [the Conservative Government] continue to say that FNUC students can access post-secondary education. They’re

making it an individual thing, you know—students can choose where they want to go. But then they eliminate the choice by making sure the university [FNUC] is not funded,” says Crowder.

FNUC, formerly Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, was established in 1976, and has been around in its current incarnation since 2003, with campuses in Saskatoon, Regina, and Prince Albert.

In February 2010 the federal and Saskatchewan governments pulled over \$12 million in funding from the university. Reasons given included allegations of questionable spending and delayed governance reforms. Because FNUC has taken steps to address the requested changes (including a shared management agreement that gives the University of Regina financial control over the university), the Saskatchewan government’s funding share of \$5.2 million has since been restored, but the federal government has only restored \$3 million of its initial \$7 million to keep the university open until August 31, 2010, and has not committed to any further funding. Without federal funding, officials have said the entire university will close down.

Since March 2010, students at the Regina campus have staged sit-ins and marches to protest the school’s potential closure. Professors have held lectures to demonstrate to federal Indian Affairs minister Chuck Strahl the importance of Indigenous-based education. One student has been sleeping in a teepee outside the university since mid-March and continues to do so.

In spite of these actions, lay-offs have already become widespread. On May 3, 2010, FNUC president Shauneen Pete announced that the Saskatoon campus was for sale, due to the institution’s fast-growing debt.

Manipulating the timing of announcements crucial to First Nations’ organizations funding considerations, using language that is misleading to many, and demonstrating a preference for non-Aboriginal-run institutions over the alternative, even when

Aboriginal-run institutions are proven to be the best at what they do, are all governmental budget ploys that should not be seen as new by any stretch, according to both Yee and Crowder.

“What I find interesting about everything, though, is that people are surprised,” says Yee. “They [the Conservatives] live up to every single thing that they said they would live up to.”

According to Yee, Native and non-Native activists alike are now faced with the challenge of better organizing themselves.

“Compared to the right, I think the left is doing a really shitty job organizing its youth. ...You can see that in First Nations communities too. You look at who’s leading the Indigenous people’s movement in any other country besides Canada or the US, and it’s always the young people. ...In Bolivia they can get a million people out [to a protest]. And it’s mostly youth and elders who are leading the movement. ...In the western context we have such a silo effect of what issue to get involved in—either you’re an environmental justice activist, or a reproductive justice activist, or a sexual health educator, or you’re this, or you’re that. ...But I think an Indigenous way of thinking is that it is related. I refuse not to talk about my culture at the same time as I make a decision about my body.”

“They’ve [Aboriginal people] got to get mobilized,” says Priscilla Settee, a Cree First Nations community activist, academic, and former teacher at FNUC.

“It’s our only chance. But it’s not just they, of course. It’s not just Aboriginal people. It’s all people. People are very confused. The general public. They are unable to analyze and think about what to do next. People are not ready for action. ... There’s a lot of resistance to thinking radically, critically. There’s resistance to unsettling the status quo. So I guess until they really feel it in places where Aboriginal people feel it, I’m afraid, you know, there’s a big immovable mask.”

Maya Rolbin-Ghanie is a Montreal-based journalist and activist.

"Where my father used to hunt and fish and gather there are now open pit mines that you can see from space."

Jasmine Thomas, Carrier Nation

"The Indian Act is alive and well in Canada today in 2010. Racism is legislated."

Darlene Ritchie, Toronto Council Fire

"Our tax dollars are going to serve a murderer who was not supposed to be here."

Kitaba Magarsa, Ethiopian-Canadian on Ethiopian dictator Meles Zenawi's presence at the G20

"The police, the politicians, the press and now even the Left want to start the story with Starbucks' broken window."

Tyler Shipley, journalist

"This is possibly the first mobilization of this size that has had a coherent accessibility policy and has put accessibility on the agenda of all the marches."

Griffin Epstein, Disability Action Movement Now

"As they punched me they said 'stop struggling' and 'stop punching.' My hands were cuffed. I realized we were being recorded, and I loudly stated 'I'm not struggling. I am not resisting arrest.'"

Lacy MacAuley, journalist

"I told them I wasn't resisting arrest, that I was on my way to work. I was in full uniform with TTC shirt, pants, full ID, my employee card, everything. They said, 'Really? Well, you're a prisoner today.'"

Benjamin Elroy Yau, TTC worker

"These are peaceful protesters, the majority of them. We don't just wade into a crowd and start grabbing people."

Alphonse MacNeil, head of the Integrated Security Unit, on police failure to prevent property destruction

"Police have declared war on the critical press."

Jesse Rosenfeld, journalist

"I'm shocked at what seems to have been a wholesale decision on the part of the police to abandon the Charter."

Jonathan Dawe, criminal lawyer



Activestills

TORONTO G20

words and photos from the streets

toronto media co-op

"These clearly politically-motivated arrests, with flimsy evidence, are intended to criminalize and silence particular activists who are committed, effective, and unapologetic in their daily defiance of state and corporate exploitation."

Harsha Walia, No-One Is Illegal

"Standard fare coverage seems to include a mandatory reference to 'violence' 'anarchists' and 'protesters,' which are apparently considered equivalent. The confusion over the goals of those challenging the legitimacy of the G8/G20—those thousands of regular folks lumped into the uninformative category of 'protester'—is widespread."

Kate Milberry, journalist



Andy K Bond



Activestills



Tami Starlight



Sean Decory



Activestills



EVK



Activestills



Activestills



Murray Bush/Flux Photo

"There doesn't seem to be much point in having police community liaisons if they can't even answer the community's questions about why people are being mass arrested in our communities."
bystander on Queen W, June 27

"It's not so much how peaceful or violent a protest is that concerns police and their bosses but more

so how disruptive it is to business as usual."
Kristian Williams, author of Our Enemies in Blue

"It's sad that we've demonized some protesters... I haven't heard this kind of push-back about demonstration since the 60s when I was a kid and demonstrating against the Vietnam War. This is because

of the kind of coverage and because of the kind of laws that have been enacted... I firmly place the blame at the levels of government"
Cheri DiNovo, MPP Parkdale-High Park

"One court officer suggested to me that 'they have f*ck all on you but they are out for your blood.'
Harsha Walia, NOII

"We challenge you to speak with and listen to the young people who were abused by the police, to hear their experiences, and to submit a formal apology."
b.h. Yael, professor, OCAD, John Greyson, Assoc. Professor, York U, in an open letter to Toronto Mayor David Miller

"Where's the CBC?"
videographer at Queens Park raid



Activestills



Stephanie Law



Activestills



EVK



Murray Bush/Flux Photo



Maya Rolbin-Ghanie



Murray Bush/Flux Photo

Double Punishment for Villanueva

by Robyn Maynard

MONTREAL—In August of 2008, 18-year-old Fredy Villanueva was playing dice in a parking lot in Montreal North when he was shot and killed by police officer Jean-Loup Lapointe. Two other youth were also shot, but survived.

