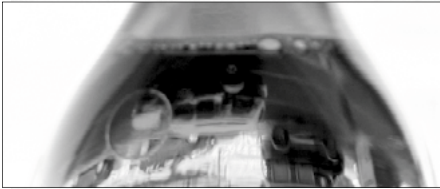


dominion, n. 1. Control or the exercise of control. 2. A territory or sphere of influence; a realm. 3. One of the self-governing nations within the British Commonwealth.

The Dominion

CANADA'S GRASSROOTS NEWSPAPER

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Corporate Suds

Microbrews in a froth about market dominance.

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Indigenous demand a say in climate change negotiations.

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Canada relieves US in Afghanistan

In February, Canada's force in Afghanistan is set to expand from 650 troops to 2200. The incoming Canadians will replace outgoing US soldiers. Meanwhile, the Canadian occupation of Afghanistan is a subject of intense debate in Canada's media. While commentators in the *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* call for Canada's military to stay the course, accounts that remain critical of Canada's occupying force are largely to be found outside of the major news outlets.

In the fourth year of a mission that began in 2001 with the stated intent "to destroy the Taliban shield that was protecting Al Qaeda's infrastructure," 1,500 "insurgents" were killed, Reuters reported.

In 2005, the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) conducted a major consultation, finding widespread support for "criminal justice and removing war criminals from government positions." Most agree that that has not happened. "Highly selective and politicized disarmament has taken place, leaving intact most of the privately-run warlord militias," Justin Podur and Sonali Kolhatkar wrote in *Briarpatch Magazine*. Podur and Kolhatkar say that the Canadian government's claim that military operations are there to provide security to rebuild Afghanistan covers up the difference between the interests of Afghans and those of Canada. "The problem... is that focusing on constructive projects... would benefit only the Afghans, and not US, Canadian, or NATO interests."

In an op/ed circulated by *Media Matters*, Canadian Islamic President Mohamed Elmasry noted that "Canada spends more than \$600 million annually on its military operations, and [has] committed only \$200 million" in aid. "As a former American CEO, the only support [President] Hamid Karzai gets is from Afghanis-



A Canadian soldier on dismounted patrol in Kabul. *Canadian Forces*

who can personally and materially benefit from his American connections," wrote Elmasry.

—Dru Oja Jay

The World Social Forum decentralized

The World Social Forum (WSF), an annual meeting of participants in the global justice movement, is taking place on 3 continents this year. Organizers hope the decentralized approach will make the event - previously held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and once in Mumbai, India - accessible to broader grassroots participation. In January 2006, the WSF was held in Caracas, Venezuela and Bamako Mali and in March will continue in Karachi, Pakistan. An estimated 15,000 people attended the WSF in Mali which focused on issues considered pressing on the African continent, including political corruption and the cancellation of debt. "Debt is a stumbling block to our development," said Diarra Sekou of the Coalition for African Alternatives to Debt and Development. Sekou said that Mali paid about 109 million dollars servicing its debt last year, leaving little for education and health services. In Caracas, the opening "March against war and imperialism" brought tens of thousands of activists into the streets. The

star speaker was American peace activist, Cindy Sheehan who called for American President George Bush to be put on trial for crimes against humanity.

—Hillary Bain Lindsay

Evo Morales, president-elect of Bolivia, inaugurated.

On January 22, Evo Morales, leader of MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo, or, "Movement Toward Socialism"), and Bolivia's president-elect was inaugurated, and his cabinet sworn in. Morales won 53.7% of the vote in the December 18 2005 election, in which an unprecedented 84% of the electorate participated. Morales' unambiguous victory represents the largest show of popular support for a presidential candidate in the last 30 years, and came despite the strong opposition of Bolivia's mainstream press and despite allegations of electoral fraud in areas where MAS' platform has currency. Morales is riding the country's latest wave of broad-based struggle against what they call imperialist exploitation.

Bolivia's Indigenous previously made headlines with the Cochacamba "Water War" in 2000, in which a popular upris-

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Job Growth, Pay Shrinkage Last Year in Canada

Low paying and part time work is growing faster than other kinds of employment, according to a new report from CIBC World Markets.

"Not all full-time jobs are created equal - some of them are low-paying and low-stability jobs," Senior Economist Benjamin Tal said in a release.

The CIBC report found that the number of jobs in low-paying sectors like the service industry and retail grew by 7.9 per cent, while jobs in high-paying sectors like manufacturing and electronics grew by 4.8 per cent.

According to the report, "A direct consequence of the declining job quality is the relatively slow growth in labour income, which averaged only 0.5 per cent annual real growth per worker since 2002."

—Dru Oja Jay

Toronto Clinic Violates Canada Health Act: Coalition

Plans by a Toronto health clinic to allow quick access to medical expertise and more time with doctors for a fee is a violation of the Canada Health Act, according to the Ontario Health Coalition (OHC).

According to a legal opinion prepared for the OHC by a Toronto law firm, doctors who accept fees for "queue jumping" and patients who pay them could be fined as much as \$10,000. The planned clinics, run by Vancouver-based Copeman Healthcare Inc., will charge patients a \$3,500 registration fee.

In a letter to Health Minister George Smitherman, the OHC called on the Ontario government to "curb the growth of boutique medicine and private for-profit clinics." According to the OHC -- which represents over 400 organizations includ-



What's the 'melting point' for coverage on climate change?

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

ing womens' groups, trade unions and antipoverty groups - the government has the power to close loopholes, but has not.

According to a Canadian Press report, Smitherman has warned Copeman Healthcare that it could be fined, saying that "any attempt to extricate from an Ontarian a certain financial sum in advance of the provision of a medically insured service is not on." He did not comment on the request to "close loopholes".

—Dru Oja Jay

13 Sentenced from Kanehsatake Raid

On Jan 20th, 13 Mohawks from Kanehsatake were sentenced to 3-15 months in prison for resisting an attempted invasion of Kanehsatake in 2004, led by then Grand Chief James Gabriel. The takeover, linked to the Indian Affairs Department and the Solicitor General, involved almost \$1,000,000 in government funds and 60 hired mercenaries.

Allegations over the past 2 years from anti-poverty and anti-colonial organizations, as well as former Quebec Public Security Minister Jaques Chagnon, have claimed that Gabriel's raid was illegal and targeted opponents of Gabriel in the Kanehsatake police commission. Gabriel has also been accused of secretly negotiating

Bill S-24 targeting Mohawk tax exemptions and autonomy in 2000, secretly signing a policing agreement with RCMP and Surété du Quebec (SQ) without band support in 2003, and misusing millions in band funds.

Although senior government officials have repeatedly claimed the raid was illegal and the RCMP and SQ stated publicly that they argued against it, Judge Nicole Duval-Hesler sentenced 13 Mohawks to jail time, in some cases with higher prison tenures than the prosecutor had asked for. Repeated demands for a new trial for the convicted, a judicial inquiry into the raid and a financial audit of band funds have not been met.

—Geordie Dent

Report Recommends Burying Nuclear Waste in Northern Ontario

Northern Ontario--along with sites in Quebec, Saskatchewan, and New Brunswick--has been selected as a potential disposal site for nuclear waste. In a statement issued November 3, 2005, the Nuclear Waste Management Organization (NWMO) recommended burial as a disposal method for Canada's nuclear waste.

Brennain Lloyd of Northwatch, a coalition of envi-

ronmental and social justice groups in northern Ontario, said that Canada has accumulated 45,000 tonnes of nuclear waste. According to Lloyd, one of the main concerns of burial is leakage from the nuclear waste containers.

The NWMO report, the result of a three year study, specifies what it calls "Adaptive Phased Management" as the most feasible option for the waste. The report recommends burying all Canada's nuclear waste at one site, preferably in a rock formation. The NWMO specifies the Canadian Shield in Northern Ontario as the optimal site for the burial. The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) has voiced concerns about the location of disposal in a remote area, which could include First Nations land. The AFN also questioned the legitimacy of the NWMO, whose members are primarily producers of nuclear fuel, and raised the possibility that once Canada finds a "solution" for its nuclear waste, other countries will want to import their nuclear waste to Canada.

—Katie Shafley

Is it Climate Change Yet? Canada's Weird Weather Gets Weirder

Temperatures broke record highs in Winnipeg and Alberta in January. Sundre, Alberta enjoyed a balmy 14 C on January 24. Environment Canada meteorologist Dale Marciski told the CBC, "it's pretty much assured that we're going to break the record for the warmest January ever in Winnipeg's history." The average temperature in Winnipeg in January has been -7.7 C, says Marciski, while the normal average is -17.8 C. Marciski denies the unusual weather is a product of climate change, saying the warmth is being carried by a low-pressure system moving from the Pacific coast, but noted that "the absence of real cold air across the north" has contributed to the unusu-

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Please Remember Music

Song plays a central role at the School of the Americas Protest

by Carole Ferrari

Please remember that music is a universal language and it comes from the heart, mind and soul to the world.
--Llajtasuyo

“Pas, salaam, shalom...”

