By Keira Mann

aana Edenshaw is a youth from Haida Gwaii who accompanied Canadian Friends Service Committee's delegation to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York. Keira Mann, who was also part of the delegation, interviewed her about the experience.

Keira: How did you become involved in Canadian Friends Service Committee's delegation to the UN?

Haana: Well it's kind of a funny story, it all started when my dad invited me to a talk going on in the village about the *UN Declaration* [on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples]. The talk was given by Jennifer Preston and Paul Joffe. It was super interesting and empowering to learn about the *Declaration*. Learning about all of its significance and potential uses was really cool.

At the presentation Jennifer Preston mentioned opportunities for youth to go to the UN, and it seemed like a dream come true for me because I have always been interested in politics and activism. So I asked her about it. I didn't expect anything to come from it because it seemed like too amazing of an opportunity to be real. I actually knew another member of Canadian Friends Service Committee's delegation too, Rachel Singleton-Polster. To my delight, I was invited to join the delegation to New York and was given a grant by the Service Committee. I'm very grateful.

You gave a speech, made an intervention, and spoke on a panel while you were there. What was it like speaking at the United Nations?

It was kind of indescribable, it was so nerve-racking to have the eyes and ears of the world on me. I felt honoured and excited and terrified all at once. When I was up there, especially during the speech I gave entirely in Haida, I felt so thankful for everyone who helped me get to that point, like my mother who helped me translate my speech, and Keira and Rachel for listening to me practice and giving me lots of tips. I felt like I was representing my nation and I was imagining my grandparents, aunties, uncles, and ancestors watching over me making my statement and being proud.

During your intervention on the UN floor you gave a few recommendations. If you could give one further recommendation, what would it be?

I feel like the recommendations I did give about climate change and sustainable development goals really reflected



CFSC member Rachel Singleton-Polster, Haana Edenshaw, and staff Jennifer Preston and Keira Mann at the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, April 2019

what I would have wanted to say. I wouldn't have spoken if I wasn't 100% behind the message. I think another recommendation to make, one that would not only benefit my community, but would benefit all Indigenous peoples, as a recommendation should, would be for nations to be mandated to respect Indigenous peoples' rights to self-determination. I believe that if Indigenous peoples had control over their lands that there would be more protection of the biodiversity and protection of lands that act as carbon sinks that will help combat climate change. As it is now, it is too easy for governments to ignore the land rights of Indigenous peoples. I've witnessed this in my own nation where Haida have been fighting for self-determination for generations.

You met with Indigenous leaders from around the world, Indigenous activists, diplomats, and members of the Canadian government. What was it like to meet all of these people and have conversations with them about the challenges facing Indigenous peoples?

Continued on page 7

KEEPING UP WITH FRIENDS

New resource on writing territory acknowledgements

Have you ever been to an event that began with an acknowledgment that it was taking place on the territory of particular Indigenous peoples? Have you wondered what goes into such a statement? CFSC has released a two-page handout to help with thinking through and making territory acknowledgments. The handout includes what we would encourage folks to mention, and to avoid, as well as three examples:

https://quakerservice.ca/territory-acknowledgment

Are We Done Fighting?

Years in the making, CFSC's book *Are We Done Fighting*? was published in May. Since then, *Psychology Today* has given Matt Legge an ongoing blog to discuss issues raised in the book (http://bit.ly/PsychologyTodayAWDF) and it has been covered by *openDemocracy* (http://bit.ly/PsychologyTodayAWDF), and Matt has been interviewed by the publisher (http://bit.ly/NSPAWDF). Now we need your help to spread the word further. Consider sharing the above articles, writing a review of the book for a personal blog, local publication, or website like GoodReads, or inviting Matt to give a presentation to your Quaker or non-Quaker group. Find out more and get a free chapter at: https://AreWeDoneFighting.com



Quaker Concern is the newsletter of Canadian Friends Service Committee (Quakers). Published three-times a year, it features articles on CFSC's projects and concerns.

Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) is the peace and social justice agency of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada. Since 1931 we've been a small team, mostly volunteers, but we've had a significant impact.