All three were unarmed youth of colour. The killing has been described as emblematic of racial profiling at its most violent by community members, as well as by community groups, including Montreal-Nord Republik (a group of residents that formed, after the the killing of Villanueva, to denounce racial profiling and economic marginalization), and Head & Hands (a non-profit youth service centre based in Montreal's NDG).

In 2010, the tragedy faced by the Villanueva family got worse. Having lost one son, Lilian Villanueva is now facing the possibility of being forcibly separated from another.

Dany Villanueva, who was an eyewitness to the killing of his brother, is slated to be deported to Honduras, a country in which he has not resided since 1998, when he was 12.

Dany has been painted as a gangster and a criminal by much of the corporate media.

"They have already taken the life of my youngest son....now they want to take away my other son!" a tearful Lilian told the audience at Montreal's Forum Against Police Violence and Impunity in January 2010. Lilian had to struggle for a coroner's inquest into her younger son's death. Now she is fighting her surviving son's deportation.

Fredy's killing, and the community's response that it sparked, have exposed what some describe as the fault-lines of systemic discrimination in the forms of racial profiling, police impunity and a two-tiered immigration system.

Alexandre Popovic, a spokesperson with the Coalition Against Police Abuse and Repression, says



Montrealers rally for Dany Villanueva. His brother, Fredy, was shot and killed by Montreal police in the summer of 2008. Dany, while testifying at the inquiry into his brother's death, has been threatened with deportation.

David Simard

the timing of Dany's deportation order is suspicious.

"It is hard for me to believe that the way that they dealt with Dany Villanueva's file is not related to the public inquiry

[into Fredy's death]. It's hard for me to believe that the people at the CBSA [Canada Border Services Agency] are making those decisions, at those specific dates, without having in mind the coroner's inquest," he says.

The Villanueva family led a long struggle for a coroner's inquest, which they hope will uncover details surrounding Fredy's death, and which is set to continue through the summer months.

Though their initial strategy was calling for Jean-Loup Lapointe to be put on trial for murder, or at least for a public inquiry with legal repercussions, it was difficult for the family to win any sort inquest into Fredy's death,

and the current investigation represents a modest victory in the family's search for justice.

The role of the inquest, by definition, is to investigate and reveal to the public the details surrounding the death of the unarmed 18-year-old, and to put forth recommendations to avoid such situations in the future. It does not, however, have the judicial power of a criminal investigation, which Montreal-Nord Republik, among others, have said is warranted, given the details of the case.

Dany was charged with robbery in the spring of 2006 and served the full sentence for his crime that same year. More than three years later, in August of 2009, and while the Villanueva family was in the final stages of securing the coroner's inquest, Dany received a letter informing him of his upcoming deportation. Popovic points out that Dany's appearance before the immigration board closely coincided with the dates of his witness testimony for the coroner's inquest about

his brother's death, much to his family's distress.

Popovic believes the city's lawyers, who are defending the police, are unjustly using this highly-publicized immigration issue to shift the blame away from Lapointe, the police officer who fired on the three youth in the park. It is Lapointe whose actions are under scrutiny in the coroner's inquest. While the city of Montreal planned to pay for the legal fees of the police, the Quebec government, the body responsible for the inquest, initially refused to cover the legal fees for any witnesses, the family, or the victims of the shootings. The government's position changed after witnesses threatened to boycott the proceedings.

In December 2009, the inquest revealed that Lapointe's partner at the scene, Stephanie Pilotte, did not feel that her life was in danger when the shots were fired. Lapointe had previously testified that shooting at the three youth was necessary because he felt his life to be in danger.

The defence lawyers' strategy, says Popovic, has been to attempt to shift that police culpability onto Dany.

"The police lawyers are using, or attempting to use, the coroner's inquest to criminalize Dany Villanueva. They are the ones who are questioning Dany Villanueva the most. Their agenda is very clear: first they want to convince the coroner that the whole thing is the fault of Dany."

Popovic says this is explicit in the proceedings at the coroner's inquest. He points out that Pierre-Yves Boisvert, a lawyer for the city of Montreal, has stated that Dany is responsible for the death of his brother.

"The city will argue Fredy Villanueva is the victim of his own behaviour and the behaviour of his brother and his friends," Boisvert said in a statement at the inquest.

By painting Dany as a criminal, Boisvert's arguments in the inquest attempted to simultaneously justify Fredy's death and Dany's deportation.

"He has an immigration order against him and Canada Border Services want to send him back to Honduras, a nice country, probably, but one he doesn't feel like going to," said Boisvert.

As a result of this strategy, Dany has been painted unsympathetically as a gangster and a criminal by much of the corporate media. Numerous articles in the Quebec media kept Dany's supposed criminality as their focus during the time of his testimony for the inquest this April. The *Montreal Gazette* ran an article with the headline "Dany Villanueva was in a gang," under which they printed photos taken from a hip hop website to show that the colour of Dany's touque suggested gang membership. These photos were also used by Boisvert at the coroner's inquest.

Popovic decries this media sensationalism, which places Dany under enormous pressure to defend his own character during his testimony, where his only focus should be his provision of an eye-witness description of the shooting incident in which his younger brother was killed by police.

Dany Villanueva's pending

deportation has also drawn attention to a phenomenon known as "double punishment." The term was coined to describe the use of the immigration system to mete out additional penalties to non-citizens convicted of crimes, after having already subjected them to the punishments defined by court rulings. Migrant justice advocates call it a de facto two-tiered justice system.

Jared Will, a Montreal-based immigration lawyer, explains: "Non-citizens who are convicted of crimes often face punishment not only in the form of the sentence they get in the criminal courts, but also in the form of their loss of immigration status and deportation from the country."

Dany's case is an example of this practice. Having already served a sentence for his crime in 2006, Dany is now facing a second punishment for the same crime by being deported to his native Honduras, which would mean leaving behind the rest of his family in Montreal, who all have citizenship status.

Will stresses that double punishment is an issue that brings together aspects of racial profiling and the criminalization of migrant communities.

"The problem of racial profiling in the targeting of youth of colour has a disproportionate effect on migrant communities," says Will.

Increasing documentation shows that racial profiling, especially of youth, is a harsh reality in Montreal, most recently documented by the Quebec Human Rights Commission. Montreal-Nord, St. Michel, Cote-des-Neiges, Notre Dame de Grace and Parc-Extension are the neighborhoods with some of the highest concentrations of immigrants in Montreal, as well as some of the highest populations of people of colour.