As thousands of people mill up and down barricaded and police-patrolled Fort Benning Road, a voice sings out the lyrics of the peace song. This voice causes a reaction on the surface of your skin. It has a primordial quality. The song is big and beautiful and travels down Fort Benning Road reaching those that have just arrived in Columbus, Georgia. Pat Humphries continues to sing and is joined by Sandy O, and then the crowd joins in. Pat and Sandy are Emma’s Revolution and they sing a song for peace at the protest agasint the School of the Americas.

The arrival of protestors at the gates of Fort Benning is part of a much bigger week-long teach-in and non-violent event coordinated by the School of the Americas Watch. 2005 marked the 15th anniversary of the School of the Americas Protest, held annually in Columbus, Georgia, where the School of the Americas (SOA), or the Western Hemispheric Institute for Security and Cooperation (WHINSEC) - as it was renamed in 2001 - resides. The purpose of the Protest is simple: to shut down the School, under whatever name it adopts.

The SOA/WHINSEC’s mandate is to train soldiers from the Americas. Graduates have been linked to some of the worst atrocities and most repressive regimes across Latin America, including the inner circle of Chile’s General Augusto Pinochet, the assassination of Archbishop Romero of El Salvador and the massacre of the community of El Mozote.



Music has been a key part of the protest’s success. Carole Ferrari

Pinochet’s sword is encased in glass and is displayed in a hallway of the SOA/WHINSEC. But it is not only Latin America’s history that has been affected by the SOA/WHINSEC. A massacre of eight people in February of 2005, including three young children, in the Peace Community of San José de Apartadó, in Urabá, Colombia was linked to the Colombian military’s 17th Brigade, which is led by an SOA graduate. It was for reasons like these that 20,000 people from across the Americas came to Georgia for the SOA Protest. The annual call to shutdown the infamous School is relevant, strong, and popular. It is also musical.

Folk singer Pete Seeger has called the SOA Watch movement the “singin’est movement since the Civil Rights movement.” Music is omnipresent at the SOA protest. It is structurally imbedded in everything that goes on over the weekend. There are singers and musicians that inflect and punctuate the message of the speakers throughout the day. There are concerts, puppetry with music, and a solemn procession with a mournful melody. Protesters come to Fort Benning with their instruments, and they play everywhere.

“Music is cathartic,” says

Indigo Girl Emily Saliers, who played at the protest. “Sometimes it’s just fun, sometimes you need your spirits lifted or you need to kick up your heels. It actually plays a lot of roles. Music takes us out of our pain, or brings us closer to our pain, reminds us of it, makes us live through it.”

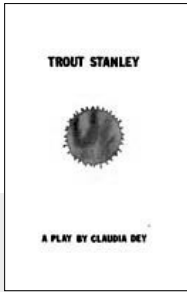
Harnessing music’s ability to affect us emotionally and move us through emotional levels is why many believe this movement has lasted for 15 years and has been so successful. “Not all movements understand the importance of music the way the SOA Watch does,” notes Sandy O, who has played at demonstrations across North America. “SOA Watch uses liturgical sounds for the funeral procession for the folks who have been murdered by students of the School. But it also uses upbeat music and sing along music and dance music and puppetry to keep people’s energy up.” She adds, “This is a very heavy subject and a very intense time in the world, and music and the arts and puppetry and dance and poetry are the kinds of things that keep your spirits up while your mind is saying ‘this is pissing me off and I want to do something about it.’ The arts get the rest of your body involved so you can

do something about it.”

Keeping people positive in the face of torture and atrocity and formidable opposition to change has also been crucial to the success of the Protest. Medea Benjamin, founder of GlobalExchange and CodePink, was a speaker at the protest and is a long time supporter of the SOA Watch movement. Medea believes in humour, positive energy and emotional engagement to bring about positive change in the world. “I believe that we should make the movement fun. I don’t want to go to something where you’re just brought down and feel like, ‘oh no, isn’t it awful’ and you don’t have any inspiration to keep doing it.” Medea believes that a movement based on guilt will not last long. “If [the protest] is based on feeling communal bonds with people who think like you and who really believe that life is the most sacred of all concerns and they are able to show that concern in a way that’s fun and loving and spirited, I think that’s great, and that’s important to me.”

Music has come to play a central role at the Protest partly because the SOA Watch movement is inspired by and deeply connected to Latin America where music is also central. Colleen Kattau, a long time musician for the SOA Watch, sings many Latin American songs. For Colleen, Latin America is a source of inspiration for change for a better world, and for the music involved in bringing about that change. “For Latin Americans the music was so much a part of the revolution; the artists were so much a part of the revolution,” she explains. At the protest Colleen sang a song by Victor Harra. “He was killed because he was too dangerous because of his ‘armed guitar’, that’s what they called

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Trout Stanley
Claudia Dey
Coach House, 2005.

Dey, known primarily for her reimagining of the life of poet Gwendolyn MacEwan in *The Gwendolyn Poems*, leaps to poetic heights in this play, with language as fluid as the Pacific Ocean. Trout Stanley, a mysterious drifter and the play's title character, seems to repeat Dey's mantra when he states, "God, it feels good to talk". After two acts of situational hi-jinks, however,

the reader begins to feel slightly tempest-tossed. *Trout Stanley* is Dey's third play, and despite the verbal pyrotechnics, there is a certain stale smell to it, not unlike the odour emitting from day-old tuna. Dey's clever puns and snappy dialogue aside, this tragicomic tale of twin sisters living in the district of Tumbler Ridge, B.C., complete with Scrabble-champ strip-

pers and Egyptian soap operas, occasionally drowns in its own absurdity. Hopefully her next production will include a little more plausible plot and a little less wordplay. This first edition contains thought-provoking artwork by Jason Logan, whose sketches resonate well with the play's core themes of family, love, and the nature of truth.

—Thomas Bryce



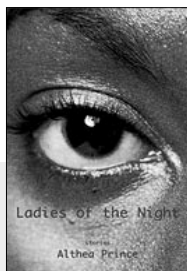
Goodness
Michael Redhill
Coach House, 2005.

Goodness takes meta-theatre in a fruitful direction. Redhill uses the author-within-the-play as a tool to investigate, not the usual questions of where life and art intersect, but the way that memory and event interfere with one another. The characters—a female prison guard, a war criminal charged with a single murder, the prosecutor, and the prisoner's daughter—are matched up with an author whose wife has betrayed him.

Their country's recent genocide is set against the Holocaust, as the author travels to Poland to visit the village where his mother's family was exterminated. Although this play takes perhaps too long to get started, and initially banks too much on the hope that the Michael Redhill character's schlocky self-analysis will keep the audience entertained, there are also genuine questions being asked. When the Redhill character, on

having the atrocities committed by the prisoner described to him, turns to the prisoner and says, shocked, "How could you do that?" the question's very innocence is heartbreaking. *Goodness* is about the frightening simplicity of the answer to this question, and the complex way that innocence and guilt mirror each other in any search for someone to blame.

—Linda Besner



Ladies of the Night
Althea Prince
Insomniac, 2005.

This recently re-released collection of short stories depicts the small, hard choices we make when building or breaking our intimate connections. Prince's clear and descriptive prose moves to the heart of her characters' homes and families, and to the chores and relationships that contain them. The collection is set in Antigua and Toronto, and is rich in quotidian details of food,

landscape, and expression. Undistracted by ideals of how life "should" be, Prince's sometimes brutal realism shows catalytic moments in the lives of girls and women; some very young, "just thirteen years old, a girl dipping into big people's story", and some like Miss Peggy who "had been whoring ever since she could remember, and she felt no shame about it." These tales cunningly pres-

ent women's relationships to their work and to the men and children they do it for, revealing vast gaps of understanding between people who share their daily lives. *Ladies of the Night* is of memorable and disarming simplicity, and Prince's insights and plot twists make for compelling, compassionate portraits of both mistrust and reconciliation.

—Jane Henderson



There, There
Patrick Warner
Signal Editions, 2005.

Warner shows considerable breadth in this collection, moving between light and dark subject matter, and from almost prosaic language to stanzas dense with auditory texture. "Tick, goes the metal gun against the teeth/" he writes, "the sheep mandhandled unsh sheepishly bleat". Many of these poems treat the relationship between the animal and human spheres, as Warner guides us through a slaughterhouse in "The Bacon

Company of Ireland", or composes a poem of colloquialisms revolving around the word "pig" in "Pig Lyric". His use of occasional rhyme to emphasize the pairing of two concepts is faultless, and, in the best poems, he uses metrical regularity as a score to support the complex notes of his sound-play. Some opening poems lack the punch of those placed further on in the book, and Warner occasionally allows overly formal language

to overtake poetic good sense, sewing up his observations in tediously slow-moving grammatical formulations. Once past this awkward stage, however, Warner comes through with stunners like "Watching the Ocean", which keeps the reader dog-paddling in the space between the title and the poem until, in the last two lines, Warner laconically throws us the rope. Hear, hear for *There, There*. —Linda Besner

Your Local Farmers Marketing

Ontario organic farmers form cooperative to offset razor-thin margins

by Dru Oja Jay

These days, it's not easy being a small-scale organic farmer. Profit margins (as confirmed by Statistics Canada over the past few years) are slim or nonexistent. Large grocery chains with regional distribution centres and centralized purchasing prefer to deal with suppliers that can provide a massive supply at a consistent rate and a low price. More often than not, this means buying from US-based suppliers who have economies of scale further bolstered by government subsidies, low wages (often paid to migrant laborers), and the artificially low cost of transportation.

