

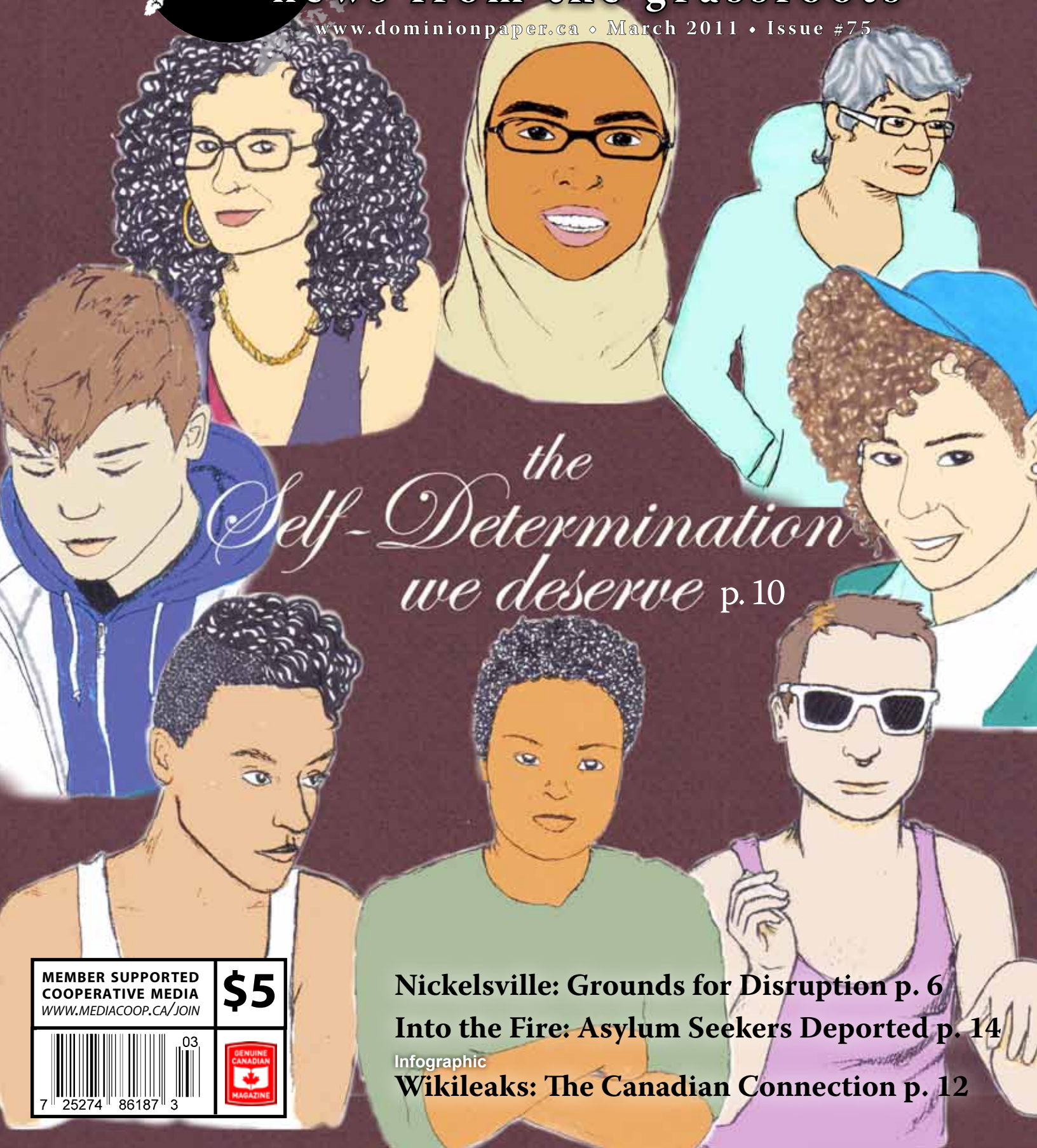
dominion, n. 1. Control or the exercise of control. 2. A territory or sphere of influence; a realm. 3. A self-governing nation in the British Commonwealth



The Dominion

news from the grassroots

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Dear Readers,

As of this issue our cover price has risen to \$5. While we are committed to keeping *The Dominion* affordable, financial demands made the increase necessary.

Thank you for your understanding, and please contact us at info@dominionpaper.ca if you have any concerns.

—The Dominion Ed. Collective

In Review

Egypt curfew broken, BC salmon smokin', "organic" just a token



In Tunisia, mass mobilizations calling for "work, freedom, bread" ended the brutal 23-year rule of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who fled the country. Above, Vancouver residents show their support. *Stephanie Law*

by The Dominion

Protesters in Yellowknife spoke out against the **Northwest Territories** government's "devolution" plan, which would transfer land from Canada to the government of the Northwest Territories. Leaders and members from several First Nations compared the negotiations to extinguishment.

Millions of **Egyptians** marched in opposition to the rule of Hosni Mubarak, forcing him to resign after 18 straight days of protests. Mubarak had been president since 1981. By taking to the streets, protesters defied a curfew and faced violent repression. More than 300 people died as a result. The minimum wage in Egypt is currently \$30 per month.

In **Canada**, hundreds of people gathered in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver to show their support for Egyptian demonstrators.

Mubarak's regime has been a key **Middle East** ally of the United States and Israel. In an interview with the Montreal Media Co-op,

Montreal organizer Mostafa Henaway said that without the current regime in Egypt, "there would be no siege in Gaza, you wouldn't have support for the occupation of Iraq, and for the other dictatorships in the region." The United States sent \$1.3 billion in military aid to Egypt in 2010.

According to reports in **Israeli** daily *Ha'aretz*, Israeli diplomats attempted to gather support for Mubarak's regime, arguing that his continued rule is in the interests of Western countries.

Former **Haitian** dictator Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier returned to the country for the first time since his ouster in 1986. The Haitian government quickly charged him with embezzlement of public funds. Human rights organizations launched an appeal for him to be charged with crimes against humanity, and undertook investigations of political assassinations and murders by the Tonton Macoutes secret police during his reign.

In a move towards US-style

broadcasting law, the **Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission** proposed relaxing rules on "any news that the licensee knows is false or misleading"—a month and a half before right-leaning Sun TV News is to be launched in Canada.

A study examining the effectiveness of **freedom of information** laws in Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, the United Kingdom and Canada ranked Canada dead last. About 16 per cent of the 35,000 requests filed last year resulted in the full disclosure of information.

Two "Community Engagement Forums" in BC—in **Vancouver's Downtown East Side** (DTES) and in Prince George—led up to this year's Missing Women Commission of Inquiry. The process, content and naming of a commissioner were subject to passionate criticism by activists and family members, who were concerned about mass omissions. The Commission of Inquiry's terms of reference do not explicitly mention the Highway of Tears, nor do they reflect that the majority of miss-

ing and murdered women in the province are Indigenous.

KNL Developments moved tree cutting equipment into **Beaver Pond**—just outside Ottawa—and has begun logging one of the last old-growth forests in the region after receiving city approval to build a housing development on the land. Members of local Algonquin communities have called on the city to halt the development until a comprehensive archaeological assessment can be done. Algonquin Daniel Bernard “Amikwabe” set up a camp on the land to stoke a sacred fire “to denounce the massacre of the wildlife and this sacred forest.”