"When police target those in racialized communities there is a double fear for those who are refugee claimants and permanent residents," says Will.

"Obviously the targeting of those communities has the effect of bringing a lot more people into immigration proceedings."

Will says racial profiling increases the numbers of migrant youth in the justice system, and due to the de facto two-tiered nature of the legal system, it also places their fate in the hands of the immigration system.

A growing grassroots campaign in support of Dany Villanueva brings a broader analysis to and a rejection of the practice of double punishment. A solidarity statement drafted by Montreal-Nord Republik, No One Is Illegal-Montreal, Solidarity Across Borders, and the Coalition Against Police Repression and Abuse lists two demands: "An immediate end to all removal proceedings against Dany Villanueva, and that his permanent resident status is restored; and an end to the double punishment against migrants with criminal records."

Organizers who have endorsed the statement are working to accrue the support of community organizations, human rights groups, and unions.

Though Dany's deportation has been officially announced,

the campaign in solidarity with the Villanueva family's quest for justice continues. An appeal has been filed by Dany's lawyer Stephen Handfield to overturn the decision. In the meantime, supporters of the family are asking for assistance in the campaign, calling for people to endorse the solidarity statement, and also to attend the on-going coroner's inquest, which is open to the public.

To support the Villanueva family, send endorsements of this campaign to solidaritesansfrontieres@gmail.com, and condemn Dany Villanueva's deportation order and double punishment by letter, fax, or phone to both the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and the Minister of Public Safety. Support the Villanueva family by filling the courts during the course of the coroner's inquest and during Dany's appeal.

Robyn Maynard is a journalist, writer and activist based in Montreal, and a member of No One Is Illegal-Montreal. She is active in various struggles against racial profiling, police violence and impunity.

Local Independent News

the
**TORONTO
MEDIA CO-OP**

Read. Create. Support.
OWN YOUR MEDIA

toronto.mediacoop.ca
mediacoop.ca/join



CP Sutcliffe

We Want Your Stories!

The Dominion / Media Co-op has a budget to pay two contributors each month.

Priority goes to:

- Those who have previously contributed
- News pieces
- Stories with a Canadian angle

We are looking for stories about:

- Climate debt
- Education
- G8/G20
- Co-operatives and economic alternatives
- The economic crisis and the working class
- Gender and queer issues
- Indigenous peoples issues
- NGOs
- Tar sands
- Culture and the arts
- Radical disability politics
- Humour
- Underreported stories

To pitch an article, video or photo essay, create a Media Co-op account (it's free) and fill out the form here:

www.mediacoop.ca/node/add/pitch

For more info, contact
dru@mediacoop.ca
hillary@mediacoop.ca
moira@mediacoop.ca
tim@mediacoop.ca

The Dominion currently pays a flat rate of \$100 for accepted articles. Stories are 800 or 1600 words. Deadlines are the 1st of each month.

Still paying for the Games...

“They spent eight times the amount [on security] as the Quebec City Summit of the Americas, and needed a scapegoat for their incompetence in letting the Heart Attack take place.”

—“Recovering from the Heart Attack: Arrestees fighting off Olympic side-effects in court,” by Isaac Oommen

Matthew Forsythe



Once the entirety of Department of National Defence expenses are taken into account, the overall security budget for the Winter Games breaches the \$1 billion mark, for an operation that the Canadian government said in 2002 would cost \$175 million... “It seemed like the budget was limitless, that any Olympic project, be it security or infrastructure, could use as much as it wanted.”

—“Gaming the Budget: Full cost of Olympic security even higher than we thought,” by Tim Groves

The irony, of course, is that the Olympics are touted—especially at the bidding stage—as an event that will make things better for the inhabitants of host cities... These young people live in a city in the way most people don’t.

—“Olympics Sidelines Youth: Understanding wider impacts of the Games,” by Jacqueline Kennelly

it's all here:
dominionpaper.ca

The Same Boat

Israel's attack on flotilla mirrors daily reality in Gaza

by Eva Bartlett

GAZA—On the evening of May 30, 2010, I awoke to a text message from a Gaza-based international activist saying that the Freedom Flotilla was being instructed by the Israeli Navy to halt its course to the Gaza Strip. The vessels were more than 70 miles from Gaza's coast.

I wasn't surprised. In every one of the nine Free Gaza trips from Cyprus to Gaza, the Israeli Navy commanded boats in international or Palestinian waters to turn around. Five voyages succeeded in ignoring the Israeli Navy's threats and sailing on through international waters into Palestine.

Earlier that day, Gaza had been preparing for the arrival of the flotilla. A sea demonstration had ventured a couple of kilometres out; an Israeli gunboat patrolled another kilometre or so out and had been shooting on some poor fishing trawler.

In the morning of May 31, 2010, I awoke to text messages saying the boat had been attacked by the Israeli Navy. I wasn't surprised. In December, 2008, as Israel pounded Gaza from the air, land and sea in a 23-day assault, Israeli gunboats rammed a Free Gaza vessel.

"The gunboats gave us no warning... They rammed us three times, hitting the side of the boat hard. We began taking on water and, for a few minutes, we all feared for our lives," said Free Gaza co-ordinator Caoimhe Butterly, who was on board during the 2008 attack.

Images of the latest attack on the Freedom Flotilla showed Israeli commandos dropping from military helicopters and firing on the passengers. Scenes of shocked faces carrying the dead and the injured emerged from the chaos.

"The attack on the Mavi Marmara [vessel] came in an instant: they attacked it with 12 or 13 attack boats and also with commandos from helicopters. We heard the gunshots over our



Nidal Elkhairy

portable radio handsets, which we used to communicate with the Mavi Marmara, because our ship communication system was disrupted. There were three or four helicopters also used in the attack. We were told by [the] Mavi Marmara their crew and civilians were being shot at and windows and doors were being broken by Israelis," said Kutlu Tiryaki, captain of another vessel in the flotilla, as reported by The Guardian.

This latest brutality, in which elite Israeli commandos opened fire on peace and justice activists on at least two of vessels and killed 9 and injured up to 60, was criminal but not shocking. That the Israeli commandos did so in international waters, far from Israel's coastline and jurisdiction, was also not shocking.

Utmost respect for the killed and injured aside, I am not surprised.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey's prime minister, said the flotilla was carefully inspected before departure: "I want to say to the world, to the heads of state and the governments, that these boats that left from Turkey and other countries were checked in a strict way under the framework of the rules of international navigation and were only loaded with humanitarian aid."