With the deck stacked against them, small-scale farmers have to find a way to compete—or, as many farmers do, simply give up. According to Bob Orrett of Riverside Organic Farm in Campbellford, Ontario, “the problem as I see it is that profit margins are so low - in many cases, below zero - the only chance you have to make money at all is to market things yourself.”

“If you don't cut out the middle man, there's not enough left to cover your costs. The only way we're going to do this is if we go directly to the consumer.”

According to Orrett, it all comes down to marketing.

“It turns out that you can't make money at farming unless you're a good marketer.”

Farming, however, is hard work, and doesn't leave a lot of time for selling the food one has grown. The situation is paradoxical, by Orrett's account. “You don't go into farming because you're a good marketer.”

In 2003, a number of members of the Ecological Farmers of Ontario found themselves in a similar situation. “We were all complaining about the difficulty



“It turns out that you can't make money at farming unless you're a good marketer.”

Bob Orret

of marketing our products,” said Orrett. A follow-up meeting in January of 2004 led to the inception of the Quinte Organic Farmers Cooperative, with the aim of combining the efforts of several farms to increase the farmers' access to local buyers.

\$3,000 in startup funds from a Toronto-based fund bought tables, containers for transportation and other essentials, and another grant paid for the development of a business plan.

Currently, 10 member farms share the tasks of transporting produce to local farmers' markets and selling it. All work is done by members of the cooperative, and they are paid for their work.

During the cooperative's first year, efforts focused on farmers' markets in Belleville, Riverdale, Campbellford and Toronto. The cooperative's tables sold strawberries, mushrooms, vegetables, and meats.

The Quinte Organic Farmers Cooperative's business plan calls for selling to specialty

shops and restaurants as well as farmers' markets, but the flexibility of the latter and a lack of workers led to a focus on the markets.

“We met or broke our goals for the farmers' markets. We just didn't have the person power [to market to restaurants, specialty shops and other buyers],” said Orrett.

Over all, Orrett calls the cooperative's first year “very successful.”

“We are all still together, we all did better this year compared to last, and we have already started planning for next year.”

This is not to say that starting the cooperative has been a painless process. Orrett says there is a “huge learning curve” for logistics and day-to-day operations. Quality control and delivery schedules have to be coordinated among ten farms. Also, due to slim profit margins on one side and low-priced competition on the other, pricing is a precision art for farmers.

Being a cooperative, accord-

ing to Quinte Organic Farmers Cooperative's web site, means that it is an “autonomous, self-help organisation controlled by its members.” Built into the idea of a cooperative is “a concern for community”, sustainable development, and support and cooperation with other cooperatives.

Despite the delicate situation of family farms, Orrett remains optimistic. With rising oil prices, he says, the “efficiency” of massive industrial farms will become elusive. “Efficiency is going to be small scale local farming,” Orrett explains.

Orrett thinks small farms have the advantage of being flexible, and being able to change quickly to serve a local market, while industrial farms will be stuck with high transportation costs and fossil-fuel-based pesticides.

In the mean time, the cooperative promises to continue to be an innovative way for farmers to stay in business by working together and with the communities they serve.

Where The Mountains Are Still Growing

Will mega dams in Manipur, India 'solve' climate change?

by Hillary Lindsay

"I live in what's called a remote area which means that it's far from large cities. Of course, large cities are also remote from us - but it's not usually thought of like that."

Anna Pinto is sitting across from me in a small Montreal cafe. Her voice is deep, melodic and warm as she speaks of her home region in Northeastern India.

"On this very narrow strip [of land] we have some parts almost below sea level and some parts are the highest mountains including Mount Everest and the Tibetan Plateaus. We have a vast span of climates, in a very small geographical space. So we have this amazing biodiversity. It's a very rich area. We have lots and lots of different plants, animals, people. With biological diversity comes cultural diversity. In this little region we have over 100 different languages."

Pinto's pride and love of where she comes from is clear. I ask her why she has left her husband and children to travel thousands of miles to attend the United Nations Conference on Climate Change in Montreal, held between November 28th and December 9th 2005.

Her face hardens. "Someone has to be here to say 'No.'"

Anna Pinto is a representative for an Indigenous people's organization based in the Indian state of Manipur called the Centre for Organization, Research and Education. She came to the UN conference to advocate for her people, and other peoples in her region, concerning the processes that are being developed to address climate change.

Climate change and its extreme weather manifestations are not an abstract notion for Pinto. For the past two years her region has experienced multiple floods on a massive scale.



Sylvia Nickerson

"When I say floods, I'm talking about floods that displace 15 million, 6 million, 4 million people at a time. The lowest figure that a flood has displaced is 4 million and that 4 million has been displaced 4 times in a year."

"You tell me if we can allow this to continue," she challenges me, her voice shaking. "It is intolerable. It is *vicious*."

She pauses and smiles apologetically, suddenly becoming aware of the anger in her voice. Pinto is enraged. The intensity of her emotions are a stark contrast to the relaxed, suit-clad delegates who have been negotiating agreements throughout the conference, agreements that will affect millions of villagers in northeastern India.

Ironically, it is not the impacts of climate change that has Pinto most worried, but the alleged solutions - solutions that are being pushed forward by governments, development banks and multinational corporations around the world.

There are 192 high dams being considered for development in Pinto's small region of India.

"In the last four to five years the hydro industry has put a lot of effort into promoting hydro power as the solution to climate change," explains Aviva Imhof, Campaign Direc-

tor for the International River Network. That effort is being supported by institutions like the World Bank, says Imhof, whose recent report shows that 60 per cent of the Bank's support for renewable energy and energy efficiency is in fact for big hydro projects.

Big dams are not environmentally sustainable, argues Imhof, even when considering climate change. New science is revealing that the level of greenhouse gases emitted from rotting organic matter in flooded areas is much higher than originally expected. But beyond their impacts on climate change, says Pinto, these high dams will have devastating impacts on people in her region of Manipur, India.

Besides the economic and environmental cost of carting thousands of tons of materials up to remote mountain regions, once built, these dams will flood vast areas. This low-lying land, notes Pinto, is where the richest soil lies, and where people have traditionally lived and grown their food.

As it turns out, this land is also rich in something else. "We have two sites in the region in which we have very rich uranium deposits," explains Pinto, shaking her head at the 'luck' of living in such a resource-rich region. The Uranium Development Corporation

of India hopes to strip mine the deposits. "Strip mining means, like an orange you peel off the top and like a sorbet you scoop it out - we're talking about highly radioactive substances here, downstream of over 100 reservoirs, which are built on geographical faults.

That's the other thing: It's not uncommon for the region to experience more than 3 earthquakes a week above five on the Richter scale. In Manipur, the mountains are still growing.

"The Eastern Himalayas are the growing tip of a growing range of what's called fold mountains. Fold mountains are formed when the geographical plates underneath the surface of the earth bang into each other. This banging causes the skin of the earth to wrinkle and fold." This banging is what the rest of us experience as earthquakes, and these wrinkles and folds are the mountains and valleys where the dams are set to be built - along geological faults.

"We're setting ourselves up for disaster," warns Pinto. "What we're going to have, if one of these reservoir's cracks, is a massive flooding downstream. If - as is the plan - you're going to have multiple dams, one after the other, each breach is going to breach the next dam. These floods will hit the mine either on the surface or through the water table. We're looking at a scale of contamination that is probably unthinkable."

The plan is not sustainable, Pinto argues. More big dams and nuclear development will not solve climate change, but will benefit those "who already have so much money they don't know what to do with it."

Pinto doesn't intend to let this happen, but she and others in her community are up against terrific odds. "We have been told categorically by the govern-

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The Battle of our Beers

Multinationals crush craft ales in Canada's suds industry

by Elizabeth Falcon

On your way home from work you decide to pick up a few beers. You bypass that 'Canadian classic' Labatt Blue, and consider Keith's, which hits closer to your Maritime roots. Or maybe you're in the mood for something a little classier, so you consider a posh Stella Artois. In the end you decide to go with Löwenbräu, an old-fashioned German brew.

It looks like you have a lot of choice, but the shelves are misleading: InBev, the world's largest brewing company, owns all of these brands.

Headquartered in Belgium, InBev was formed in 2004 when market leaders Interbrew and AmBev merged, creating a beverage behemoth possessing over 200 brands and selling 202 million hectoliters (hl) of beer -- enough to fill over 8,000 Olympic swimming pools -- and 31.5 million hl of soft drinks a year.