Donations are received with gratitude. We rely on the support of individuals to carry out our work. CFSC issues tax receipts for donations over \$10.

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The Indigenous World 2019

The Indigenous World is a "one-of-a-kind documentation tool, that offers a comprehensive yearly overview of the developments Indigenous peoples experience around the world." For many years CFSC program coordinator Jennifer Preston has written the entry on Canada. We're pleased to announce that The Indigenous World 2019 is now available for free at http://bit.ly/IndigenousWorld2019 (PDF). The section on Canada starts on page 65.

Undemocractic tactics block key bill

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has been a priority of our work for decades. We were there when it was negotiated, when it was adopted by the United Nations, and when private members Bill C-262 (to ensure that the laws of Canada are in harmony with the UN Declaration), was introduced and later passed by the House of Commons. And we were there as Bill C-262 died on the very cusp of becoming law. Bill C-262 was an opportunity for reconciliation. The stalling and political games this Bill was subjected to by a handful of Conservative senators, ensuring that it would not pass, have no place in a well-functioning democracy. Quakers are known for staying grounded and continuing to listen for, and act on, our peace and justice concerns, no matter how long it may take. Our work with Indigenous partners and concerned Canadians to realize the full implementation of the UN Declaration is no exception. We thank our generous supporters for their continued care and enthusiasm. Together we will continue this important work.

Federal court says settlement wines aren't a "product of Israel"

In 2014 Quakers expressed deep concern for the wellbeing of all in Israel/Palestine and, in agreement with Canada's official policy, recognized Israeli settlements as a serious obstacle to peace. We called for Canada to label products of Israeli settlements accurately so that consumers could make informed decisions. Last year, CFSC wrote an open letter (https://quakerservice.ca/HonestyinLabelling) in support of a court case on this matter. We are pleased by the outcome. Federal Judge Anne Mactavish said in her decision, "Identifying the [settlement] wines as 'Products of Israel' is false, misleading and deceptive and interferes with the ability of Canadian consumers to make informed and rational decisions to buy conscientiously." We hope this decision will not be appealed. http://bit.ly/SettlementWines

by Matthew Legge

2019 was the first of three consecutive years that Canadian Yearly Meeting (CYM) gathering – a meeting of Quakers from across Canada – will be in Winnipeg. CYM in

Session offers a rich opportunity to connect with Friends, to do the business of the national body of Friends in Canada, and to learn about the state of Quaker Meetings. Those present build community, hear reports back from many external bodies, and find out about the peace and social concerns that Friends are involved with. They peruse the information tables and handmade crafts for sale, attend workshops on all sorts of topics, and engage in countless great conversations. There are sing-alongs, chants, and silent worship.

This year's gathering took place at Canadian Mennonite University between August 1 and 10, and Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) was well represented. The CFSC members present were Carol Dixon, Joy

Morris, Bertha Small, and Linda Taffs. The staff were Jenn Preston, Tasmin Rajotte, and Matt Legge. CFSC offered three workshops:

- On our new book Are We Done Fighting? Building Understanding in a World of Hate and Division This session featured a brief presentation by Matt about several of the factors that are driving people apart right now, and practical ways to engage in difficult conversations. A powerful discussion between workshop participants followed, touching on a wide range of current issues.
- On discernment of peace and social actions In this session Tasmin and Matt presented a draft resource and those present discussed how Friends can use Quaker decision-making processes to know what peace and social justice work to take on and how to set priorities and plan. (We will share this more broadly once it is finalized.)
- And on Friends and the reconciliation journey For the past three years Quaker Meetings have reported to CFSC and CYM on their reconciliation initiatives. In this session Jenn met with Friends to discuss both the process and content of these reports and how CFSC can further support Meetings and committees in their reconciliation journey: https://guakerservice.ca/reconciliation2019.