There was no-one on board "other than civilian volunteers" he said.

Given that Israeli commandos boarded the vessels in international waters, and if, as the activists on board allege, the soldiers fired first with live ammunition—not rubber-coated bullets or tear gas—Israel's self-defence spin is simply not credible.

Having borne witness to Israeli attacks on clearly-marked medics (16 emergency workers killed by Israeli soldiers) and

civilians (nearly 1500 Palestinians killed, the vast majority of whom were non-combatants) during the War on Gaza in December 2008, as well as the variety of war crimes perpetrated by Israeli soldiers, little surprises me now.

Having watched an Israeli soldier target an unarmed youth in his femoral artery because the young man protested the Israeli-imposed no-go zone, I'm not surprised by any Israeli action. Ahmed Deeb, 21, bled to death when the bullet exploded in his thigh.

On a daily basis, Israeli soldiers shell and fire on unarmed Palestinian civilians. Accompanying fishermen and farmers, I have seen and experienced this first-hand. I'm no longer surprised, although at first it was unimaginable: they are firing live ammunition on visibly unarmed people, I said. There are children here, older men and women. What threat do these people pose, I wondered.

The United Nations (UN) reports that two fishermen have been killed and 12 injured since January, 2009 alone, and these are only the reported cases.

In the border regions, unarmed farmers, workers and residents face daily attacks from Israeli soldiers enforcing a brutal no-go zone well beyond the 300 metres Israeli authorities say is off-limits. Tens have been killed and injured by these Israeli attacks.

But attacks are not limited to Palestinians working on Gaza's waters and border region lands. Under a siege imposed shortly after Hamas was elected in 2006 and tightened brutally since mid-2007, all of Gaza's 1.5 million suffer. The health sector has been decimated: the Israeli war on Gaza destroyed or damaged more than half of Gaza's hospitals while the Israeli-Egyptian-international siege prevents 141 vital medicines from entering, and has led to more than 360 deaths, according to the Ministry of Health.

Gaza's sewage and sanitation systems are collapsing; their

continued on page 23

Goldcorp Drilled by Shareholders

Mining company challenged at AGM to respect host communities

by Valerie Croft

TORONTO—Shareholders of Canadian mining giant Goldcorp Inc. got a glimpse—albeit brief—into the lives of Central Americans whose land is being exploited by the company for gold. Some even paid attention.

Representatives from communities hosting Goldcorp mines in Central America made their way from Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador to address the company's annual general meeting (AGM) in Toronto on May 19, 2010.

Shareholders learned about the devastating effects Goldcorp's operations have had on communities in Central America. The presenters told of an increase in health problems, cracked houses, widespread social conflict and the criminalization of protest in their towns and villages.

Carlos Amador, a teacher from Honduras, challenged the company's reclamation process at the closed San Martin mine in central Honduras, which in 1999 displaced 14 families and contaminated water to the point beyond which even the World Bank recommended.

"Who will control the acid drainage? Who is going to clean up the water contaminated with heavy metals?" he asked.

The AGM was not an easy venue for the visitors to tell their stories. Goldcorp attempted to cut Javier de Leon of Guatemala short during question period when de Leon tried to explain the environmental, health and social devastation brought by a Goldcorp mine to his town of San Miguel Ixtahuacan. He had previously been given less than a minute to address the meeting. When a supporter of the visiting group refused to be silent—protesting that de Leon deserved to be heard after traversing a continent to address the meeting—President and CEO Chuck Jeannes relented and gave de Leon the platform.

All the presenters spoke of the need not only for effective and



Protesters outside the Goldcorp AGM call on the company to clean up its human rights record, and the environmental devastation it has caused.

Allan Cedillo Lissner

fair consultation with potentially impacted communities before mining operations begin, but also the consent of those communities.

To that aim, a shareholder resolution was brought forward by Kathryn Anderson of the Maritimes-Guatemala Breaking the Silence (BTS) Network, which called on Goldcorp to adopt a corporate policy on free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) by September 1, 2010.

FPIC is a central theme of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and is the basis of Article 169 of the International Labour Organization, which states that before a mega-project—such as a mine or a hydroelectric dam—can begin on Indigenous lands, residents need to be consulted about the proposed project and to give their informed consent.

The Goldcorp operations influenced by Anderson's proposed policy would impact not only Indigenous communities, but all communities dependent for survival on natural resources.

Specifically, the resolution calls on Goldcorp to respect UNDRIP as best practice with regards to FPIC rights; to note the legal difference between consultation and consent; to implement the proposed policy retroactively to ensure that all Goldcorp's mining licenses were obtained in adherence to this policy; to cease all operations, expansions, and exploration where consent of the affected population has not been obtained by the state; and to apply this policy to any license with partial or full Goldcorp ownership.

"The shareholder resolution was brought forward because in cases like San Miguel Ixtahuacan [in Guatemala], we have seen the results of not having FPIC. Communities have not had the full disclosure of costs, benefits, and risks of open-pit gold mining," said Anderson. "When a full discussion is not there, it creates an enormous amount of conflict."

In its pre-AGM letter to shareholders, Goldcorp urged its investors to vote against Anderson's resolution, saying the company would be launching its

own human rights platform at the AGM.

In fact, just days before its AGM, Goldcorp released a Human Rights Impact Assessment (HRIA) of the Marlin Mine in San Miguel Ixtahuacan—the result of a petition by shareholders. Initial assessments of the HRIA by various NGOs, including Amnesty International, express concerns that affected communities were not invited to discuss whether or not the study would have been appropriate or beneficial. Although both a Goldcorp representative and an investor sat on the steering committee for the HRIA, no resident was given such a privilege. Meanwhile, both the communities and NGOs argued that the study would only increase social tensions in the already-fractured communities; the assessor, On Common Grounds, itself concluded that the study resulted in escalated social tensions and polarization between and among communities.

Shareholders representing 90 per cent of Goldcorp's shares voted against Anderson's proposed reso-

lution. She was surprised by the 10 per cent of shares in its favour, given that shareholders rarely vote against the company line. “We do not have an explanation for that yet,” she said. “Did someone advise a large block of shareholders to vote against Goldcorp in this instance? Or is it because people specifically read and heard our concerns?”

Although Goldcorp claims it participates in consultations with populations affected by its mines, company representatives refuse to articulate a detailed consultation process or put one into company policy. Furthermore, nowhere does Goldcorp claim to respect the rights of communities to say no to mining, which is a keystone of Anderson’s resolution.