InBev is one of two multinationals that share control of 90 percent of the Canadian beer market. The second player is Molson Coors, the result of a 2004 merger between historic Montreal brewery Molson and the Colorado-based Coors. Molson Coors is the fifth largest brewer in the industry worldwide, sporting a portfolio of over 40 brands.

These two companies own Canada's four most popular beers, Budweiser, Molson Canadian, Labatt Blue and Coors Light. They also own a number of regional breweries that consumers do not tend to associate with multinationals, such as InBev's Keith's and Kokanee or Molson Coors' Creemore Springs.

Over half of the remaining ten percent of the Canadian market is controlled by Sleeman Breweries, based in Guelph, Ontario. In recent years Sleeman

has increased its market share by swallowing several regional breweries, including Quebec's Unibroue, Upper Canada Brewing of Ontario, British Columbia's Shaftebury and Okanagan Spring breweries, and the Maritime Beer Company. Sleeman also has distribution agreements for several international brands, including Guinness, Kilkenny, Harp and Grolsch.

After Canada's big three corporate brewers take their share, only four percent of the market remains for independent microbreweries. As a result of this market concentration, Molson Coors and InBev are able to throw around a lot of weight in the marketplace through their Canadian subsidiaries, Molson and Labatt.

The struggle between independent and multinational brewers has been particularly evident in Quebec. The Quebec Association of Microbrewers charged Molson and Labatt with engaging in "anticompetitive acts," including demanding exclusivity

contracts with bars and imposing restrictions on advertising, measures that prevent independent brewers from promoting and selling their products.

The case went to the Competition Bureau of Canada, which dismissed it after an investigation in 2003, citing growth in certain Quebec microbrews and a lack of explicitly predatory pricing. Rather than disproving the claims, however, the Bureau's report appears to have confirmed many of them.

"Molson and Labatt had entered into agreements with several of their clients that included clauses restricting their competitors," stated the Competition Board in its ruling. "The analysis showed that such contracting practices were becoming increasingly widespread and were covering an increasing volume of beer in Quebec."

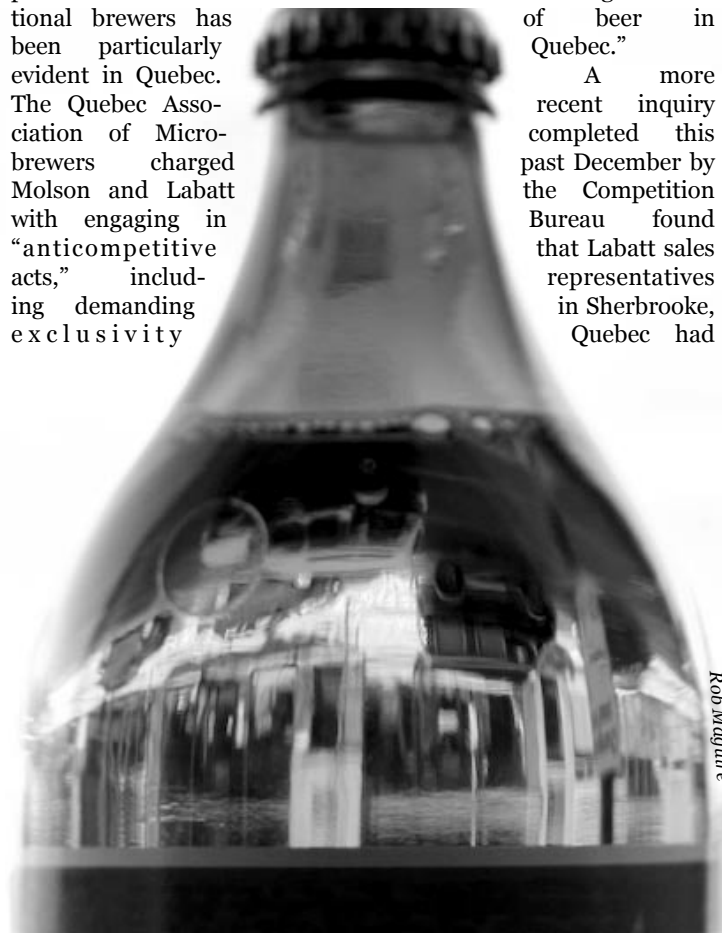
A more recent inquiry completed this past December by the Competition Bureau found that Labatt sales representatives in Sherbrooke, Quebec had

engaged in anti-competitive practices by offering free beer and money to some store owners to ensure they kept beer prices high during a particularly competitive period. These practices continued even after the Bureau began its investigation. Labatt pled guilty to the charges and received a \$250,000 fine. The salespersons involved in the illegal activities have retained their jobs at Labatt.

Both Molson Coors and InBev's Labatt have also become involved in politics, spending profits on supporting a conservative political agenda. The Coors family, founders of the Coors Corporation and major shareholders of Molson Coors, founded the Heritage Foundation, a right-wing pro-Republican think-tank, and have a long history of supporting conservative groups and promoting laissez-faire economic policies and Christian fundamentalism. Pete Coors used brewing profits to launch his unsuccessful candidacy to the US Senate on a Republican platform, and Labatt, for its part, was a major contributor to the Conservative Party of Canada in 2004.

Although it has since cleaned up its corporate practices, Coors was also the target of a twenty-year boycott by gay- and lesbian and ethnic-minority groups in the United States for their homophobic and racist practices in the workplace.

Despite the strength of their hold on the Canadian market, the savvy consumer can still avoid the Molson-Labatt duopoly. Over 100 microbreweries exist in Canada, at least one in each province or territory. Unclear labeling, however, will mean a consumer has to do her own research if she wants to support local alternatives to these multinational corporations.



Rob Maguire

Doing Jack for Haiti

Layton remains silent on Canada's role in Haiti

by **Derrick O'Keefe**
Seven Oaks

What would have had to happen in Haiti over the course of the election campaign to have compelled NDP leader Jack Layton to bring up Canada's shameful involvement in the plight of the western hemisphere's poorest country?

A brief summary of critical events in Haiti over the course of the long winter race for Parliament would indicate a foreign policy situation worthy of debate, if not strident denunciation. Haiti's slated January 8 elections were postponed, for the fourth time; the Brazilian commander of the United Nations mission died of an apparent suicide and was replaced by a Chilean general who participated in the overthrow of Allende and was trained at the notorious School of the Americas; Father Gerard Jean-Juste, along with hundreds of other political prisoners held by the de facto Haitian regime, languished in prison even after being diagnosed with leukemia.

Solidarity activists made a concerted effort, in particular, to encourage Jack Layton to use the election spotlight to call for the release of Father Jean-Juste, whom Amnesty International has declared a 'prisoner of conscience'. It is, incidentally, widely believed that Jean-Juste, if he were to be released and allowed to run under the exiled Jean-Bertrand Aristide's Lavalas banner, would win anything resembling a 'free and fair' election in Haiti today. At the same time as many progressive and concerned people looked to Layton and the NDP to raise the issue, an energetic campaign was being waged to punish Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew for Canada's support of the coup in Haiti. (Pettigrew was indeed defeated by Bloc Quebecois candidate,



Jack Layton campaigning in Halifax in 2004.

Rob Maguire

Vivian Barbot).

Despite all of this, Haiti did not warrant a mention from the national NDP communications team. Nor did, in fact, the issue of U.S. war resisters seeking sanctuary in Canada – another issue the NDP could have featured in order to both highlight a just cause and expose the hypocrisy of the Liberals' rhetoric against the war in Iraq. Until the last week of the campaign, when Layton made an important call for a debate in the House of Commons about Canada's new, more aggressive role in Afghanistan, the only thing resembling 'foreign policy' on the NDP website was a letter of condolence to the Israeli people regarding Ariel Sharon's failing health.

None of this to say that there are not a number of NDP candidates, members, and supporters who took the issue seriously, with some even joining in challenging Liberal incumbents at all-candidates meetings. Alexa McDonough, as the party's foreign affairs critic,

and a handful of Members of Parliament, including the re-elected Libby Davies (Vancouver-East) and Bill Siksay (Burnaby-Douglas), have written letters critical of Canada's involvement in Haiti. With a minority Conservative government that will only, if anything, be more overtly supportive of suppressing Haitian democracy and self-determination, the 10 additional New Democrat MPs elected can hopefully contribute to efforts to raise this and other vital foreign policy issues.

But there's no time like an election campaign to bring matters to public attention, and Layton and his handlers failed to bring up Haiti. And that failure represents a disservice to the people of Canada, a life-threatening disservice to political prisoners like the ailing Father Jean-Juste, and a disservice to the long tradition of movements against war and empire in this country.

Years ago, Tommy Douglas passionately denounced Canadian complicity in the war

in Vietnam – which included arms sales and the development of the chemical weapon Agent Orange – and called that conflict "the greatest moral issue of our time."

Jack Layton often said he would hold Paul Martin's 'feet to the fire' on foreign policy matters. The feet may now be Stephen Harper's, but Canada's policy in Haiti remains one of the great issues of our time.