American Indian Movement (AIM) activist **John Graham** was sentenced to life in prison for the 1975 kidnapping and murder of fellow AIM activist Anna Mae Aquash, a Mi'kmaq from Nova Scotia. “The truth hasn’t come out here,” Graham, a member of the Champagne First Nation in the Yukon, told Aquash’s daughters in court, upon hearing his sentence. Canadian organizations, politicians and unions have written letters of support for Graham, particularly opposing Canada’s 2007 extradition of Graham in light of false evidence provided by the FBI to Canada for the 1976 extradition of AIM activist Leonard Peltier. The Aquash investigation remains open.

More than 100 activists and students rallied outside a **Simon Fraser University** Board of Governors meeting in downtown Vancouver to protest the university’s use of “dirty money” from mining corporation Goldcorp. The board adjourned its meeting early and left the building amid calls from the crowd to listen to their concerns.

A new **Canada-US study** found that one in 10 post-secondary students recently thought about suicide, and one in four is depressed.

According to a study from the Quebec Institute for Public Health,

Quebecers over the age of 65 have been committing suicide at an increasing rate since 1981, reaching an all-time high in 2010. Quebec announced it will create a three-year grant of \$750,000 to attempt to lower the rate.

A report from the **Quebec** environmental assessment agency indicates that 19 shale gas fracturing, or “fracking,” wells in the province are leaking natural gas.

The **BC**-based Global Alliance Against Industrial Aquaculture launched its “smoking hot” campaign against “Big Aquaculture” to draw attention to the health and environmental dangers of salmon farming. The campaign uses similar imagery to “smoking kills” campaigns used against Big Tobacco.

In an email to its customers, **Whole Foods Market**, the largest “natural and organic” market in the world, advocated for “conditional deregulation” of Monsanto’s genetically engineered (GMO), herbicide-resistant alfalfa. The Organic Consumer’s Association called the email “profoundly misleading,” representing surrender by the “organic elite” to Monsanto, whose Roundup Ready alfalfa will now be mass-planted with the blessing of Whole Foods, Stonyfield Farm and Organic Valley, effectively allowing the GMO crop to contaminate products labeled “organic.”

The **Halifax** Peace Coalition celebrated Martin Luther King, Jr. Day by picketing outside the Canadian Forces Stadacona Base, protesting Canada’s decision to buy 65 F-35 fighter jets. The jets will cost at least \$16 billion, and the deal—the largest military procurement in Canadian history—with weapons giant Lockheed Martin guarantees no jobs in Canada.

Two hundred **Nova Scotians**, many holding babies or pushing strollers, rallied in downtown Halifax to demand better access to midwifery services. Currently,

only four midwives are legally employed in the entire province.

Prairie Artists Against Enbridge delivered a letter to the National Arts Centre in Ottawa, protesting Enbridge Pipeline’s sponsorship of the centre’s upcoming Prairie Scene Festival due to the company’s “disastrous environmental record.”

Stephen Harper spoke of accountability at a **UN** meeting about the implementation of a \$40 billion program for child and maternal health in developing nations—a plan that was widely criticized for excluding access to contraception and family planning. In Canada, Harper has systematically increased gender inequality.

Alberta dropped homosexuality from its diagnostic guide to mental disorders, 35 years after the psychiatric profession did so. Quebec hasn’t yet dropped the diagnosis.

Nepal added a third gender for trans- people to its census.

Russia’s upper house of parliament unanimously voted to ratify the New START nuclear arms reduction treaty, which will see Russia and the US each slash their nuclear arsenals by about 30 per cent.

In a Dutch parliamentary hearing, Shell was accused of human rights abuses, failing to clean up oil spills and continuing the hazardous practice of flaring gas in **Nigeria**.

A US federal appeals court rejected filmmaker Joe Berlinger’s argument that as an **independent journalist**, he should not be ordered to turn over all footage from his 2009 film *Crude* to Chevron.

Have you heard the one about Ben Ali? You haven’t heard it? ...So **Zine El Abidine Ben Ali** goes to buy new boots. As soon as he enters the shop, the Tunisian salesman hands him a pair. “How did you know my size?” asks Ben Ali. The answer: “You’ve stomped on us for 23 years, how can we not?”

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Canada



Top left: Students in Halifax attending a "Teach-Out" organized by students as part of the "Reduce Fees-Drop Debt" campaign. The average Nova Scotia post-secondary student graduates \$31,000 in debt. Surrounding photos: Students in Halifax march against tuition increases in a province-wide Day of Action.

Rebecca Rose, Moira Peters, Hillary Lindsay, Tom MacDonald

Canada's Debt-ucation Province

Tuition fees in Nova Scotia continue to rise

by Miles Howe

HALIFAX—"At times, I wanted to disappear forever and not bother anyone with my stupid money problems," recalls Jane (not her real name), who, like many other graduates in Nova Scotia, accrued tens of thousands of dollars of debt in student loans over the course of her university education. In her thirties, Jane's debt is over \$60,000 but under \$90,000. She is currently filing for bankruptcy, and her financial and legal counsellors have advised her not to publicly discuss the particulars of her case.

"I made the decision to declare bankruptcy because it was

the only option available to me," says Jane in an email interview. "I owed a lot of money from student loans and debt from private institutions...I realize that yes, I did sign a contract to help me attain my education, however with a reasonable expectation that I was going to find a job and be in a position to pay the money back. Well, the fairy tale didn't work out for me and I am desperate for the chance to move on with my life."

The average Nova Scotia post-secondary student graduates with a debt of \$31,000. Under Canadian law, former students must wait seven years before they can apply for discharge from

student loan debt. No other type of debt applies such restrictive discharge restrictions.

In a 2008 study of the 2003 graduating class of Maritime universities, the Maritimes Provinces Higher Education Commission found that of those who borrowed over \$30,000, 79 per cent were making payments on outstanding loans five years after graduation. Twenty-one per cent of those surveyed still had outstanding debt at or above \$30,000.

Forcing former students to prioritize their debt payments over everything else hurts not only students but also the larger economy, according to Elise

Graham. Graham is Chairperson of the Canadian Federation of Students (CFS)-Nova Scotia, as well as a student at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD).

"Students who graduate with \$31,000 in debt are leaving the province," says Graham. "They're going to find jobs that are not necessarily in their field of study—just what pays."

Numerous studies, including "Educational Debt Burden and Career Choice," published in 2006, demonstrate the link between a student's debt load and the career they choose. When debt loads are high, students will

opt, out of financial necessity, for higher paying career opportunities. Newly graduated lawyers with heavy debt loads are less likely to choose to practice public interest law. Heavily indebted graduates with degrees in medicine are less likely to choose careers in research or internal medicine, and will instead opt to specialize in higher paying fields.

The financial difficulties that stem from an inability to repay debt are also linked to emotional and physiological distress, according to several studies, including "The impact of financial circumstances on student health," published in 2005. As Jane's debt load reached a proportion she could not control, she found that her own mental health was failing.

"One thing that is important to understand is the toll that these massive debts can take on a person's ego," says Jane. "It was intimidating admitting the sheer scale of the debt to myself and figuring out how long it was going to take for me to pay it back, and those figures were absolutely insurmountable considering my current income. My self-worth took quite a beating and the stress of always worrying about money negatively affected my relationships with loved ones and close friends. I would often feel very ashamed as though I had done something terribly wrong."