When it ignored the results of community-organized consultations in 2005 in Sipakapa, a region bordering the Marlin Mine—where 11 out of 13 communities unanimously opposed the mine’s presence—the local government was pressured to address the issue. The municipality of San Miguel has since organized its own upcoming consultation. Goldcorp General Counsel VP David Deisley said the company is not legally required to respect the results of such a consultation.

Goldcorp in general, and Jeannes in particular, consistently deny FPIC is directly applicable to the company, arguing the laws for consultation and consent apply to governments, not corporations.

Nelly Rivera de Silva of El Salvador explained that despite a moratorium on all mining exploitation in her country, she will be directly impacted by Goldcorp’s proposed Cerro Blanco mine to be built in Guatemala several kilometers upstream of Lake Guija—a binational lake. The lake is the tributary of the Lempa River, the most important watershed in El Salvador. Another 13 mining projects line El Salvador’s border with Guatemala, and 42 line its border with Honduras.

Rivera explained that she came to Canada to address Goldcorp on home soil and to inform people of the local repercussions of gold mining.

Goldcorp’s eight-page glossy handout on Corporate Social

Responsibility (CSR) states: “Sustainable operations are dependent upon good working relationships with the communities in which we operate...We believe our transparent approach to doing business is the only way to fully engage our stakeholders in a meaningful, mutually beneficial relationship.”

But Rivera thinks this company line is an insult to shareholder intelligence.

“Why wouldn’t you think something is not quite right when members of the affected communities are coming all the way to Canada just to have their voices heard?” she asked.

As he was leaving the meeting, a shareholder addressed one of the 50 protesters demonstrating outside the AGM, asking why they were “anti-employment.” His sentiments reflect a feeling by many Canadians that mining companies are effectively bringing development and prosperity to people who would be starving if it weren’t for opportunities from the North.

De Leon had a different story. He maintained that Goldcorp is making millions in profit at the expense of the social fabric in Guatemala, where community tensions and social conflict are direct results of the affected communities having no say about the open-pit gold mine.

De Leon has felt this tension point-blank. After receiving numerous death threats, he was shot at four times on April 19, 2010, a few days before his departure for Canada. He said the majority of such threats come from mine workers or people with personal connections to the mine. Feeling tense, vulnerable, and worried for his family’s safety, de Leon said that a majority of investors do not know or care about this reality.

“No shareholder wants to hear what we have to say. They only want to see the renewal of their investment,” he said. “No-one claims ownership of the damages done to the environment, to society, or to the politics of Guatemala.”

Referenda have been organized across Guatemala to address the lack of informed consent, but neither the national

government nor the company recognizes these consultations as legitimate, even though in some cases 100 per cent of an affected population has voted against mining.

Although it wouldn’t legally uphold FPIC, Bill C-300, a private member’s bill tabled by Liberal MP John McKay, could create some legal options for communities impacted by Canadian mines.

The Canadian government provides political and economic support to Canadian mining companies like Goldcorp operating abroad, through embassy relations, tax incentives and investment support with public funds like the Canada Pension Plan. Bill C-300 would make this political support and public money contingent on Canadian companies meeting certain human rights standards—standards these companies have already agreed to in various voluntary principles on corporate social responsibility, many of which are found in the CSR standards for Export Development Canada.

The bill would establish a legal complaints mechanism allowing people who wish to report human rights violations to do so with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). If DFAIT concludes that a company’s actions violate established guidelines for responsible behaviour, the company’s political and economic support from Canada would be withdrawn.

Bill C-300 is a watered-down

version of recommendations made at the 2007 National Roundtables on Corporate Social Responsibility, which was approved by the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada. Nevertheless, the mining industry has launched strong opposition to the bill.

Rare for a private member’s bill, C-300 has passed through two votes in the House of Commons, and is currently at the end of its committee stage. MPs have reported receiving more letters in support of C-300 than any other bill in recent memory. If it passes its third and final vote, it will go to the Senate. Since the Conservative Party opposes the bill on the basis that it would hurt the image of Canadian mining companies and their global competitiveness, the bill will likely die in the Senate because of a Conservative majority.

All four Central American activists who flew to Canada to speak to Goldcorp’s shareholders were adamant that voluntary standards for Canadian companies do not protect against human rights abuses. Although they were all in support of Bill C-300, they continue to push for free, prior and informed consent to be a focal point of Canadian legislation.

editor’s update: Upon returning to the House of Commons for the fall session on September 20, the first thing MPs will debate is the third reading of Bill C-300.

Valerie Croft worked in Guatemala as an International Accompanier in 2008 and is active in issues relating to corporate accountability.



Free the Toronto 900!

For more info, and to support our comrades facing charges from anti-G20 mobilizations check out the

Movement Defence Committee!
movementdefence.org

Freedom for all Political Prisoners!

Heather Meek

indelible

...estimate of the rate of flow coming from the damaged Deepwater Horizon well is 60,000 barrels a day...

hemeek '10

"DEEPWATER HORIZON." MAN, IT EVEN SOUNDS LIKE A SCI-FI MOVIE... WHAT IF THE LEAK NEVER STOPS?

TURTLES, BIRDS, A VANISHING WAY OF LIFE ON THE COAST SMOTHERED BY OIL. UGH! I CAN'T WATCH THIS!

CRUDE OIL: A WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN MANY WAYS. A SLOW-MOTION CATASTROPHE, A BROWN CLOUD CREEPING ACROSS THE SEA.

café

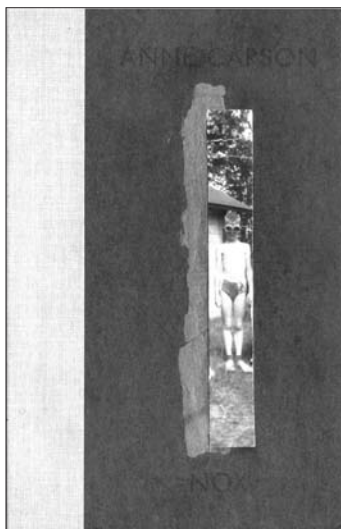
EXXON VALDEZ INSPIRED THE SCIENCE FAIR PROJECTS AT MY SCHOOL IN 1989. THE EFFECTS OF DISHWASHING LIQUID ON OIL WERE STUDIED INTENTLY...

NOW, ANOTHER DISASTER IS SEEPING INTO THE COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS. OIL LIKE INDELIBLE INK, STAINING THE GULF. A RORSCHACH TEST FOR THOSE SEEKING MEANING. IS IT A BICYCLE, OR MAYBE A BUTTERFLY?

WHY DID IT HAPPEN? WHAT IF IT NEVER STOPS? QUESTIONS FOR THOSE SEEKING PATTERNS IN CHAOS.

HEATHER MEEK

THE ONLY PATTERN IS US.