Ordinary people across this country, whose morality – in the real sense of the word, not in the nominal "God Bless Canada" sense of our PM-elect -- includes the principle that all human lives, no matter where they are lived, should matter equally, are voicing their outrage at Canada's involvement in the misery of ordinary Haitians. And, as people continue to learn the grim truth about Canada in Haiti, many more will join in saying loud and clear: Not in our name. One can only hope, perhaps in vain, that Jack Layton will be among them.

Le destin des Bushmen est en suspens

Les bushmen luttent pour leur survie dans un procès intenté contre le gouvernement du Botswana.

par Vivien Jaboeuf

« Je me demande de quel développement il s'agit lorsque les gens vivent moins longtemps qu'avant ? Le sida fait des ravages parmi nous. Nos enfants sont maltraités dans les écoles et ne veulent plus y aller. Certains d'entre nous se prostituent. Nous n'avons pas l'autorisation de chasser. Les gens se battent entre eux par ennui et parce qu'ils boivent. On commence à constater des suicides. Nous n'avions jamais vu cela. Cela fait mal à dire. Est-ce cela le développement ? »

Voici le triste constat dressé par Roy Sesana, le porte-parole de First People of Kalahari (FPK), une organisation qui regroupe les Bushmen Gana et Gwi du Botswana, des populations de chasseurs-cueilleurs vivant dans le désert du Kalahari depuis 20 000 ans. Lors d'une visite de sensibilisation en Europe, R. Sesana a reçu à Stockholm le Right Livelihood Award 2005, plus connu sous le nom de Prix Nobel Alternatif, pour sa « détermination à résister à l'expulsion de leurs terres ancestrales ».

Une oppression qui date

« La question de notre terre est depuis longtemps un enjeu de taille et les problèmes ont commencé dans les années 80. Le gouvernement du Botswana a tenté de nous expulser de notre terre ancestrale, la réserve du Kalahari, et ses attaques se sont faites à répétition », rappelle le leader de FPK.

Le combat des Bushmen s'est intensifié en 1997 lorsque le gouvernement botswanais a délogé 2 000 habitants de la Réserve du Kalahari Centrale (CKGR) pour les installer dans les camps de Kaudwane, New Xade et Xere. La dernière expulsion massive s'est produite en 2002, la même année où le nombre de licences d'exploration diamantifère a plus que triplé dans la région.



Roy Sesana porte-parole et chef de file de l'organisation First People of Kalahari

Quelques 700 personnes vivant encore dans la réserve ont été envoyées de force vers ces camps de relocalisation, baptisés « lieux de la mort » par ses occupants.

Selon l'organisation internationale Survival, très engagée dans la défense des peuples autochtones, Gana et Gwi « ont été arrêtés, battus, torturés et interdits de chasse et de cueillette ». Le 24 septembre dernier, les membres du FPK ont été emmenés et brutalisés par les forces de l'ordre au moment même où ils apprenaient l'attribution du Prix Nobel Alternatif.

Le gouvernement pris en défaut

Ce sont alors 248 expulsés qui ont plaidé leur cause devant la Haute Cour de justice du Botswana à partir de juillet 2004. Le gouvernement du président Festus Mogae s'est alors retrouvé en position de défense dans un son propre pays.

Malgré les interruptions et les reports d'audience, les témoignages et contre-interrogatoires ont tourné en faveur des Bushmen, démontrant que la défense de l'accusé se basait sur de nombreux mensonges, contradictions, rapports falla-

cieux et attestations d'experts corrompus.

Conséquence tangible de cette attitude mystificatrice, le principal avocat de la défense et conseiller spécial du président Festus Mogae s'est vu ordonné sa propre arrestation et incarcération pour outrage à la Cour. Celui-ci, refusant qu'un officier de police porte la main sur lui, s'est enfui à l'aide d'un témoin cité par le gouvernement.

Un rapport de force inégal

Le gouvernement, ne voulant épargner aucun moyen pour parvenir à ses fins, a cherché à déstabiliser ses accusateurs en employant des moyens de pression souvent ignobles et allant à l'encontre de la justice. Ainsi, le périmètre de la réserve a été bouclé, empêchant toute communication, apport de soin et de nourriture. L'approvisionnement en eau des derniers opposants à la déportation a également été coupé. Malgré l'autorisation de la Haute Cour, les avocats n'ont pas pu consulter leurs clients restés dans la réserve.

Enfreignant la loi en vigueur, les autorités locales ont supprimé les permis de chasse qui permettaient aux habitants des camps d'échapper à une

famine cruellement orchestrée par le gouvernement. De nombreuses personnes sont régulièrement arrêtées pour avoir outrepassé cet ordre inique. En juin dernier, sur le même motif, sept personnes ont été torturées par des fonctionnaires du Département de la faune et la flore dans le camp de relocalisation de Kaudwane. L'un d'entre eux, Selelo Tshiamo, a succombé à ses blessures.

Sentant cependant le vent de la justice tourné en sa défaveur, le gouvernement a décidé de redéfinir les cartes du jeu en changeant, ni plus ni moins, la Constitution du pays. Le Parlement a alors voté un amendement supprimant une clause qui offrait une protection attentive de la Réserve et de ses habitants et sur laquelle les Bushmen appuyaient leur cause.

Selon Stephen Corry, directeur de Survival International, « le gouvernement affirme vouloir changer la Constitution afin de la rendre « ethniquement neutre ». En fait, supprimer cette clause revient à retirer la seule protection constitutionnelle accordée à un peuple déjà très vulnérable au moment où il en a le plus besoin. (...) Tout cela confirme la tendance du gouvernement à faire plier la loi et même la Constitution pour arriver à ses fins ».

En attente de justice

Latournure des événements semble de mauvais augure pour les populations Bushmen du Kalahari d'autant plus que les agressions et les menaces de mort à leur rencontre se sont intensifiées ces derniers mois. Les lenteurs et les égarements de la Cour prolongeant le procès le plus coûteux de l'histoire du pays ne font qu'ajouter à leur interminable souffrance.

« Si le gouvernement du Botswana ne revient pas rapidement à la raison et (...) si la Cour fléchit, ce procès mettra un

“The Other” Way

The Zapatistas’ new direction

by Chris Arsenault

After a few years of relative quiet, relegated to their misty mountain strongholds in southern Mexico, Zapatista rebels have recently re-asserted their presence on the international stage. Their new initiative – called ‘the Other Campaign’ – continues a unique military strategy based more on words than weapons.

What began as a “scandalously Indian” uprising in 1994 in Chiapas, Mexico’s southernmost state, is metamorphosing into a “national campaign for building another way of doing politics, for a program of national struggle of the left, and for a new Constitution,” according to the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon, issued by the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee (CCRIG), the military commanders of the Zapatistas’ armed wing.

After a series of September meetings in the Zapatista strong hold of la Garrucha with 91 social organizations from throughout Mexico; 36 political organizations; 129 groups, collectives and NGOs; and 26 indigenous organizations; it was decided that a national tour should begin in January to hear from different sectors of Mexican society.

Subcommandante Marcos, the rebels’ iconic mestizo pipe-smoking former spokesman (he’s stepping down as spokesperson for the EZLN to work on the campaign) will be traveling across Mexico, consulting and listening, to help build a non-parliamentary leftist movement.

It won’t be the first time the Zapatistas have taken their show on the road. In 2001 the commandantes toured through Mexico, rallying for constitutional changes to guarantee indigenous rights to land and self-determination. The march was hugely popular, culminating



Subcommandante Marcos on the first day of ‘the Other Campaign.’ *Chiapas IndyMedia*

in a rally of 400 000 in Mexico City, but it failed to gain the constitutional changes the rebels demanded. This time around the tour will have a broader audience: the politics from the Other Campaign belong “to everyone who embraces them,” according to Marcos.

Politically, the timing for a national grassroots movement couldn’t be better. When the Zapatistas first called NAFTA a “death sentence” in 1994, they were at odds with the majority of the Mexican population; 68 percent of Mexicans supported the agreement. Ten years later, less than 45 percent support NAFTA, according to polls published in *Business Week*. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace notes that by 2004, 1.3 million farm jobs had disappeared in Mexico, as heavily subsidized corn, pork, poultry, and other foodstuffs from the U.S. competed with products from rural communities.

Despite this evidence, the Other Campaign will still have to combat the line toed by Vincent Fox’s government: the Zapatistas are a revolution that couldn’t deliver.

“People in Chiapas were very poor and forgotten but the Zapatistas didn’t change anything and most people have moved on. The revolution couldn’t deliver,” said Luis Alva-

rez, the Mexican government’s chief negotiator for Chiapas, during a 2003 lecture at Trent University.

In some cases, Alvarez is correct. “Truthfully the situation is still the same,” said the representative from San Andres (Zapatista supporters almost never give their names in interviews).

Economically, the Zapatistas are facing a dilemma: how do you get something from nothing?