Where affordable education is a priority, governments find the money to keep tuition reasonable. In Sweden, Norway and Denmark, university is free for EU passport holders. In France, Germany, Italy and Spain, tuition for EU residents is nominal. In Nova Scotia, which flaunts itself as "Canada's Education Province," the average tuition is \$5,495, several hundred dollars above the national average. Nova Scotia may have more universities and colleges per capita than anywhere else in the country, but tuition fees, until 2009, were the highest in the country for over 20 years running. The recently-published "O'Neill Report," as it has come to be known, commissioned by the provincial government, suggests that future students might find their debt getting bigger still.

In September 2010, Nova Scotia Premier Darrell Dexter commissioned former Bank of Montreal executive vice-president, Dr. Tim O'Neill, to prepare the Report on the University System in Nova Scotia. The language in the report, such as "severe recession," "fiscal responsibility" and "spending restraint" hint at a provincial government looking to tighten its belt on post-secondary education expenditures.

The O'Neill Report recommends a complete deregulation of tuition fees, while earmarking a percentage of tuition revenue increases for student assistance. This model, known as a high-fee, high-aid model, stands to drive up-front tuition fees through the roof.

In one scenario recommended by O'Neill, the CFS found that in five years tuition and ancillary fees for Nova Scotia students would cost an average of \$11,630—an increase of 86 per cent. Rates would be even higher for out-of-province and international students, who together make up 41 per cent of Nova Scotia's student population.

A complex process requiring new levels of administration would allow students to recoup a percentage of their up-front tuition payments based on their income. Many fear the high sticker price will be an immediate deterrent.

"I think sticker shock will be sufficient to divert the people who really ought to be going to university," says Dr. Laura Penny, lecturer at Mount Saint Vincent University and best-selling Canadian author, "so the student aid top-ups are a moot point. Students have to be part of the system to access aid. But the higher tuition goes, the more the system is perceived as strictly for the elite."

A University of Toronto (U of T) study highlighted by *The Tuition Trap*, a 2005 report commissioned by the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA), supports Penny's theory. The study found that over 70 per cent of students in the law department come from high-income families. Tuition fees at U of T's faculty of law are currently over \$20,000 per year.

The Tuition Trap also highlights the fact that during the several-year period when tuition for medical school in Ontario increased from \$5,000 to \$14,500, enrollment of students whose families earned less than \$40,000 dropped significantly—from 23 per cent to 10 per cent.

O'Neill, who declined to be interviewed for this story, argues that targeted assistance will offset the proven link between increased tuition fees and decreased access.

Nowhere in his 188-page report does O'Neill provide a formula indicating how this "high aid" is to be calculated or distributed. A 2005 report by the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations showed that increasing public funding, not tuition, was the best way to ensure access to education for both low- and middle-income students.

In this light, the mood of unease and suspicion among Nova Scotian students, prospective students and staff is appropriate.

"Raising tuition makes our universities less competitive," says Penny. "We're already losing Nova Scotia students to Newfoundland. Given that students and staff have a huge economic multiplier effect—especially in small college towns like Antigonish and Wolfville—this strikes me as a short-sighted economic strategy, a cheapness that may not turn out to be cheap at all, in terms of lost revenues and spin-offs."

Elise Graham agrees.

"Newfoundland and Labrador have very low tuition fees [on average \$2,500], coupled with a significant amount of government funding, and their student population is growing," she says. "Other students are leaving other provinces and going to Newfoundland, because they can afford their education."

"If Nova Scotia is serious about wanting to rebuild the economy, [it shouldn't be] saddling our young people with debt," says Graham.

Judging by the tens of billions of tax dollars that are now being ear-marked for prisons, military, and, perhaps closer to the minds of Nova Scotians, a multi-million dollar convention centre, many

wonder if the "severe recession" conditions that O'Neill refers to in his report even exist.

"This government is spending millions on building a trade centre, and are cutting millions from their education budget," says Judy Haiven, a professor at the Sobey School of Business at Saint Mary's University. "That's a direct subsidy to the business class, and a removal of subsidies from those who need education."

"We as a society benefit from an educated workforce, and we need to create a tax structure where education is reasonable—or free. If higher income earners paid \$800 more in taxes towards education, we could be offering free or highly subsidized education to all those who wanted to go," says Haiven.

As for Jane, her bankruptcy trial looms.

"I feel awful knowing that student debt is rising, and thinking about the students who may have to go through what I went through is terrible," she says. "If education is a priority, then it should be accessible to everyone and not be a pair of concrete boots forced onto those who don't have wealthy parents."

On February 1, the Nova Scotia government announced a four per cent cut in funding to universities in the province and a plan to cap annual tuition increases at three per cent. More than 700 students took to the streets of Halifax the following day in the largest demonstration the city has seen in years.

Miles Howe is a university graduate now living debt-free in Halifax.

This article was produced by the Halifax Media Co-op.



For more grassroots coverage out of Halifax check out halifax.mediacoop.ca

Grounds for Disruption

Tent cities evolve to bring politics out of—and permanence into—the housing debate

by Zander Winther

VANCOUVER—On the anniversary of the 2010 Olympics, a second tent city will disrupt Vancouver. Like the Olympic Tent Village that occupied 58 West Hastings in the Downtown East Side one year ago, this incarnation may only last a few weeks. However, discussions have been initiated within Vancouver Action (VANACT), the primary group organizing the tent city, about evolving this tent city into a more permanent project, mirroring such tent cities as those in and around Seattle, Washington State.

"[Last year], we thought it would last a week, but by the end of the week there was a community meeting where individuals decided to stay until people got housing," said Tristan Markle of VANACT. Markle was involved in last year's tent village, and hopes to carry those lessons into this year's project.

"Learning from that experience, we have to be prepared and anticipate that the people who need a liberated space might want to stay as long as necessary," he said. Those who stayed and squatted 58 West Hastings eventually helped secure low-income housing for 35 residents of Olympic Tent Village.

When it was occupied one year ago, 58 West Hastings was an empty lot that the Vancouver Olympic Committee (VANOC) had leased from condo developer Concord Pacific with the intention of using the space for Olympics-related parking. This year's tent village is expected to occupy a space in the now desolate and bankrupt Olympic Village, which has come to symbolize both the misplaced financial extravagance of the Games, and the city's failure to follow through with its Olympic promise of more low-income homes.



The Olympic Tent Village was endorsed by more than 100 organizations and the residents of Vancouver's Downtown East Side. The occupation of the Vancouver Olympics Organizing Committee parking lot intended to illustrate Vancouver's lack of affordable housing while the city invested in the Games instead.

Andy K. Bond

Across the border in Seattle, one finds a history of tent cities that have survived in various forms for over a decade. In the late 1990s, Tent City 1, and then Tent City 2, were created illegally to address the growing numbers of homeless people in the King County region of Washington State. Both were opposed by local government and eventually shut down, but the dire need for such

Partly in response to some of the limitations of this legal yet controlled encampment, Tent City 4 was created in May of 2004, with the intent of defying the "Consent Decree" by occupying public spaces and using public resources. It eventually transitioned from using public spaces into a system of staying on properties owned by faith-based organizations, such as parking lots. This project

One study shows Vancouver to be the most unaffordable city in the world. One year after the Olympics, homelessness has tripled.

an establishment had been made visible.