This year the annual Sunderland P. Gardner lecture was delivered by Paul Mungombe, a Friend originally from Uvira, DR Congo. Paul spoke about his journey fleeing the violence of the eastern Congo and going to Kenya, where he lived in one of the



Rose Marie Cipryk cuts into a cake following the Sunderland P. Gardner lecture at CYM 2019

world's biggest refugee camps for seven years. Eventually, Paul and his family were able to come to Quebec as refugees. In Canada, Paul has had the chance to offer trainings using the Healing and Rebuilding Our Communities (HROC) methodology, which was originally developed by Quakers to help Rwandans build trust with each other and to address their trauma. HROC is now offered in many countries and Paul is one of two trainers living in Canada.

This year also featured a Bible study by Steve Heinrichs, Director of Indigenous-Settler Relations at Mennonite

Church Canada. Over the course of the week he explored settler colonialism in the Bible and how it has informed the doctrine of discovery (https://quakerservice.ca/doctrineofdiscovery) and been used to justify settler colonialism in Canada and elsewhere.

Steve shared his personal struggles to reconcile with the fact of being a descendent of European Mennonites who settled on and benefitted from stolen land without looking into its origin. He explained that Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada says the total land base of the 2,267 existing Indian reserves comprises just 0.2% of Canada's territory – the other 99.8% having been taken by settlers.

Steve explored Canadians' tendency to discuss colonialism as a problem of the past, but that it is ongoing in many forms, such as resource extraction projects happening without Indigenous peoples' consent. He stressed the need for reparations. Videos of Paul's lecture and Steve's Bible study will be available on https://quaker.ca

Matthew Legge is CFSC's Communications Coordinator. For some pictures of CYM in Session see our Facebook page.

Truth, transformation, and justice: How can the MMIWG report help us rethink justice?

by Verena Tan

n late 2017, three friends and I rented a car and drove out to Six Nations, about an hour and a half from Toronto. We were going to see the *Walking with our Sisters* exhibition (http://walkingwithoursisters.ca), a commemorative art exhibition made up of nearly 2,000 pairs

of moccasin vamps (tops)
donated by Indigenous
communities around Turtle
Island. Each vamp represented
one missing or murdered
Indigenous woman, girl, or twospirit person, and children's
vamps represented children who
never returned home from
residential schools. It was my
first trip outside of Toronto since
moving to the city a few months
prior.

As I walked around the dark exhibition hall, I felt a deep sense of loss. The exhibition was a ceremony to honour those women and girls, their lives, and their loved ones. Each vamp had been lovingly beaded and created with care, sometimes accompanied by a photograph or a written memory. The grief was palpable. These women's stories were cut

short and their loved ones left without answers. I moved to Canada without knowing anything about these lost women, girls, or two-spirit people. Each person who made a vamp cared deeply, but as a country, we do not know how many women have been lost and we do not know how their stories end.

In early June, the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) Inquiry report, *Reclaiming Power and Place* was released. It is a powerful and moving report about the pain, truth, and ongoing healing of Indigenous families, survivors, and communities. I encourage you to read it. It is the most comprehensive document on these women and girls and the families that love them. This report offers every person in Canada the chance to hear the truth about the loss of these Indigenous women and girls. The report specifically asks us to listen and acknowledge them. As one member of the National

Family Advisory Circle said, "I would love for all Canadians to think of our women as important because they were important to us."

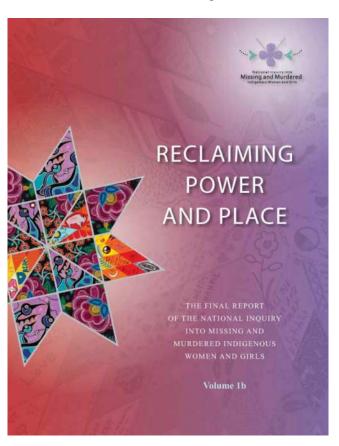
Following the release of the report, I read a flurry of news and opinions about it. There were many different responses to the findings and recommendations (called *Calls for Justice*),

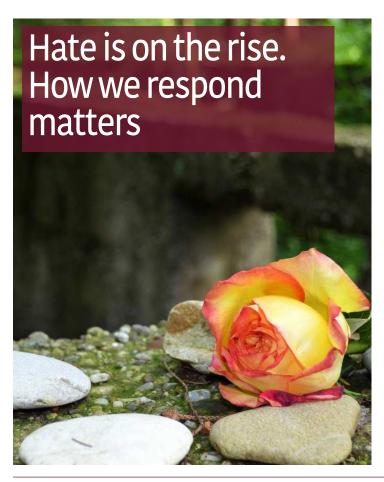
especially towards the finding that violence against Indigenous women and girls amounts to genocide. The use of that word created a lot of collective and individual discomfort, confusion, and resistance.