“At present [in 1997, but little has changed since then] some 6,000 cattle ranching families hold more than three million hectares, which is almost one half the area of the state,” notes a report by CONPAZ, the Coordination of Non-Governmental Organizations for Peace. Unless an unlikely constitutional break-through is reached, the Zapatistas can’t move onto any more productive ranch land without re-starting the war. Small farmers are forced to grow corn on steeped elevations eking a precarious existence from rocky soil.

And unlike other regions striving for ‘development’, it’s unlikely the Zapatistas will get a bank loan for new capital. A 1994 memo from the Chase Manhattan Bank urging the Mexican army to “eliminate the Zapatistas” exemplifies how global capital views those

who seek alternatives. With no access to capital and no new land, the Zapatistas are in a difficult economic spot.

Activists, especially youth who were first involved in planning the insurgency or grew up with it, are taking on the tasks of economic development, teaching in autonomous schools with radical pedagogy, and creating a viable health-care system.

“Before, people in the bases of support had to pay for their own medicines; now they are free,” said one Zapatista supporter after getting a check-up at the rebel-run clinic in Oventic Caracole, a Zapatista stronghold two hours outside the colonial tourist city of San Cristobal de las Casas.

The clinic is a thriving example of the kinds of “high quality public services” the Zapatistas are trying to create. It prominently displays a picture of campesinos washing vegetables in river water with a large X though it. People are advised to boil water and leave limejuice and ash in their latrines to prevent dysentery and other all-too-common curable diseases. Young “promoters of health” receive medical training from Mexico City-based doctors, and have been traveling to tiny, distant communities to convey life-saving messages.

“Communities give food –beans, tortillas, and fruit– to the workers of the clinic, so the clinic decided they couldn’t charge them,” says Anastasio, a health promoter, community organizer, and well-known basketball player who never attended primary school.

In Anastasio’s home region of Los Altos, a rebel stronghold divided into seven administrative regions, the Zapatistas run eight micro-clinics along with the major facility in Oventic, which boasts a small operating room, dentistry equipment, herbal remedies, and an admit-

Who Owns The Climate?

Indigenous leaders demand a voice in climate change negotiations

by Hillary Bain Lindsay

The solutions to climate change must involve Indigenous people, insists Tom Goldtooth, Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN), an organization that amplifies the voices of grassroots Indigenous activists fighting for environmental justice. According to Goldtooth, Indigenous people are disproportionately impacted by climate change and should have a central role in any proposed solutions. "We have wisdom from people who have lived on the land and have certain knowledge that can provide solutions to this dilemma."

For the past seven years the IEN has been demanding a formal mechanism that would allow Indigenous peoples to officially participate in International Climate Change Negotiations. At the most recent round of talks, held in Montreal between November 28th and December 9th, the demand has been met with indifference.

Goldtooth believes that the climate change solutions being proposed by governments are stuck in a paradigm that is disconnected from the planet it purports to fix.

"They [government leaders] come from an industrialized mindset that looks at technical or market-based solutions. We're saying that we have to look at the values that have gotten us into this situation. Industrialization separates community from nature."

Carbon trading - a system that allows polluters who emit more than their limit of greenhouse gases to buy carbon credits from those who pollute less - is an example of a market based approach that Goldtooth believes will not work because it fails to address the root causes of the problem. "As Indigenous People we view Mother Earth as sacred. For people to really



Indigenous peoples are disproportionately impacted by climate change. *Dru Oja Jay*

address these issues we have to reevaluate our relationship to the sacredness of Mother Earth."

Clayton Thomas-Muller, Native Energy Organizer for the IEN, agrees, adding that some of these "solutions" are actually making things worse. "We believe that these market based approaches escalate the on-the-ground impacts for poor, disenfranchised communities." Thomas-Muller cites the example of eucalyptus plantations in the global south. Polluters who are emitting above their limit can now claim carbon credits for creating monoculture plantations that act as "carbon sinks." According to Thomas-Muller, these plantations have done more than absorb carbon dioxide from the atmosphere; they have also "wreaked havoc" on the fragile biodiversity of the region and displaced indigenous communities from the land that has been their source of food and has been integral to their way of life.

It is not surprising, says Thomas-Muller, that Indigenous Peoples are being disproportionately impacted by climate change "solutions," since they have also been disproportionately impacted by its causes.

Major oil industries, strip mining, and huge hydro proj-

ects are often situated on or near First Nations' land. "Our culture is based on a healthy relationship with Mother Earth," says Thomas-Muller. "When you have landscape fracturing industries, they not only destroy that relationship, they also create a lot of other problems." Thomas-Muller believes that the money these industries bring into communities is overrated. "What jobs do our people get? They get the toxic jobs, the dangerous jobs. Drugs come into the community."

The Mackenzie Valley Project, a proposed 1220 km natural gas pipeline, is the most recent initiative that is promising to bring wealth to Indigenous communities—and add to the problem of climate change. Many First Nations people, including The Arctic Youth Alliance, a grassroots group made up of youth from across Denendeh and the Beaufort Delta in the Northwest Territories, are resisting the pipeline. However, there are others that are welcoming the project. The Aboriginal Pipeline Group (APG) - founded by 30 Aboriginal leaders in the Northwest Territories to maximize the ownership and benefits of Aboriginal Peoples in the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline - has partnered with Imperial Oil, ConocoPhillips, Shell Canada and Exxon Mobil

to bring the project to fruition. The APG website proudly states that "This is the first time that Aboriginal groups in Canada will participate as an owner in a major, multi-billion dollar industrial project."

Goldtooth is not surprised that many First Nations people are welcoming oil and gas development. He points out that many of these communities are devastated by poverty and the promise of money and jobs are hard to resist. Even so, he has grave doubts that partnering with multinational corporations on oil and gas development will bring good to Indigenous communities.

"What we are experiencing right now is that some of our tribal chiefs are negotiating with these ruthless unaccountable corporations in the world of petropolitics. It scares a lot of our Indigenous people and our grassroots, who are very cautious of these big money deals," explains Goldtooth. "Because it's not going to benefit our people - over the long run. It's a boom-bust society. How many years of oil or natural gas do we have left?"

While climate change is threatening the future existence of the oil and gas industry, Indigenous cultures are being deeply impacted by climate change today. "Cultural ethnocide is being committed on Indigenous Nations," says Thomas-Muller. He argues that changes in the Earth's climate is wreaking havoc on Indigenous cultures which are based on a direct connection to nature and living off the land. The warming in the North, for example, is changing caribou migrations and hunting seasons, not to mention the frozen landscape on which people live.

In the face of cultural and environmental devastation,

continues on next page »

Bean Waiting

In Guatemala, black beans are prepared slowly, simply and saltily



Cooking in the dirt floor kitchens of Guatemala

Chris Cohoon

by Moira Peters

My bean-cooking tutor, eighteen-year-old Elida, finds a sunny spot to crouch and painstakingly sort through the dried legumes. She removes cracked, chipped or otherwise imperfect beans, saving them for planting. If included in the pot, she explains, they would make the rest of the beans taste bitter. Elida rinses the choice beans and dumps them, along with an outrageous amount of salt and half a minced onion, in a *barro* (clay) pot filled with water. She boils them over a low fire all day long, adding firewood and water as needed.

Gastronomic heaven can be reached by blending thoroughly cooked beans with their own broth and frying them in lots of oil and more onions. Eaten Friday mornings before market on crisp roasted tortillas with fresh cheese, *frijoles colados* instantly became my favorite food in Guatemala. I still make them, as an accompaniment to scrambled eggs and toast, as bean dip for parties, or sometimes with hot corn tortillas and feta cheese, in memory of the Perfect Flavour Combo, found only in dirt floor open fire kitchens in the Guatemalan highlands.

Central American Black Bean Dip

2 cups dried black turtle beans
Water
1 large or 2 medium onions, chopped
oil or lard
salt

Soak beans overnight. Drain the liquid and put soaked beans in pot with new water to cover. Add 1-2 tsp of salt and bring to a boil. Simmer partially covered until beans are very soft. Fry the onion in a pan with the oil or lard on medium-low heat until onions are soft and translucent. Blend with beans and some of the cooking liquid until the desired consistency is reached. Add salt to taste.

“Who Owns the Climate?” continued from previous page »

Indigenous peoples are turning to the courts. In December 2005, a petition was filed with the Washington, DC-based Inter-American Commission on Human Rights seeking relief from the human rights violations of Inuit resulting from global warming. The United States isn't the only one in the hot-seat, however, says Thomas-Muller. “More and more our First Nations and Aboriginal groups in this country are gaining legal footing. Our legal base and collective understanding of law and our rights are expanding. More and more you will see landmark decisions being won in the Supreme Court by Aboriginal groups which give us say about what happens on or near our traditional homelands.”

At the United Nations Conference on Climate Change, Aboriginal groups were not given a say about what happens to their land or their people, says Goldtooth who remains determined to fight for just solutions to climate change. “We're going to get through this but we need to involve the people out there right now,” he insists. “The people are basically locked out.”

“Bushmen” continued from page 10 »

terme définitif à l'existence des Bushmen gana et gwi. Leur dernier espoir repose probablement sur l'opinion internationale, la plus Haute Cour qui soit », avertit S. Corry avec un pessimisme relatif.