Tent City 3 was created in 2000, but it was not until March of 2002 that its legality was made clear following a court ordered "Consent Decree" between the organizers and the city attorney. This "Consent Decree" established basic rules and a system of temporary locations on offered private land. Tent City 3 continues to provide shelter for approximately 100 people.

also continues to operate, with a population fluctuating between 50 to 100 people.

More recently, a separate project to provide shelter for the growing numbers of homeless people was created in the University District of Seattle. It was coined "Nickelsville" in response to then-Mayor Greg Nickel's use of police to clear out homeless encampments, and specifically an edict issued by the mayor on April 4, 2008, that outlawed setting up

shelter on city property such as overpasses, greenways and parks. The original location of Nickelsville was at 7115 West Marginal Way SW in Seattle, and was built in the early morning of September 22, 2008. This encampment only lasted four days, until police entered, arresting 23 people and removing the installed shelters.

Nickelsville stumbled through a few more locations before it found a more stable home in the private parking lot of the University Christian Church in the University District, a space made more secure due in part to great support by the local faith-based communities. This began a string of temporary locations for Nickelsville, sometimes moving to areas of King County outside Seattle.

Nickelsville built a list of rules that are largely self-enforced. No drugs, alcohol or criminal activity is tolerated within the tent city; any offenders risk immediate eviction. The entry point to the tent city is carefully monitored with an official check-in table. Many tenants take on roles such as security and "moving boss" to help ensure respect for the rules and oversee getting everyone packed between locations.

By August 2010, Nickelsville was back in the space it had occupied nearly two years prior, at the University Congregational United Church of Christ. While some locals were happy to have the tent city back, others recalled increased break-ins and other associated criminal activity. Church groups intended to mitigate the motivations for increased local crime by helping provide Nickelsville tenants with access to bathrooms, showers and other facilities. Nevertheless, wherever the tent city went, there was often local resistance to Nickelsville sharing the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood agitation, combined with a growing need for shelter, contrib-

uted to the push by organizers to re-envision Nickelsville as a more stable project with a permanent location.

Seattle Mayor Mike McGinn formed a “citizen review panel” in October 2010 to explore solutions to the growing problem of homelessness. It recommended the creation of a permanent tent city location. Such an initiative has been strongly supported by the organizers and tenants of Nickelsville, and is listed as a demand in a recent declaration endorsed by several of the organizations deeply involved with the tent city. Nickelsville presently occupies an old Lake City Fire Station, north of the University District—a location that provides warmth during the winter months. While this site continues to provide shelter for approximately 100 people, the community hopes a permanent location could accommodate up to 1,000 tenants.

The size of Nickelsville, and its long history, can be attributed to both Seattle’s large homeless population and a well-organized network of citizen support.

A homelessness count performed in Seattle in the early

hours of January 28, 2011, found 1,753 people in Seattle and 2,442 people in the greater King County area on the streets between 2:00 and 5:00 am, while more than 6,000 others took advantage of available emergency shelters and other accommodation. Currently, Seattle has nearly 2,000 shelter beds and more than 3,000 in the King County region in total.

In contrast, Vancouver’s 2010 count found 811 people on the street and an additional 765 in shelters. Both Seattle and Vancouver are faced with dramatically increasing rates of homelessness.

“One study shows Vancouver to be the most unaffordable city in the world,” said Markle. “And one year after the Olympics, homelessness has tripled.”

Similar stories are told in Seattle. On January 10, 2011, at a community meeting on homelessness, Ruth Blaw, director of the Orion youth shelter, which is run under the umbrella organization Youthcare, explained that the organization had seen the use of its services double in the past 18 months, and they are no longer able to provide beds to meet demand.

The meeting was part of the

University District Conversation on Homelessness, which convenes monthly at a local church or faith-based community center. Updates are provided on the most recent political news affecting homeless individuals, and representatives from local churches, synagogues, mosques and other groups meet to help form a unified face in tackling ongoing issues around homelessness.

The tent cities in King County have been able to depend on the support of such groups for logistics. The groups also play a crucial role in pushing back against government reluctance to make serious commitments. In 2007, under the pressure of these groups, the state government introduced Bill HB 2244, which prevented city governments from stopping churches from hosting tent cities, or setting a time limit of less than 90 days on the stay of individuals within the encampments.

A younger initiative, Vancouver’s tent city movement has involvement from its own faith-based community. One of the major support pillars of the Olympic Tent Village was Streams of Justice, a Christian social justice

movement.

Dave Diewert of Streams of Justice offered a lucid description of the social mechanics behind the Olympic Tent Village in the second edition of *Village Voice*, the newsletter of the tent city. He explained that the political component of the Olympic tent village was a kind of “eruption,” a disruption of the status quo. This eruption “crosses lines of legality and illegality of who owns this space and who occupies this space; these kinds of eruptions...become opportunities to say something strong. The point is for this action to bring into light in a powerful way...the reality of homelessness, gentrification, and the criminalization of poverty.”

Markle sees the upcoming tent city as a similar eruption, explaining that one of its most direct intentions is “to bring the issues out into the open, rather than having them brushed under the carpet or hidden out of sight, so that people are forced to confront the issues.”

A similar phenomena was taking place in the early tent cities of Seattle, with illegal occupations in response to an acute hous-



Last year’s Olympic Tent Village in Vancouver. Tent cities have a longer history south of the border, where their function dances between housing stability and political visibility.

Murray Bush/Vancouver Media Co-op

ing crisis. However, Seattle's tent cit[ies] gradually evolved, accruing stability. Nickelsville's goal of providing shelter for 1,000 people demonstrates how the focus has shifted to providing a steady base for as many homeless people as possible.

The example of Nickelsville reveals an inverse relationship between permanence and visibility with respect to the issue of homelessness: as permanent shelter needs are met, political visibility goes down.

On the one end, tent cities that mark a large public event—such as the Olympic Tent Village and the tent city created in Allen Gardens during the

“The main point of a tent city is an exercise in self sustainability, self-organization, and community-building.”

—Yifan Li of VANACT

G20 summit in Toronto, which lasted for just one night—act, according to Markle, as “political manifestation[s] that bring the politics [of homelessness] into the open.”

In the middle, more permanent establishments such as Tent City 1 and Tent City 2 in Seattle, while being illegal “eruptions,” also provide longer-term shelter. The state sanctions, or at least tolerates, tent cities that shift from one site to another approximately every three months, but their continual change of location, and all of the associated hurdles, help maintain public awareness of the ongoing need for housing solutions.

At the other end of the spectrum, tent cities with a permanent location and properly established facilities begin to blur the line between quasi-legal occupations and traditional homeless shelters. As Markle explained, forcing people into small shelters or scattered spaces throughout a city means that the problem of homelessness “doesn't appear to be a political issue.” Similarly, once a tent city is located in a more permanent location, often in a low-income area far from an

urban centre, it is effectively “out of sight and out of mind” for many city dwellers. However, Markle is clear to point out that “shelters are [important] emergency stop gap measures until real housing [can be acquired].”

The eruptive tent city is also “an affirmation of community” which may carry though to later incarnations, according to Diewert. The establishment of a tent city represents a refusal of citizens to “sit around and wait for the state, nor to give it opportunities to act and set the framework within which...action can take place, but rather for the community to say ‘we can do this’ and to

take initiative.”

This perspective is echoed in the opinions of others. “The main point of a tent city is an exercise in self sustainability, self-organization, and community-building,” said Yifan Li of VANACT, who also helped build last year's Olympic Tent Village. In a similar vein, Markle said the “hope is that the tent city is a solidarity action between folks who live in the inner city and allies city-wide.”