Relevant to the criminal justice program at CFSC was the debate about policy and calls for legal change. I am committed to the principles of penal abolition and shifting the focus to healing rather than harm in our society. It is part of my work at CFSC to respond to more punitive measures in the criminal justice system and moves to put more people in prisons. In the report, the call for harsher penalties for perpetrators of violence against Indigenous women, and criticisms of Gladue reports,

raised some issues for me. Do we want to increase incarceration of the Indigenous men who commit violence against Indigenous women? How do we want Indigenous women who are being sentenced in court to be treated? Is the issue of violence against non-Indigenous women, or against Indigenous men, also to be addressed with increased incarceration? These and other questions require a lot of thought and examination.

The report is incredibly powerful because it not only moves us with stories of grief and pain, it also challenges our sense of comfort and understanding about the ongoing impact of colonization. Our society is built upon particular ideas that come from colonization and can prevent us from leaning into discomfort. For instance, we have a tendency in our society to think that justice is a finite, limited resource. If we seek





by Matthew Legge

ately I've been researching and reflecting on the causes of hatred, and how to turn the tide in Canada and more broadly. What I've found in my research is that a lot can be done, but sadly, there are no easy answers. There are many different paths into a life of hate, and many factors need to be addressed to counter hate movements. Substantial evidence shows that one-size-fits-all strategies seeking to prevent recruitment have been ineffective, and can even make matters worse.

New approaches are urgently needed, because white supremacist organizing is increasing, and recent data from Statistics Canada indicates increased hate crimes as well. The biggest swell has been directed at black people, Muslims, and Jews. And those are just the reported incidents.

Canada has just released a national anti-racism strategy with a promised \$45 million investment in "a new Anti-Racism Secretariat that will lead a whole-of-government approach in addressing racism and discrimination." While short on details, the strategy sounds promising in many regards, such as its "funding to support racialized communities, religious minorities and Indigenous Peoples on the ground who have

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justice for one group of people, we worry that we are taking justice from another group. Rather than understanding justice as an outcome that should benefit all parties at once, we believe that there is only so much to go around. Another way to put it might be, if we think there are winners in the pursuit of justice, then there must also be losers.

I think that this two-sided approach comes from a deeper belief that punishment brings about justice. In a criminal justice system that seeks punishment as the pathway to justice, we must create a winner and a loser. Someone who gets an "easy" sentence is a winner, while someone who receives a "harsher" sentence is a loser. This also applies to "victims". However, as recognised by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, "For so many in Aboriginal communities, there's no distinction between those who are the offenders and those who are the victims." In a justice system that seeks punishment rather than healing, we are all losers.

Justice for MMIWG seeks truth and acknowledgement for the loss, harm and ongoing violence that Indigenous women experience because of colonial systems. These women, girls, two-spirit people, and their families cannot be overlooked, ignored, or forgotten any longer. The punitive criminal justice system is also a colonial system, and it alone cannot bring about justice for Indigenous peoples. We must transform the system to acknowledge how violence, colonisation, and

punitive systems harm everyone in society. Rather than asking whether specific recommendations achieve justice, we could instead approach this report and the *Calls to Justice* as a broader pursuit of justice as a whole.

I think it is so important when reflecting on the MMIWG inquiry that we ask questions, but we must reflect upon whether we are asking the right ones. Some questions that I have been thinking about are: How are we as a society harmed when we allow and ignore violence against Indigenous women? How can acknowledging and protecting Indigenous women and girls also help Indigenous men? How can seeking truth and justice provide healing for communities (Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike)? What is my responsibility to acknowledge and honour the lives of these missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls?