Toutefois, les juges semblent faire preuve d'impartialité en n'écartant aucun témoignage et en refusant l'attitude autoritaire de la défense. Une récente décision de la Haute Cour allant dans le sens du retour des déplacés offre une lueur d'espoir quant à la suite du procès. Un éleveur et sa famille ont reçu l'autorisation de rejoindre la Réserve, de récupérer leur troupeau de chèvres tout en ayant accès à l'eau potable.

Le procès intenté par les Bushmen au gouvernement du Botswana a été ajourné le 15 septembre jusqu'en février 2006 pour permettre aux Bushmen de réunir les fonds nécessaires à la poursuite de leur action.

—A paraître, le second volet de l'article.

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Panarchists to the Rescue

Out of the pan and into the fire

by Stewart Steinbauer

This, the fourth and concluding article in a series intended to introduce the readers of *The Dominion* to an Indigenous perspective, has had an unintended consequence for the author of this series. The necessary research, communication and dialogue has instead introduced the author to the Canadian perspective on Indigenous issues. This introduction comes complete with the assurance that Indigenous issues are not just dead issues, but are so deeply submerged in a 500 year long campaign to eliminate Indigenous Peoples from the world stage, that bringing forward a discussion amongst the general Canadian population becomes impossible. While completely discouraged, the author intends to finish the task at hand, and so now turns to the concept of anarchism.

While interviewing Noam Chomsky, Ziga Vodovnik, an Assistant/Young Researcher in the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana in Slovenia, makes this point about anarchism:

“Ordinary people often confuse anarchism with chaos and violence, and do not know that anarchism (an *archos*) doesn't mean life or state of things without rules, but rather a highly organized social order, life without a ruler, “principe.” Is the pejorative usage of the word anarchism maybe a direct consequence of the fact that the idea that people could be free was and is extremely frightening to those in power?”

As commonly understood in Canada today, the “pejorative usage” referred to above implies that anarchy means “without order,” further implying that this lack of order will naturally result in a state of chaos, random violence and wanton destruction. The wealthy and therefore powerful have invested heavily in promoting this “pejorative usage.” They rule the grassroots people fearfully: the powerful have invested a lot of wealth, generated by the grassroots

people, into setting back the day when these people will be free.

Before the civilizing mission from Europe reached my homelands, here on the northern prairies, my ancestors did not have a “principe.” Zealous firearms/firewater traders and over-zealous Black Robes (Jesuit Missionaries), backed by the Imperial Might of Western Europe, invented the headman system for us, so that we could escape the nightmare of our highly organized social order without a ruler. Now, thank God, we have Indian Act Chiefs and Councils, responsible to and directed by the head naughty boy, himself, Mr. Minister. Under a “principe,” our former orderly home and native lands, now the Rez Zone, are characterized by chaos, random violence and wanton destruction.

In my first language, *neh-yawewin*, fresh new words are coined, on the spot, out of pre-existing word components (morphemes), to describe something new. Listening to great orators vying with one another in public story telling contests was the theater of the pre-colonial culture. Bearing witness to brilliant minds spontaneously creating new language that tickled us at the borders of our capacity to comprehend was fireside entertainment. Aren't the sound stages created in the free spaces of the human imagination incredible?

Following humbly in the footsteps of my ancestors, although nowhere near to that caliber of linguistic inventors, I've decided to take the prefix “pan” and add it to “archy” to invent a new word that more closely describes pre-colonial horizontal organizational structures. I'm going to suggest that this transformed word, “panarchism,” explains why we are surviving the largest longest running genocidal campaign in human history, and in fact, holds a kernel of hope for humanity, if humanity's sincere desire is to avoid the collective species suicide we're currently contemplating.

To gain a true understanding of panarchism's highly orga-

nized social order, you must go down the path called “spirituality.” It's not an easy path to start down, because the Black Robes, and their spiritual heirs, bar that path. To explain what I mean, I'll quote a bit from Ellen Meiksins Wood's “Empire Of Capital” (Verso, 2003):

“Christianity had to be transformed from a radical Jewish sect, which opposed the temporal authority of the Roman Empire, into an ideology supportive of imperial obedience. This transformation can be traced from St Paul to St Augustine, both of them Romanized imperial subjects – one a citizen of Rome in its imperial ascendancy, the other as Bishop of Hippo who witnessed the imperial decline – and two of the most ingenious ideologues any empire has ever produced. In their hands, Christianity became not a politically rebellious sect of a tribal religion, but a universal spiritual doctrine that sought salvation in another world and rendered unto Caesar his unchallenged temporal authority.

”This transformation would not have been allowed to occur if the Roman imperial functionaries had not recognized the utility of a universal religion, the first of its kind, as an instrument of imperial order. The notion of a universal church, as distinct from the traditional local or tribal cults, which included Jewish monotheism, would probably not have emerged if the Roman Empire, itself, had not been conceived as universal, claiming to represent a universal human community.”

Access to spirituality denied by order of the Pope? The panarchism I see operating every day, in the Stomach of Empire, here at Saddle Lake Last Nation, is not a “politically rebellious sect of a tribal religion”. This panarchism is definitely universal, but refers more to “the universe” than to “all humans”. Indigenous panarchism is rooted in our Great Mother, and hinges on the notion of our “property relations” with Mother Earth. Here's a short racialized story, featuring two fictional “races” of

human beings, to try to provide a glimpse into the mysterious world of Indigenous panarchistic property relations.

The Whiteman came up to The Indian, pointed at the ground, and asked, “Does this land belong to anybody?” The Indian said, “It doesn't belong to me.” The Whiteman looked nervously around, saw no Real People watching, said, “Then it belongs to me,” and stood back to see what would happen next. As the saying goes: “Shit happens.” Centuries later, The Whiteman is still saying, “This land belongs to me.” The Indian has learned to speak, think and dream in Whiteman ways; she/he opens her/his mouth and says:

“It doesn't belong to anybody, but we are sharing the use of it, and anyone else who wanders along can have a share, too. We're sharing with the sun, moon and stars, with the blue sky and the clouds, and the rain falling down, and the rivers, lakes and oceans, with the birds flying overhead, and the animals walking, hopping, and crawling around, with the insects and all of the even tinier creatures, including the ones way too small to see, and the grass, and trees, and all of the plants, as well as the earth, and the rock below... none of it belongs to us, or to any one of the entire list of beings just identified....but we all have a share. That share belongs to us, but we can't go take it. Our share is a gift to us, and comes with a responsibility. It's a reciprocal relationship; we can lose our share if we fail to reciprocate.

”Our personal share is not a commodity. It cannot be bought, sold or traded. Our share ceases to exist when separated from each one of us. The potential for our share comes into existence at the exact moment of our conception, and continues to exist until the exact moment that we slip away from this world. Our personal share is determined by the laws of harmony and balance, to each according to their need, from each according to their ability, in an interconnected web.”

This four-part introduction to an indigenous perspective was

“Evo Morales” continued from page 2 »

ing ousted the Bechtel corporation and decisively halted the IMF-sponsored plan to privatize water in Bolivia. The plan included a ban on collecting rainwater without a permit and drastic price increases.

Morales, a militant cocacero (coca-leaf farmer) of the Aymara nation, campaigned on a platform emphasizing

nationalization of Bolivia’s natural resources. In particular, gas reserves and reform – or, as Morales calls it, “decolonization” – of the constitution. These strategies are aspects of a broader program of indigenous self-determination: “[t]he moment has come for the original nations to take power in our own hands,” Morales declares

on his website. In Bolivia the Aymara and Quechua nations constitute the majority of the population, but only now, for the first time since the Spanish colonial invasion in 1532, are they being politically represented by an indigenous President. Despite Bolivia’s abundance of valuable natural resources like copper, tin, and silver, 64% of

Bolivians live under the poverty line. Morales has promised to transform this state of affairs, but some observers have reservations about his intent to make good on these promises.

—Anna Carastathis

“Is It Climate Change Yet?” continued from page 3 »

ally warm weather.

Dan Kulak, also an Environment Canada meteorologist, explained the lack of cold air to the *Edmonton Journal*: “Cold air forms in the Arctic, so maybe the reason for this is the fact that the Arctic sea ice was at a record minimum since we started monitoring it by satellite in the 1970s.” Although he agrees that this is in line with climate change predictions, and

doesn’t dispute the fact that the earth is warming, Kulak was quoted as claiming that there are questions about whether the cause of this warming is related to human activity or natural cycles.

According to The Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), released in 2004, Kulak’s uncertainty is not widespread. The report states that “There is an international

scientific consensus that most of the warming observed over the last 50 years is attributable to human activities.” The report was the work of over 250 scientists and was funded by eight countries, including Canada.

According to James Hansen, director of NASA’s Goddard Institute for Space Studies, 2005 was the warmest year on record. According to MSNBC, Hansen blames “a

buildup of heat-trapping greenhouse gases from the burning of fossil fuels,” for the increase.