The strength of this solidarity will perhaps dictate the resilience and longevity of Vancouver's newest tent city.

“Once a space is liberated... people will take advantage of that liberated space and create a community there, but one has to be prepared to support it as long as possible,” said Markle.

Whether Vancouver's upcoming tent city is the starting point of such a venture will depend on what unfolds in the ensuing weeks.

Zander Winther is a recent graduate of the Philosophy MA program at the University of Waterloo, and currently feels at home in both Vancouver and Seattle.

Figuring Out Fair Use

As Canada updates its copyright laws, a new clause is stirring debate among creators

by Norma Jean MacPhee

SYDNEY, NS—A House of Commons committee will resume hearings this month to consider Canada's copyright fate as laid out in Bill C-32, the Copyright Modernization Act. While public discussion of this bill—and of copyright in general—often centres around on-line and digital rights, many are concerned about the bill's impact on written material.

“If Bill C-32 passes, I stand to lose 85 per cent of my income,” says Douglas Arthur Brown. Brown has published five books, and is one of the 140,000 creators in Canada's \$46 billion arts and cultural industry.

Bill C-32 is a sweeping attempt to bring Canada's copyright act up-to-date, touching on everything from performance art to digital music to photography.

If passed, Bill C-32 will legitimize that little red “record” button on VCRs tucked away in people's attics and in electronic recycle heaps across the nation. As it stands, it's still illegal for Canadians to record TV shows. C-32 will also give legal permission to those folks already on the other end of the technological spectrum who use DVR televisions to digitally record television content.

Overall, it would bring Canada's copyright regulations up-to-date on many aspects of day-to-day life. But the bill includes elements that some feel aren't favourable to all Canadians.

Brown says that a new phrase included in the update to the copyright act will lead many authors to lose part of their income, some significantly. Bill C-32 includes “education” as a clause for “fair dealing” purposes.

Fair dealing means it's not an infringement of copyright to use

work for fair purposes. Until now this has included using materials for work related to research, private study, criticism, review or news reporting; the changes would add educational uses to this list.

Brown argues that he and many others in the creative community (the changes would apply just as much to filmmakers, musicians and visual artists as it would to writers) fear the implications of such an exemption, mainly because “education” is undefined in the bill.

“Our issue is simply just putting the word ‘education’ there—what does that mean?” says Executive Director of Access Copyright, Maureen Caven.

Access Copyright is a collective agency representing individual writers, playwrights and composers whose works have been copyrighted. Educational institutions purchase licenses from Access Copyright authorizing the copying of a specified amount of printed copyrighted material.

Likened to the way musicians receive a cheque each time their music is played on the radio from the Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada (better known as SOCAN), Access Copyright collects license fees from educational institutions and then pays this revenue back to writers—and this can amount to substantial income. In the case of Brown, these payments total the 85 per cent in revenue he fears he will lose.

With these licenses, educational institutions are allowed to copy a section of a novel—say, a chapter—so long as the chapter is less than 20 per cent of the completed work.

Caven says including education as fair dealing will mean there are no parameters around what and where the term “education”



Proposed changes to Canada's copyright laws are leaving all sides—from creators to users—reaching for answers.

Aimee van Drimmelen

applies.

"Is it restricted to classrooms?" he says. "What about training in other areas, training within corporations, educating clients?"

The inclusion of education in the fair dealing clause would not eliminate the fee payments educational institutions make to Access Copyright. However, Caven says the fear is the specified amount covered by the license will be ignored because the term "education" is ambiguous.

Some industry watchers say Caven's fears are unfounded. David Fewer, a lawyer who has written and taught about copyright law for many years, says there is no way educational institutions would have carte blanche to photocopy however much they want merely because of the clause "fair dealing for education" is included.

"If you tell a story and it sounds unfair, then it probably is unfair," says Fewer, who is also the director of the Canadian Internet Policy and Public Interest Clinic. "Copying entire copies of books? How is that fair? It's not fair, so it wouldn't be allowed."

Fewer says this new provision will allow students to make legal use of others' content. He says he's in favor of students using pre-existing work to create new videos or stories—commonly known as

mash-ups. Fewer says encouraging students to create mash-ups might work in authors' favor, as students will then be able to bring writers into the curriculum who might not have been there otherwise.

The Canadian School Boards Association (CSBA) has long lobbied for education to be considered fair dealing. Their website states, "These proposed amendments would provide a

"If Bill C-32 passes, I stand to lose 85 per cent of my income."

—author Douglas Arthur Brown

legal framework for students and for teachers regarding the use of freely-available Internet materials for educational purposes without fear of infringing copyright."

The CSBA further adds that it would balance the rights of educational users of copyrighted material with that of the creators.

Brown holds firm, however, that, since the phrase itself is undefined, writers cannot be assured that excessive and uncompensated copying won't happen. Only the Supreme Court of Canada can decide if something is fair dealing, and each incident is decided on a case-by-case basis. Brown says writers don't have the resources if they needed to take a case to court.

This is the third time the Conservative government has attempted to pass a bill to update Canada's copyright rules. The first attempt died on the table when an election was called in 2005; the second when Harper's proroguing of parliament dissolved all bills under consideration in 2008.

Bill C-32 has already passed Second Reading. It now sits at the legislative committee level.

Comprised of 12 members of parliament, these individuals will hear from more than 400 witnesses over the next few months. No new elements can be added to the bill; amendments alone are permitted.

Brown was among the first individuals to present to the committee in mid-December. "They asked me if there was anything in the bill that I as a creator could support, and I told them no."

Brown told the committee that, if passed, the bill would mean far more copying by teachers, while publishers and writers produce less work for schools. "You will be making my life's work much more difficult to sustain."

Fewer doesn't agree creators will lose any compensation with

this provision. "It streamlines the process of getting content into the classroom," he says. "It doesn't let you get away with content without paying for it. However, it lets you get the best use of content you have paid for."

He says writers should be more concerned about other aspects of Bill C-32, including digital locks being placed on their on-line work and ensuring they receive fair rates from publishers for on-line rights.

Fewer will be among at least 400 witnesses set to testify before the legislative committee considering Bill C-32. Amendments will be suggested and drafted during that time.

Maureen Caven of Access Copyright maintains that the bill cannot be passed without a clearer explanation of how the term fair dealing relates to education.

"A definition would be nice," says Caven. "That's the amendment that would be nice."

Back home in Cape Breton after presenting in Ottawa, Brown says he doesn't plan to stay quiet. "I'll continue to get the word out there, because not being compensated for my copyrighted work is anything but fair."

Norma Jean MacPhee lives in Sydney, Cape Breton where she continues her journey as a freelance writer and broadcaster.

The Self-Determination We Deserve

Landmark charter challenge launched as Bill C-389 raises debate

by Jesse Grass & Natalie Gray



MONTREAL—“Remember Stonewall?” read a banner dropped by two young people before they were arrested at this year’s Trans* Day of Remembrance in Ottawa. They were asking the community to remember a landmark riot against state repression and police brutality, led by Sylvia Rivera, a trans- woman of colour. The event is commonly known as “the hairpin drop heard around the world,” and remembered as having catalyzed North American trans-organizing.