Unlike the crowded exhibition in Toronto, the *Walking with our Sisters* exhibition at Six Nations was quiet, surrounded by nature and fresh air. Stepping out of the dark exhibition space, the sunlight and fresh air felt like an offering. We have been given an offering, a chance to reflect upon our collective, ongoing journey for justice and healing.

Verena Tan is CFSC's criminal justice program coordinator. The report Reclaiming Power and Place is available at: https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report/

expertise in addressing various forms of racism and discrimination." The policy also introduces a new definition of antisemitism, which is worth considering further.

Canada has a long and shameful history of antisemitism.³ As with other forms of hatred and prejudice, it must be addressed as thoroughly and as effectively as possible. To do so, it's important to understand what antisemitism is, and what methods are effective in reducing it. Hopefully Canada's new anti-racism strategy will help with this.

The definition Canada uses is one gaining increasing traction at the moment as various institutions – from municipalities to universities, in Canada and elsewhere – consider adopting it. The definition was developed by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). Various countries and pro-Israel lobby groups have indicated their support for it. Given the resources put into it, and the powerful actors involved, the wording is surprisingly vague:

Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.⁴

Many feel that this is too open to misinterpretation to be useable in legal or policy contexts in Canada. The more succinct definition given by Dictionary.com seems just as useful: "discrimination against or prejudice or hostility toward Jews."

The IHRA does provide various "illustrations" though, which are intended to help explain its definition. (The illustrations weren't included by Canada in its anti-racism strategy.) Several of these usefully describe dangerous and insidious forms of antisemitism. For instance:

- "Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews."
- "Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust)."

In explaining its definition, the IHRA at one point makes the important distinction between Jewish people and the State of Israel, listing as an example of antisemitism: "Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel." This is absolutely correct – Jews are not collectively responsible for the actions of the State of Israel and Jews should never be blamed as a collective for Israel's human rights violations. Blaming an individual, due to their being Jewish, for the acts

of the government of Israel, is hateful.

By the exact same logic, the State of Israel cannot represent or act on behalf of "Jews collectively." But it seems as if certain illustrations of antisemitism given by the IHRA blur this important distinction. Here's one: "Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor."

This is actually a tricky and complicated issue. The illustration seems to conflate Israel with "the Jewish people" and to hold that Israel exists for "the Jewish people." But if that is indeed what's implied, how does this illustration fit with the correct assertion that Jews collectively aren't responsible for the actions of the State of Israel?

One might wonder too to what extent there really is just one global monolith called "the Jewish people." Independent Jewish Voices notes how views on this have shifted, stating, "Saying that Jews are a separate people who need their own country used to be considered antisemitic. Now, saying that Jews are *not* a separate people is widely considered to be antisemitic within mainstream Zionist circles."

Many valuable human rights instruments were created in response to the inconceivable horrors of the Holocaust, and today the international community places importance on universal human rights. It is unclear how any government that systematically violates human rights by discriminating based on race (as Israel does *), is not, technically speaking, racist. Perhaps the claim being advanced is that it's antisemitic to call the *existence* of the State of Israel racist, but calling Israel's race-based discrimination racist is fair? If so, the IHRA would need to make this point clear.

Similarly, the IHRA rightly notes that antisemitic discrimination includes "the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others," a practice that is "illegal in many countries." Since opportunities and services are denied by the government of Israel to non-Jews on the basis of race or religion, what is that to be called? How can that issue even be discussed if doing so could be deemed hate speech?

While the IHRA says, "criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic," several of their illustrations don't make this at all clear. Such clarity is important, because failing to provide it while adopting the IHRA definition could result in chilling or even criminalizing human rights protests, like the boycott, divestment, sanctions movement. Two professors with expertise on the Holocaust, Amos Goldberg and Raz Segal, have written about how they see this happening. Among other concerns, they note that the IHRA definition means "the

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burden of proof lies with critics of Israel, who are constantly asked to prove that they are not anti-Semites."¹⁰

A noteworthy aspect of the IHRA definition is that many of its illustrations of antisemitism are largely about Israel (not about Jews), and yet the elephant in the room – Palestine – is never mentioned. The IHRA does nothing to clarify what it thinks can reasonably be said about Israel's treatment of Palestinians. Perhaps a new list of illustrations of what is *not* antisemitic, but legitimate criticism of the government of Israel, would help.