The Cave Man
Xiaoda Xiao
Two Dollar Radio:
Columbus, Ohio, 2009

A reticent professor who taught Classics at McGill for several decades, Anne Carson has found a surprisingly broad audience of devoted and adoring readers who would generally be more likely to read David Sedaris and Chuck Palahniuk than Sophocles and Sappho. Even though she operates in an obscure genre that straddles original poetry and literary translation, Carson's readers elevate her to mythic proportions. I would have never believed a cult could arise from such an assuming writer, but I've met several people willing to tattoo their bodies with her words and travel several hours to attend her readings. In universities she has always maintained her academic credibility, but she has successfully shaken off the potential stigma of an esoteric scholar by bringing poetic voices

and individual passions to the forefront of her work.

Nox, Carson's latest and most personal writing yet, powerfully demonstrates her ability to radiate beyond a specialist audience. Two challenges run parallel throughout the book. First, she sets out to lament the death of her brother, a man who removed himself from his family as a young man and rarely connected later in life. Second, *Nox* documents Carson's struggle to translate an elegy written by the Roman poet Catullus to mark the death of his own brother. Through tracing her own losses, the act of translation becomes unflinchingly personal. As a poet, translator and scholar, Carson wields all her tools in *Nox* to painfully tie literature and mourning together.

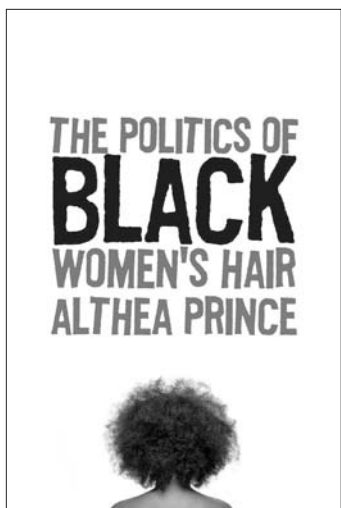
While *Nox* blurs the lines

between translation and original poetry, it is barely presented as a book. Packaged as a "book in a box," each page folds out like an intricate accordion. Words are laid out among family photographs and colourful prints to form a collage of Carson's life and work.

By the last page and picture, the translation of Catullus's elegy is an unfinished blur. *Nox* provides no conclusion to Carson's own elegy or her translation of someone else's. Coping and poetry both appear impossible tasks, but Carson's genius has never been better demonstrated than in the attempts she makes here.

—Shane Patrick Murphy

Shane Patrick Murphy co-edits The Dominion's *Literature & Ideas* section.



The Politics of Black Women's Hair
Althea Prince
Insomniac Press: London,
Ontario, 2009

Black women's hair has always possessed a certain sort of magnetism that attracts (often unsolicited) pats and tugs, as well as inquiries about its properties and care. However, recently the hair of Black sistas has been drawing unusual attention, and not just on *The View*. Between Chris Rock's documentary *Good Hair*, Tyra Banks reveal of the hair that lies beneath her weaves, and general fascination with Michelle Obama's fashion sense—hairdos included—Black women's hair has become quite a "hot topic."

To provide further insight into the phenomenon of "Black women's hair", sociologist and novelist Althea Prince presents readers with *The Politics of Black Women's Hair*, a brief anthology that analyzes the complex relationship that women of African descent have with their tresses,

through the use of the personal essay form, interviews, excerpts from the media, and observations.

Prince begins by tracing the subject back to the negative historical depictions of Black people, as seen in the late nineteenth-century *Golliwog* and *Little Black Sambo* storybooks, which caricatured stereotypical "Black" features, such as pitch-black skin, huge red lips, and woolly hair. She argues that the mainstream beauty ideal, reinforced by such imagery, was internalized by Black women and girls, and has "dictated" their hairstyle choices ever since. Natural black hair has thus been equated with "political" hair. This notion, which is addressed throughout the book, is highlighted in a chapter dedicated to the significance of the "relaxed," and therefore relaxing, nature of Michelle Obama's hair.

Prince also features personal essays by Black mothers and daughters from Canada, the US, the UK, the Caribbean and South America, providing a glimpse into the Black female hair experience from a diasporic perspective. Their stories illustrate the psychological and sociological impact that attempting to measure-up to the "yardstick of mainstream beauty", namely the European aesthetic, has had on Black women. The

essayists speak about how their efforts to attain the beauty ideal (by straightening their hair with chemicals and hot combs), or their lack of desire to do so (by opting to go shaven or wearing it in its natural state), has affected both their personal and professional lives.

The Politics of Black Women's Hair could have benefited from expanding its scope to include the perspectives of African women and Black men (whose perceived views are mentioned frequently in the text). Given the author's intention to write a 'little book,' Prince successfully outlines the complexities of a topic that can get rather hairy. *The Politics of Black Women's Hair* achieves its purpose: to establish that Black hair is beautiful and to assist Black girls and women with learning how to embrace that fact.

—Ndija Anderson

Ndija Anderson, a law student at McGill University, was a 2006–2007 Thomas J. Watson Fellow, which allowed her to travel to seven countries to research the practice and aesthetic of hair braiding and locking in various cultures.

Advertise with us!

in print, on the web

tim@mediacoop.ca

we need copy editors!

moira@mediacoop.ca

Media Co-op Locals Go To Print, Broadsheets Now in the Streets



New deal on boreal forests draws fire



Fake boreal forest behind fake G8 take - the real thing is under threat from corporate control.
 Vancouver Media Co-op
 The battle is on for control of Canada's boreal forests.
 Timber companies and environmental organizations joined together in May to announce the Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement. They claim the deal will

“For far too long, Big Green groups like the National Wildlife Federation, Conservation International, Environmental Defense Fund, Natural Resources Defense Council and many others have allowed their financial and political relationships with Corporate America to compromise their positions on the biggest ecological crises in history.”
 Rising Tide North America
 www.risingtidenorthamerica.org

“Environmental groups used to be funded largely by their members and wealthy individual supporters. They had only one goal: to prevent environmental destruction. Their funds were small, but they played a crucial role in saving vast tracts of wilderness and in pushing into law strict rules forbidding air and water pollution. But Jay Hair - president of the National Wildlife

The Vancouver Media Co-op's (VMC) broadsheet, *Balaclava!*, was an invention borne of necessity. A massive convergence to oppose the 2010 Olympics led to a range of activities, from conferences to protest. A team of VMCCers decided to put together the *Balaclava!* to cover each day's events.

Apart from providing essential independent, radical coverage of actions opposing the Games and their impacts on the city, the broadsheet also helped No2010 allies become informed about the range and depth of opposition. The broadsheet quickly became the place for independent print journalists and photographers to publish their material.