In 1969, the year of the Stonewall Uprising in New York, it was hard to believe that a politician would ever seek to better the lives of trans- people; however, NDP MP Bill Siksay of Burnaby-Douglas hopes to do just that. Bill C-389, introduced by Siksay, would add gender identity and gender expression to the list of protected classes in the hate crimes section of the Criminal Code of Canada, and also to the Canada Human Rights Act, which protects against discrimination in housing and employment. On February 19, 2011, the bill passed the House of Commons and now awaits Senate approval.

When asked about Bill

C-389, Matt McLaughlin, Co-chair of the NDP LGBT Committee said, “A clear law banning discrimination based on gender identity or expression would make it clear...that discrimination on these specific grounds is not to be tolerated. This would help not only with litigation but also with public education and similar initiatives to stop transphobia.”

Conservative MP LaVar Payne, of Medicine Hat, Alberta, wrote in a letter to a concerned constituent that broadening identifiable groups in the Criminal Code “will further infringe on Canadians’ right to free speech.” Other right-wing opponents have deemed it “The Bathroom Bill,” suggesting that it would facilitate sexual assault in public washrooms. This attitude demonstrates the current lack of popular education surrounding gender, as well as the portrayal of trans- people as deceptive and suspicious.

However, not all critics of the bill are right-wing. Some trans-organizers argue that C-389 is limited in its analysis of systemic barriers facing the community, while others suggest that it may be

more harmful than helpful.

“In a culture that penalizes transgression, legal recognition of gender identity and expression can be important in order to access benefits including housing, legal rights, health care and some sense of safety,” says Mattilda Bernstein Sycamore, prominent queer anti-war activist and editor of the anthology *That’s Revolting!: Queer Strategies for Resisting Assimilation*. “But I don’t think we should be lulled into thinking that legal changes will give us the self-determination that we all deserve.”

“I think that an interesting question to ask might be, ‘Whose lives will it impact?’” says Jackson Ezra of l’Action Sante Travesti(e) s et Transsexuel(le)s du Quebec. ASTTeQ is a group that works to encourage the health and well-being of trans- people through access to resources and support.

“While I think that this bill opens up some really interesting discussions and debates, I [question] the impact that it [would] have on the lives of trans- sex workers, migrant and non-status people, poor people, people who use drugs, people who are homeless and turned away from shelters, people who

struggle every day just to get by [and] access basic services, and [those] whose lives and realities are criminalized,” he said.

In 2009, a similar bill—named the Gender Employment Non-Discrimination Act (GENDA)—was proposed and passed in the New York State Assembly, and awaits Senate approval. While garnering the support of many LGBT groups, a coalition of five organizations (The Sylvia Rivera Law Project, FIERCE, Queers for Economic Justice, The Peter Cicchino Youth Project and The Audre Lorde Project) wrote a letter to the GENDA coalition voicing their non-support of the bill, arguing that “[r]ather than serving as protection for oppressed people, the hate crimes portion of this law may expose our communities to more danger—from prejudiced institutions far more powerful and pervasive than individual bigots.”

The letter continues:

Hate crime laws are an easy way for the government to act like it is on our communities’ side while continuing to discriminate against us. Institutions can claim ‘anti-oppression’ legitimacy and



win points with communities affected by prejudice, while simultaneously using 'sentencing enhancement' to justify building more prisons to lock us up in. Hate crime laws foreground a single accused individual as the 'cause' of racism, homophobia, transphobia, misogyny, or any number of other oppressive prejudices. They encourage us to lay blame and focus our vengeful hostility on one person instead of paying attention to institutional prejudice that fuels police violence, encourages bureaucratic systems to ignore trans- people's needs or actively discriminate against us, and denies our communities health care, identification, and so much more.

Seeking to address barriers regarding sex designation and identification for trans- citizens, a challenge has recently been launched against the Directeur de l'Etat Civil du Quebec (DECQ) by Elias Dean. "If this case makes it to court," Dean told *The Dominion*, "it will be the first time in this province that the bodily autonomy of trans- people is addressed in a court of law."

Dean explained, "I am a

transsexual man whose demand for a change of legal sex designation was recently turned down. It was denied to me because even though I've received a GID diagnosis [trans- people are considered to experience Gender Identity Disorder, a diagnosis within the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders] and have undergone chest reconstruction and hormone therapy, I have not had a hysterectomy. Sterilization is mandatory to access a legal change of sex in Quebec. In the case of trans- women, vaginoplasty is required, and for trans- men, it's a hysterectomy."

Requirements for changing one's sex marker—that is, the "M" or "F" designated by the state on one's identification—vary from province to province. While sex reassignment surgery (SRS) is not needed for one to change one's legal name, it is consistently required to change the sex marker on provincial identification. The same set of laws are applicable nation-wide, but are inconsistently interpreted provincially.

In June 2010, trans- people and their allies rallied at the office of the DECQ demanding

access to name changes without excessive delay, sex marker changes without forced sterilization, sex marker changes for those without citizenship status (after living within the province for one year), the removal of sex indication on birth certificates, and clear guidelines available online regarding name and sex marker changes. PolitiQ; Queers Solidaires, a queer and trans- collective working towards creating spaces for the open discussion of sexuality and gender, organized the rally, which was endorsed by Stella, the 2110 Centre for Gender Advocacy, l'Association des Transsexuels et Transsexuelles du Quebec (ATQ), Project 10 and ASTTeQ.

Swan Kennedy, a speaker

"There are so many ways that trans-, genderqueer, gender defiant and gender nonconforming people continuously challenge the violence of state control of our lives, and [we] need to continue to build our own cultures, values, norms, institutions, and families while challenging all the violence around us," says Sycamore. "[This is] not just a state that asks us to submit to the prying and spying of medical professionals in order to grant us a basic need, but the state that continues all other forms of oppression as well, from oil drilling on Indigenous lands to a continuous crackdown on free speech and freedom of assembly."

"Not all trans- people experience the same kinds of violence,

Sterilization is mandatory to access a legal change of sex marker in Quebec.

at the rally, expressed the need for identification congruent with one's chosen identity, saying, "We need the DECQ to recognize that our livelihoods and lives are put at risk when we have identification that does not reflect our gender... The DECQ requires that an applicant have a "serious reason" to change their name on identity documents. Surely, discrimination against us [is a] serious reason."

Dean expands on this, saying, "Having mismatched paperwork jeopardizes our chances of obtaining jobs, housing and health care, [often pushing] us into committing survival crimes, which often results in jail time, with trans- women getting incarcerated in male prisons where they face serious violence, et cetera."

Whether or not one supports Bill C-389, the right to self-identify is central to ongoing trans- struggles. Trans- movements have been largely grassroots, mobilizing outside of government institutions. With Canada's history of institutional repression of trans- organizing, many question whether or not a representative or a piece of legislation could ever truly address the needs of such a diverse community.

and not all trans- people's needs are the same. As [allies], we need to understand trans- rights as the fight against police brutality, racist immigration policies, and the struggles against the criminalization of sex work, homelessness and drug use," says Ezra.

"Even though my being trans- is sometimes a source of grief for me, I am thankful to be part of a resilient community that has found its voice after having our lives narrated through medical discourse for so long—[a community] that is actively organizing and fighting back," adds Dean. "It is thanks to those who have walked this path before me that I can go ahead with this challenge."

*In this article we use the term "trans-" as an umbrella term to be inclusive of all transsexual, transgendered, gender-variant, genderqueer, and gender nonconforming individuals. While it is not our intention to conflate these identities, we seek to be inclusive.