These are delicate and difficult issues. Antisemitism must be combated and the IHRA has clearly spent significant resources on this definition. However some serious and dangerous flaws remain. If we're not careful, we may wind up working against antisemitism in ways that are ineffective or that even increase it. We may also stifle necessary criticisms of immoral and illegal actions of the government of Israel. I hope that Canada will not be diverted down this path and will instead look for more holistic and effective approaches to combating hate.

Matthew Legge is CFSC's Peace Program Coordinator.

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Haida youth Haana Edenshaw

I would have to say it was pretty incredible. I hope to become an Indigenous activist, maybe an Indigenous lawyer when I grow older and so it was really inspiring to meet so many people who have dedicated their lives to righting the wrongs committed against Indigenous peoples. I was awestruck most of the time. Everyone was so accomplished and amazing, the people I met and the stories that I heard were probably the main reason that I felt changed when I came back from New York. They also inspired me to become an Indigenous lawyer someday. I wish I could've been there longer because I loved hearing everyone's stories so much!

What were you most excited to tell your friends and family about when you returned to Haida Gwaii?

Well I was super excited to tell everyone about my speeches. I didn't really feel I needed to though, as everyone already knew. I was also super excited to tell everyone what New York was like. However, I was most excited to share everything I learned from my experience and tell them about all the injustices Indigenous people are facing around the world, especially those facing problems similar to those we face in Haida Gwaii. Everyone had different ways of trying to solve them, and those ideas could be applied here. I was also excited to tell people about everyone I met.

Why was going to the United Nations such an important experience for you?

Because I had a chance to really represent my community and had a chance to make a difference. I got to learn in depth about the UN, the Permanent Forum, and the UN Declaration. I feel that this experience allowed me to grow and appreciate Haida Gwaii and how far we have come politically in relation to Canada. It was also super important because I got a chance to network and discuss future opportunities with Indigenous activists from around the world.

Did your experience at the UN change the way you see the future of Indigenous rights in Canada at all? Did it give you any ideas?

I was inspired to see so many people working for our rights at the world stage. I also know that if Canada followed the *UN Declaration*, Indigenous rights would be in a far better place in Canada than they are now. I am hopeful that Canada will fully enact the *UN Declaration* soon. I would like to see a larger Haida delegation represented at the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. I think Haida have a lot that they could offer at this forum and a lot that can be learned.

Keira Mann is CFSC's Program Assistant.

FRIENDS ON THE MOVE

CFSC's criminal justice program coordinator *Verena Tan* was at the International Coalition for Children with Incarcerated Parents conference in England. The conference gave CFSC the chance to connect with individuals and organizations with a shared concern around the impacts on children when parents are incarcerated.

CFSC was able to share our new report Breaking the Silence, which follows from a first of its kind dialogue that CFSC hosted in January, bringing together over 35 organizations and individuals. Breaking the Silence provides an overview of presentations given at the dialogue, policy discussions, and final recommendations of the group about Canada's role and responsibility to children of incarcerated parents: https://quakerservice.ca/BreakingTheSilence

In addition to her travel to New York mentioned in our cover story, CFSC's Indigenous rights program coordinator *Jennifer Preston* has also been in Ottawa, Vancouver, and Fredericton for meetings. She was also part of the United Nations' Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples meetings in Geneva, Switzerland.

Since the launch of CFSC's book, *Are We Done Fighting?*, its author, peace program coordinator Matt Legge, has been giving presentations. Matt has spoken in Toronto, Hamilton, and Winnipeg. Although the content of each presentation is similar, the conversations that follow are always different, depending on the interests of the audience. So far discussions have covered topics like: inner peace, how to stay hopeful, gender-based violence, how to talk to people who reject evidence, and responding to Islamophobia.

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