Opposition to the Games brought together a range of groups, so the VMC decided to continue publishing *Balaclava!* on a bi-monthly basis to continue coverage of issues affecting the radical East Side community in Vancouver. Apart from being a fortnightly news round-up, *Balaclava!* also functions as an events-listing for upcoming radical forums and gatherings in Vancouver.

—Isaac Oommen
 svolunteer: dawn@mediacoop.ca

The *Spoke* is a Toronto Media Co-op (TMC) broadsheet that was launched in March 2010 at the first official TMC fundraiser. *The Spoke's* name recognizes that, like other media co-op publications, it is one part of the wheel of media activism.

The Spoke was heavily based on the Vancouver Media Co-op's *Balaclava!*, in that it aims to be an easy-to-publish, quick-to-distribute publication during the second major Canadian event in 2010.

After seeing the success of *Balaclava!* during the Olympics and the use of the Halifax Media Co-op's *The Tide* during the G8 development ministers meeting in April 2010, *The Spoke* was imagined as a daily publication to report on news during the G8 and G20 Summits in June 2010.

The Spoke is run by a sub-committee of the TMC and was run out of the Alternative Media Centre during the week of the G20.

The Spoke has been able to report and break a number of important stories to Torontonians including the B20 group of business leaders, the Anishinabek fight against the HST, the planned G20 hotel strikes, PR firms, Canadian-Israeli policies and stories on the organising against the G20. *The Spoke* was a solid, independent daily during the G20 summits providing the freshest, most in-depth grassroots coverage on the ground.

—Geordie Gwalgen Dent
 volunteer: toronto@mediacoop.ca



Former Conservative Appointee to Observe Gaza Flotilla Inquiry

By ENID GOFFREE AND KEVIN O'TOOLE
 On June 13, the Israeli government announced the appointment of Canada's former chief military lawyer, Brigadier-General Ken Watkin, as an international observer to an "Independent Public Commission". The commission was set up in response to the killings of nine Turkish civilians in international waters on May 30th. The civilians were peace activists aboard an aid flotilla delivering medical and construction supplies and food to Gaza, which has been under blockade since 2007. Following widespread international condemnation, the UN Security Council called for an international independent inquiry into the incident - a move vetoed by the US. In its stead, Israel has appointed its own panel of three Israeli citizens and two international observers.
 Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs Lawrence Cannon welcomed the establishment of the commission and the appointment of Watkin in a statement: "Given his career in the Canadian Forces (CF), and his service as Judge Advocate General, Brigadier General Ken Watkin is well suited to participate in this commission." The Conservatives have been accused of showing a bias favouring Israel in this case.
 Watkin served as the legal advisor at home and wings, defend soldiers and others accused under court martial and advise commanding officers on legal and ethical issues in areas of armed conflict. He served as JAG until earlier this year.
 Previously, Watkin sat on the Board of Inquiry for Canadian military controversies in Somalia in 1993 and Rwanda in 1994 and advised the Canadian Navy and Commanders in Bosnia. Most recently, he has been implicated in the "Mighty Detainee" issue.



Toronto Hotel Workers Plan Strike

Work Action and Community Rally Planned for June 24th
 By KEVIN O'TOOLE
 The International Union of Food and Allied Workers (IUF) is planning a global day of action on June 24th in defence of workers' right to organize unions, the Toronto Media Co-op has learned.
 The union is targeting Paris-based Accor, one of the largest hotel companies in the world. In Toronto, workers with UNITE HERE Local 75 (UHW 75) are planning a one-day strike action at the Novotel Hotel at 45 The Esplanade, one of several brands of hotels owned and operated by Accor. IUF and UHW 75 say that Accor is violating its commitment with IUF "not to oppose efforts to unionize its employees."
 According to UHW 75, workers organizing at Novotel hotels in Canada have faced "multifaceted" forms of management opposition. "The union claims



G8 is Failing, say Climate Activists

FOLLOWING THE FAILURE OF COPENHAGEN, NOVA SCOTIANS DRAW LINKS TO THE G8'S DISPROPORTIONATE EFFECT ON THE CLIMATE
 by DAVE BUSH
 "What was missing before [Copenhagen] was a people's movement," says Emily Rideout, a member of the Sierra Club Atlantic Chapter.
 Rideout, who went to the Copenhagen Climate Summit (COP15) in December, says something shifted when the conference produced nothing but an accord with neither binding agreements nor firm targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. "The failure of COP has



During the lead-up to the G8 Development Ministers Meeting in Halifax, the Halifax Media Co-op provided grassroots coverage of resistance to the G8. This coverage included the production of the first issue of *The Tide*, the new broadsheet of the Halifax Media Co-op.

The name is a play on words. It refers to the location on the ocean and also to a powerful force of change. Like the tide, the rising of popular movements has the power to change the landscape of our society.

Currently, the Halifax Media Co-op is working on hammering out the details of *The Tide*, including how often it will be produced, and is seeking funding for printing.

—Kaley Kennedy
 volunteer: hillary@mediacoop.ca

“Canada did not condemn Israel’s barbaric actions and refused to demand our release, with Peter Kent incredibly stating, “Canada doesn’t believe a lot of noise is required in this instance.”

– Kevin Neish, Farooq Burney and Rifat Audeh, three Canadians aboard the Mavi Marmara, in an open letter to Stephen Harper, available at vancouver.mediacoop.ca

“Boat,” from page 17

alarming state has been well-documented by the UN, World Health Organization (WHO) and other international organizations.

Ninety-eight per cent of industry has been shut down, contributing to unemployment levels of roughly 50 per cent and an increase in the number of tunnels between Egypt and Gaza, as well as the number of desperate Gazans willing to work in them.

Without the siege on Gaza, the more than 1,000 tunnels would have no market for the goods they bring in daily. The more than 150 workers killed in the tunnels (by Israeli bombing, tunnel collapses, electrocution, Egyptian gassing and bombing) would have had alternative employment options.

Malnutrition is rife, particularly among children, with anaemia and growth stunting on the rise at a drastic rate.

Israeli officials claim that there is no “humanitarian crisis” as they admit more than enough food aid for each person. However, this aid is largely in the form of carbohydrates, leaving families deficient in protein and vitamins. The caloric requirements Israel authorizes per Palestinian in Gaza perpetuate the sentiment of Israeli governmental adviser Dov Weisglass who sought to “put the Palestinians on a diet, but not to make them die of hunger.”

The farmers and fishermen targeted by Israeli soldiers are providers of produce and protein not permitted through Israel’s borders. Their harvest would enable Palestinians in Gaza to stave off slow starvation. Roughly one-third of Gaza’s agricultural land lies in the region Israel unilaterally deems and mortally enforces as off-limits.