Jesse Grass is a genderqueer, working-class fuck-up. Natalie Gray is a poet, a dumpster skid, and an intern with The Dominion.

Wikileaks

The Canadian Connection

E-One Moli Energy (Canada) Limited

A division of the E-One Moli Energy corporation of Taiwan, their Maple Ridge, BC, facility produces high rate lithium power cells used by the United States military for various portable communications devices like walkie-talkies and computers.

Waneta Dam & Seven Mile Dam

These dams are both located along the Pend d'Oreille River in Southern BC. The river winds through Idaho and Montana passing through four other hydro projects in the United States. The Waneta Dam is also critical for providing power for mining and metallurgic projects in Trail, BC.

Mica Dam

Located on the Columbia River, the Mica Dam was finished in 1973 by BC Hydro. According to the Wikileaks release a failure of this dam would have an immense impact on the Columbia River, which provides fresh water to much of Washington and Oregon.

TransCanada Pipelines

TransCanada runs a network of oil and gas pipelines from its head office in Calgary, AB, including numerous pipelines delivering resources to the United States. They are also behind the Keystone XL project, one of the largest tar sands pipeline projects planned to move tar sands bitumen south.

Enbridge Inc. & Alliance Pipeline

Based out of Calgary, AB, Enbridge Inc. operates the largest network of oil and gas pipelines in North America including 50% ownership of the Alliance Pipeline, a 3,717 km long natural gas pipeline that runs from Northern B.C. to Illinois listed as a key source of gas to the United States in the Wikileaks cable.

Cangene Corporation

One of Canada's largest bio-pharmaceutical corporations, Cangene works to produce vaccines and other bio-defense products (which are designed to combat the use of biological weapons) including three products currently part of the United States Strategic Stockpile.

- Key Site Mentioned
- Border Crossing
- Military Infrastructure
- ⚡ Power Generation
- ⊕ Pharmaceutical
- ⛢ Oil and Gas Production
- Maritime & North American Pipelines
- Enbridge & Alliance Pipelines
- TransCanada Pipelines



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In late November 2010 WikiLeaks released a United States diplomatic cable that listed sites key to U.S. interests on Canadian soil. It includes a number of major hydro-electric projects, mines, pharmaceutical companies, communications companies and corporations responsible for the manufacture of key military equipment and components.

by Cameron Fenton

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James Bay Hydro-Electric Project

The James Bay I and II hydroelectric projects comprise one of the largest mega-dam projects on the planet, flooding an area the size of Belgium in traditional Indigenous territory. The project produces the majority of Quebec's power and is a major source of electricity for the Northeastern United States.

Elcan Optical Technologies

Part of the Raytheon group of companies-corporations who work on defense and aerospace technologies-Elcan is responsible for creating various optic and electronic technologies for militaries around the globe, including the United States' AGM-130 air-to-surface missile and US technologies. According to their website, "WE KEEP TOUGH COMPANY."

General Dynamics Land Systems Canada

Develops and produces amphibious and land based military vehicles, sub-systems and various components. They are a key player in the United States military's Future Combat System program. They hold contracts to produce the Stryker (a land assault and transport vehicle), the Fox (a chemical weapons reconnaissance vehicle), to upgrade existing vehicles and work on various other projects for both the military and the United States Marine Corps. The company provides the Marines with the widely used Land Assault Vehicle (LAV).

Chalk River Laboratories

Built in 1942 and now run by Atomic Energy of Canada, Ltd., Chalk River is the largest supplier of medical isotopes to the United States and has had two major accidents during its time in operation.

Niobec Niobium Mine

Located 200 kilometres north of Quebec City, IAMGOLD operates the Niobec Niobium mine, which has a potential reserve of 32,086 tonnes of Niobium, a mineral used to harden steel for military application.

Thales Optronique Canada Inc.

Part of the Thales Group, an international group consortium with operations in over 50 countries, Thales Optronique Canada develops "mission-critical information systems" for military, and other uses. Located in Montreal, Wikileaks states they are responsible for "critical optical systems for ground combat vehicles" of the United States military.

Hydro Quebec

Quebec's main source of energy, Hydro Quebec operates major hydroelectric installations, wind power facilities, and the Gentilly 2 Nuclear power plant and is considered a "critical, irreplaceable" source of power to the Northeast US.

GlaxoSmithKline Inc.

Located in Quebec City, with a major production facility in Laval, GlaxoSmithKline Inc. Produces 75 per cent of the yearly Canadian government purchase of flu vaccines, as well as serves as the primary supplier for pre-pandemic influenza vaccines in the United States.

Robert Moses/Robert H. Saunders Power Project

Located on the Canada/US border, this project is actually two dams, one run by the New York Power Authority, the other by Ontario Power, jointly providing electricity to the local grid in both countries as part of the St. Lawrence Power Project.

Darlington & Pickering Nuclear Power Plants

Located on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, the Pickering Nuclear plant produces large amounts of electricity which feeds into both the Canadian and United States electrical grids.

Hibernia Atlantic – Undersea Fiber-Optic Cable Landing

Hibernia Atlantic operates a high speed, fibre optic telecommunications system that runs between North America and Europe with landing points from Ireland and the UK in Halifax, NS. This system is part of the United States' communications network, and was developed, according to Hibernia, for the protection of "global communications cables' critical infrastructure, as outlined in Homeland Security's National Strategy for Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures and Key Assets report."