—Sara Homer

“Panarchists to the Rescue” continued from page 14 »

undertaken in an attempt to look for allies from amongst the general Canadian population, and, as Delegate Zero, the Zapatista sub-commandante formerly known as Marcos, has pointed out, the place to look is below and to the left. Boy, nothing down here but anarchists and Marxists, and you’re downright unfriendly towards the notion of spirituality, for the very good reason pointed out by Ellen Meiksins Wood, above. That makes for quite a gap between the position I am trying to articulate, and the place where you Canadians below and to the left are.

As if messing around with anarchy isn’t bad enough, now I’m going to ruffle some Marxist feathers. Panarchism challenges Marx’s concept of historical materialism, not to deny it, but to point out that, as anyone studying quantum mechanics will be quick to confirm, there is more to the material world than meets the eye. In fact, scientists complain that sub-atomic particle physics is completely mysterious. In order to understand the stuff of the universe, western scientists whack things apart and then watch and record what happens. Indigenous epistemology proceeds by creating a space in which we can engage directly in

dialogue with so-called “things,” in order to understand. We call the creation this research space “ceremony.” To the western scientific mind developed by of thousands of years of a specific set of traditions, this method of research is absolutely mysterious.

Perhaps Western Civilization’s insatiable lust for material objects stems from this delusory positioning of self as objective observer, a Descartean talking head, while the indigenous methodology brings deep satisfaction from the experience of being directly involved right in the mysterious, without any need to de-construct or rationalize the experience. Indigenous ways of knowing calm fears of scarcity, like a fresh newborn human at mother’s breast. More spiritual understanding brings less material need. Archeological records show that indigenous technology in my homelands was in a stable steady state for at least twelve thousand years. The recordings of the first missionaries onto the northern plains show that the folks they met living here had most of the day free to play, sing, laugh, visit, tell stories, engage in ceremony, contemplate, recreate and celebrate. Going all the way back to the 16th century, mis-

sonary writings show the Black Robes’ frustration with this state of affairs, widely encountered across the territory now called Canada.

In pre-colonial Nehiyaw ceremony, we opened spiritual invocations with “mamotowsit,” “the Mystery.” The Black Robes convinced us to use “mamoway ohtawimaw,” literally “Our Father,” instead, but, no matter what words are used, indigenous Elders regularly hear the inaudible and see the invisible. Physicists’ superstring theory, with its seven additional coiled up dimensions and at least two flows of time, is an acceptable explanation for the question: “Where do our spiritual grandmothers and grandfathers, whom we encounter in ceremony, come from and go back to?”

Panarchism’s challenge to the notion of “rationalism,” a philosophy that could be summed up as “the view that the world consists of phenomena that can be understood, reduced to basic principles, and manipulated,” comes from the fact that our “grandmothers” are not rooted in human concepts of time and matter, but in Mother Earth and the mysterious universe beyond. Indigenous Peoples are not lefties in a Marxist or any other

sense; perhaps Karl Marx was an incipient indigenist who had the great misfortune of being born in Europe in the 19th century.

Yes, I am typing these words on a computer. Yes, they may be broadcast on the Internet. Yes, this instantaneous capacity to exchange ideas globally is an example of historical materialism in action. However, consider this: As well as the computer and the Internet, I have the sweatlodge. In the sweatlodge I meet with my grandmothers and grandfathers. These ideas I’m trying to communicate via computers and the Internet are not my ideas. These ideas are not shaped by computers and the Internet. Rationalism meets panarchism. As one insignificant individual indigenous being, I welcome Western Civilization’s Peoples to Turtle Island.

One of the Real Indians, a little man named Gandhi, who somehow reminds me of a little Cree-Ojibwe man named the Big Bear, was asked what he thought of Western Civilization. His response was: “It might help.” Now, if you’ll just stop trying to destroy us, we may be able to help you with Gandhi’s suggestion.

“Please Remember Music” continued from page 4»

it, the ‘guitarra armada.’ Music and revolution are really inextricable.”

In light of this influence the Protest’s main focus is a solemn procession conducted in the Latin American tradition. Throughout the procession the names of the victims are sung out in the Catholic tradition of the litany of the saints, and for each name sung everyone together calls out “presente.” “It’s part of the Latin American tradition that when people have died they may be gone in body but that their spirits are still here,” explains Chris Inserra, music coordinator for SOA Watch, who has been singing out the names of the murdered and disappeared during the solemn procession for the past

six years. “We need to call forth their spirits to remind us, not only who they were, but why they are no longer with us, to give name to the horror and the torture that caused their death. Singing out their names calls them forward.”

During the procession protesters hold crosses marked with the names of those who have been murdered or disappeared at the hands of SOA/WHINSEC graduates. They slowly make their way towards the gates of Fort Benning. The gates are barricaded with lines of fences that are erected for the protest and the protesters place their crosses on the fence. It is a powerful moment and it is usually during this time that those who choose to commit to non-

violent acts of civil disobedience do so by crossing over or crawling under the fence and onto the base. For this they are arrested and fined \$5,000 and face six months in a federal prison.

Because the penalties for crossing the fence are so harsh few people are able to commit to this action. “But crossing the line is not the only way [to have an impact],” points out Sandy O. “There’s a bill in congress that has more bi-partisan sponsors than it’s ever had and that’s why Pam Bowman [SOA Watch legal coordinator] can say we have confidence that we’re going to win that vote in the spring. So the sheer number of people that are here who are going to take the message back home and call their senators

and representatives and get the School shut down, [that] has a lot of impact.”

“It’s difficult in this political situation when it’s been so partisan and there are conservative factions that seem to have taken over America,” admits Emily Saliers. “But then you come here and there are 20,000 people and you realize that – I mean, this is my America. And you’ve heard witnesses, people who have been tortured in Latin America who brought generals to justice. So victories are being won. I believe in social activism, I believe that it makes change. It’s not like music is solely saving the world, it’s just something that adds to the spirit of good change.”

“Where the Mountains are still Growing” continued from page 7 »

ment of India - in the presence of international financing institutions and corporates - that if we do not sign off the rights of our lands for these purposes, they will be declared a national resource and put under military control.” Those who agree to sign over the rights to their land will be given nominal compensation to start their lives over. “It is a hard thing for a mother

to say that ‘you will kill me and my child in front of me but I will not give you this land,’ when she knows he’s going to take it anyway.” Even so, notes Pinto, “Most people have said that they would rather be thrown off their land and killed than sign and be compensated”

The threat people face in Pinto’s region is a real one. Amnesty International has

urged the Indian Government to repeal or review the Armed Forces Special Powers Act. In areas declared to be ‘disturbed’ such as the Northeast region, the Act gives security forces powers to - among other things - use excessive force, including to shoot to kill without members of the security force members lives being at imminent risk.

At least one of the pro-

posed Manipur dams has been approved for construction by the Indian Government (the uranium mines remain in the proposal stage). The Tipaimukh Dam will stand 162 metres and flood approximately 2500 acres of land once it’s completed. Construction has been slowed due to frequent earthquakes. So far, the mountains seem to be on Pinto’s side.

“The Other Way” continued from page 11 »

tedly sparse pharmacy. “It isn’t only the Zapatistas who don’t have medicine; the government hospitals don’t either,” notes Anastasio.

The Zapatistas are also working to create local economic development through cooperatives. “Women want work and markets for their art-crafts. They are being exploited by coyotes [middlemen] and need a just price for their products,” explains a representative from the Municipality 16 de Febrero community. Mujeres por la Dignidad is one of the largest co-ops and is comprised entirely of women who produce shirts, blankets, hammocks, and other weavings.

“When there are meet-

ings for the co-op, we leave our homes, our children, and our husbands. We also walk many hours and some of us on the board [of directors] live far from our homes,” explains an elected board member from Mujeres Por la Dignidad between forks of rice and beans.

Coffee workers are also organizing themselves into fair trade co-operatives, or what farmers in Mutz Vitz, the largest Zapatista coffee operation, call “fairer trade,” - they are still working long days and living in poverty. Coffee farmers are among the most radical elements of the Zapatista movement, representing a large portion of those who were armed on New Year’s Day 1994.

Throughout the 1970s, the federal government and the IMF used marketing boards, training incentives, and loan guarantees to entice subsistence corn farmers to grow coffee for export. When Vietnam entered coffee production under IMF dictums, causing a massive devaluation of world coffee prices, coffee growers became among the most angry and desperate of a population already facing “acute marginalization”, as defined by the Mexican government.

The failures of neoliberalism in Mexico have helped push Mexico City’s left leaning former Mayor, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (or AMLO in the Mexican press), to lead the polls for July’s Presidential election.

The Zapatistas have condemned AMLO as a crude populist and are using the Other Campaign to build support for a grassroots progressive movement across the country.

The success of the campaign and will determine what kind of role the Zapatistas will play as a political movement outside their Chiapenco strongholds. But it is the schools, clinics, co-operatives, workshops, “high quality public services” and community organizing that rebut the rhetoric of “a revolution that couldn’t deliver”- and prove another world really may be possible in the Zapatistas’ Chiapas.