When I sailed to Gaza in

November 2008 with the third Free Gaza voyage, I knew there was an element of risk: either we wouldn’t reach Gaza or we would be abducted by the Israeli navy. It was a risk worth taking but above all it was a small risk compared to the dangers Palestinians are exposed to every day.

Participants of the Freedom Flotilla, comprising nine vessels and nearly 700 people from over 20 countries, knew there was a significant risk the Israeli navy would attack or halt their boats. And while the Freedom Flotilla carried needed construction supplies as well as toys, sweets and books for children, the significance of sailing to Gaza to break through the isolation and penetrate the siege cannot be overemphasized.

The siege, as crippling and cruel as it is, is about more than an engineered humanitarian, social and economic catastrophe. It is about the right to self-determination, the right to open borders and to freedom of movement.

The world should question not only the killing of non-threatening civilians in international waters, but also the validity of Israel’s jurisdiction in the whole matter. Does Israel occupy Gaza, or not? If so, why are malnutrition and poverty levels rising in the Gaza Strip?

Huwaida Arraf, abducted from international waters, said previously that “[w]hen states and the international bodies responsible for taking action to stop such atrocities chose to be impotent, then we—the citizens of the world—must act. Our common humanity demands nothing less.”

Eva Bartlett is a Canadian human rights advocate and freelancer living in Gaza. Read more about life in Gaza on her blog, ingaza.wordpress.com.

“Abdelrazik,” from page 5

putting the responsibility solely on the Canadian government. “While Canada’s almost certainly illegal error has been to follow an unjust UN system, the deeper problem lies with the UN, which created and administers the 1267 sanctions system, and which oddly believes it is consistent with human rights law. It is time to call into question the belief, too frequent and trusting on the political left, that the UN are good guys. They are not: Abdelrazik’s unjust persecution amply proves it.”

The 1267 List was established as a sanctions regime measure “to deter terrorism” by the United Nations Security Council in 1999 after the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya. In 2001, after the 9/11 attacks in the United States, the list was broadened to target Al Qaeda as

well as the Taliban. The resolution has been widely understood to be serving a political agenda to target countries the United States deems problematic. However, it seems to have evolved to become a tool numerous states are using to stifle political dissent and internal sovereignty movements, including Russia against Chechnyans and India against members of the Khalistan movement.

When asked what he would like to see happen next, Abdelrazik smiles softly and with quiet determination states, “The government could revoke the regulations entirely. This step would send a clear signal to the United Nations Security Council that Canada will no longer participate in this unjust regime and will let me continue on with my life. Until then we will continue with the campaign.”

Amy Miller is a media maker and community organizer who resides in Montreal.

“Salmon,” from page 8

processing plant in Klemtu,” he wrote in an email. “Total annual wages are about \$1.5M to Kitsoo members and when the plant is operating the band has about a 60 per cent employment rate.”

When the plant is not operating, Greba says the employment dropped to about 40 per cent, but he added this was ameliorated by a long, steady processing season that qualified most workers for unemployment benefits.

Even the formerly anti-salmon farming Ahousaht First Nation on eastern Vancouver Island have switched sides and are engaging in salmon farming to create economic opportunities in a sustainable manner.

On May 5, 2010, the “Get Out Migration” marchers arrived at Nanaimo’s Maffeo Sutton Park. Chief Doug White of the Snuneymuxw First Nation described the sacred relationship of his people to the salmon, the tradition of the salmon ceremony and the revered salmon petroglyph.

“The Snuneymuxw worldview ... is one that has salmon at the

center,” White said.

White stated that the 1854 Douglas Treaty, signed by British Columbia’s first governor with some First Nations, ceded Indigenous rights to some land but also recognized the way of life of the Snuneymuxw people, including the Snuneymuxw’s relationship to salmon and the right of engagement.

Morton criticized Norway and its multinational aquaculture.

“For 20 years, Norwegians have done this [salmon farming]. It is time to admit it was a mistake.” Salmon farms need to be pulled out of the seas, she said. She called on people to be firm with the government.

“Salmon are dying because of politics.”

People from the Pacific Northwest First Nations have long been the Salmon People. However, the multitude that turned out in Victoria on May 7, 2010, demonstrates that Salmon People comprise a broad swath of society—both Indigenous and non-Indigenous.

Kim Petersen is the Original Peoples editor with The Dominion.

On the first day of the Hanlon Creek occupation, land defenders hung Guswhenta (two row wampum) flags on construction equipment, and held a grounding ceremony. The Guswhenta is a treaty in which settlers are to not interfere with the path of Indigenous peoples and their lands, and vice versa. We saw our struggle to stop the HCBP as our attempt to hold ourselves to this agreement by preventing further harm to Turtle Island.



Anna Kovler



This Flowering Bloodroot is blooming in early spring on the forest floor. Indigenous plants have a hard time competing with invasive, foreign plants such as manitoba maples and garlic mustard. Remarkably, these woods, like others throughout industrialized Southern Ontario, have kept most foreign plants at bay, affirming the strength of these woods.

Matthew Lowell



Matthew Lowell

Whose Woods These Are

by Matthew Lowell

OCCUPIED NEUTRAL TERRITORY (GUELPH)—The struggle to defend the Hanlon Creek Wetland Complex (HCWC) against developers and the city of Guelph has been ongoing for close to a decade. Last summer, from July 27 to August 15, this struggle culminated in a 19-day defensive land occupation just south of Guelph, and resulted in a \$5 million Strategic Litigation Against Public Participation (SLAPP) suit against five people—myself among them. We were charged with conspiracy, interference with economic relations inducing breach of contract, trespass,

nuisance, and intimidation. The Court recognized our struggle by awarding us an injunction against development, which strengthened a popular direct-action campaign to stop development and challenge the city's policies of greenfield development (development of a green space ecosystem, as opposed to redevelopment) and sprawl.

What drove people to stand against the city to prevent development around the HCWC forest? Here is a look at some features of the land that have motivated us. Perhaps you will recognize some of these features in the land around you.

Matthew Lowell is rooted in occupied Neutral Territory.

Tributary A of the Hanlon Creek flows through the contested land. This creek is one of many that feed into the Speed River and then into the Grand River, eventually meeting Lake Erie. Pollutants upstream, created by industry, agriculture and development—such as the Hanlon Creek Business Park (HCBP)—contaminate the drinking water of communities like the Haudenosaunee (Six Nations) community and the city of Brantford. The struggle against development in Guelph is also a struggle for clean drinking water for communities downstream.