Maritime and Northeast Pipeline

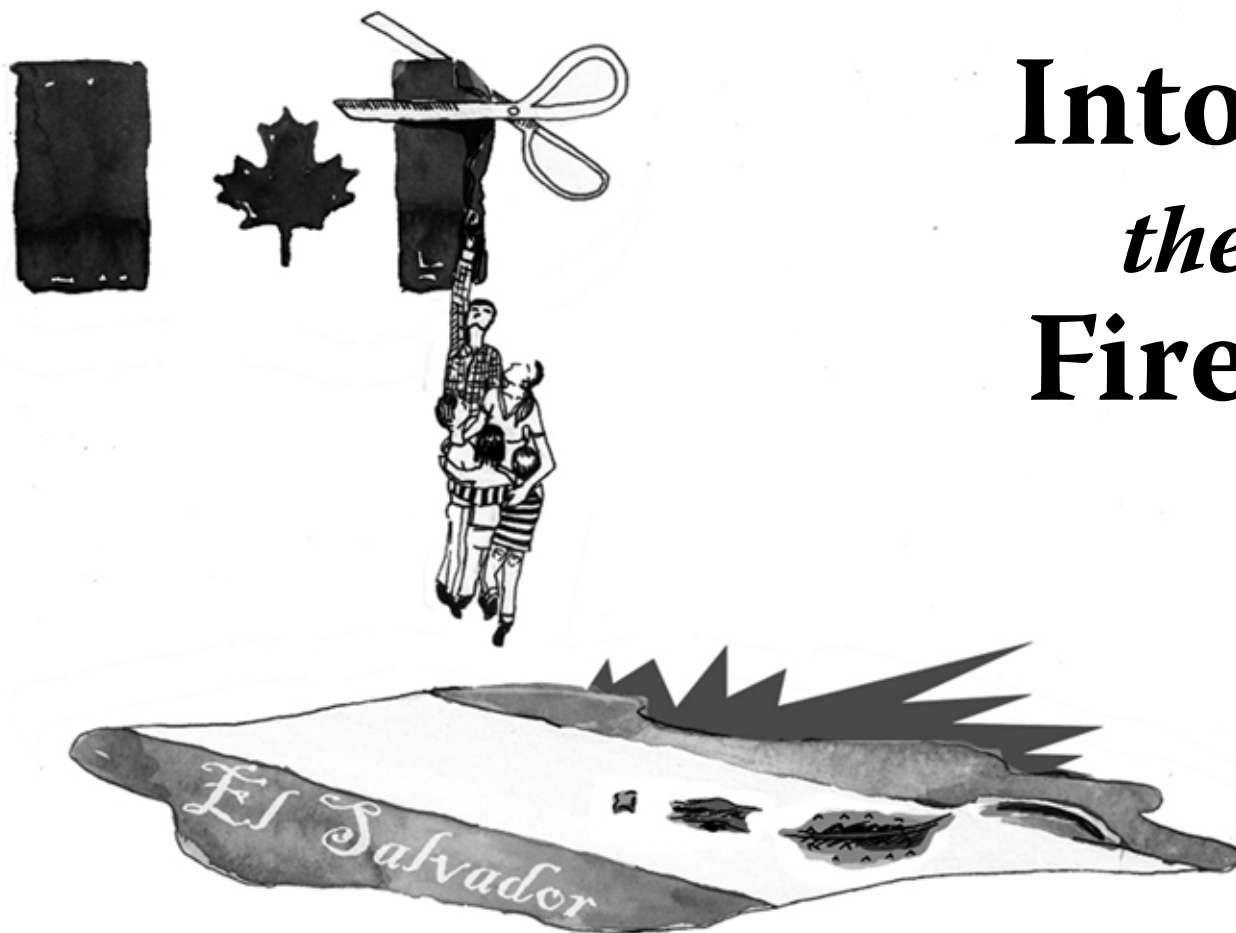
The Maritime and Northeast Pipeline is a joint venture of Spectra Energy, Emera Inc., and ExxonMobil, operating a 1400 kilometre long pipeline between Nova Scotia and other parts of Atlantic Canada and the Northeastern and coastal United States.

Sanofi Pasteur

Sanofi Pasteur is the vaccines division of the Sanofi-Aventis Group and the largest vaccine company in Canada. They produce vaccines for diphtheria, tetanus, pertussis and measles in Canada and are the largest provider of polio vaccine to the United States. Sanofi has also partnered with the World Health Organization for a number of projects.

AlliedSignal Hydrofluoric Acid Production Facility

Re-opened in 1996 to meet market demands, this facility run by AlliedSignal (part of Honeywell International, a corporation involved in everything from oil and gas to ballistic missile defense) produces large quantities of hydrofluoric acid, a key component for oil refining and the manufacture of cleaning compounds and various fluoride derivatives. The facility was temporarily closed in mid-November 2010 to investigate a leak.



Into the Fire

Deportation ends Salvadoran family's long wait for asylum in Canada

by Isabel Macdonald

MONTREAL—Ever since Canada deported her family to El Salvador in December 2010, Jessica Vides says she fears for her life—and the lives of her young children.

"I am afraid to leave the house. The children can't go to school," said the mother of three, two of whom are Canadian citizens, in a telephone interview from San Salvador, El Salvador's capital.

She and her husband, Eduardo Vides, fled their native country of El Salvador five years ago, she said, due to death threats from one of the country's notorious street gangs. Now that the family is back in San Salvador, she says the death threats have returned with a vengeance.

Two weeks after they were deported, Jessica Vides said the

family received a menacing visit from men they suspect are gang members, who threatened to kill them if they failed to pay thousands of dollars.

"We all hid in a room at the back of the house," she told *The Dominion*.

Such threats are exactly why she says the family left their home in San Salvador in the first place, and sought refuge in Canada.

But the peaceful refuge they'd dreamed of turned into a nightmare five years after they settled in Montreal. The family's plight in the hands of Canadian immigration authorities raises serious concerns about Canada's

refugee policy. The Vides family accuses authorities of injuring their child while she clung to her dad as he was being carted off to an immigrant detention centre.

Eduardo Vides's difficulties began when, as a passerby, he randomly witnessed the assassination of a woman on the street in San Salvador five years ago. Men he suspected were gang members soon started following him, he said in an interview with *The Dominion*.

Then the death threats started. He was warned that if he did not pay thousands of dollars, his whole family would be killed.

"I didn't have the money,"

he said. And so the family fled, escaping to Guatemala, and from there, to several US cities. In Buffalo, New York, with the help of a nonprofit group called *Vive el Casa*, they came to Canada as refugee claimants, according to Jessica Vides.

When they arrived in Canada, their first-born child, Eduarda, was just one year old. While awaiting a final decision on their asylum claim and subsequent judicial review of the decision, years passed. While they waited, Jessica and her husband established a home on Crevier Street in Montreal's Ville St. Laurent neighbourhood, where they had two more children: Andrea, now aged five, and Gustavo, now aged two. Originally trained as a pilot, Eduardo Vides found industrial maintenance work through an agency.

While the Canadian government introduces refugee and immigration reforms they say will improve the system, others are worried that it still fails to meet the needs of asylum seekers. The Vides family, who were recently deported back to El Salvador, are one example, having faced renewed danger and death threats since being expelled from Canada.

Image by Marie Zahradnik.

But their asylum claim was eventually rejected. Canada has in the past accepted Salvadoran refugees fleeing gang violence. However, given that asylum claims are heard before a single member of the Immigration and Refugee Board, it is, to some extent, the “luck of the draw,” according to Janet Dench, the executive director of the Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR).

The Vides family went to Federal Court for a judicial review, but after a long wait, they learned that the verdict on that too was negative.

At a November 23, 2010, meeting at Citizenship and Immigration Canada's offices in downtown Montreal, Eduardo Vides was informed that the family was slated to be deported three weeks later. Vides said he pleaded at the meeting for the government to allow the family to stay until his daughter had completed her school year. Eduarda Vides, who is now seven years old, was enrolled as a first-grade student at Ville St. Laurent's Bois Franc-Aquarelle elementary school, and her dad had been working for more than a year at a job repairing boilers, when the government ordered the family's deportation.

According to Vides, they responded by arresting him on the spot.

Three weeks later, in an interview with *The Dominion*, it was still difficult for Eduardo Vides to speak about the events of that fateful day. The slim man with gentle mannerisms spoke with a shaky voice about how his seven-year-old daughter, who was present at the meeting and witnessed the emotional exchange between her father and the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) agents, had thrown her arms around him. He recalled with a pained expression, “She hugged me, [and] I hugged her back.”

According to Vides, two male immigration agents grabbed him—from either side, an officer clamped onto his arms.

A third, female, officer grabbed the frightened first-grader. The girl “held on hard with

her arms,” her father recounted.

Vides claims that the female officer injured his daughter as she wrestled the seven-year-old girl off of him. She had “wounds all over her back, stomach, and also scars on her leg,” he said. “She couldn't walk.”

Meanwhile, Canadian immigration agents hauled Eduardo Vides off to the CBSA's Laval detention center.

Given that asylum claims are heard before a single member of the Immigration and Refugee Board, it is, to some extent, the “luck of the draw.”

Reached by telephone for comment, Dominique McNealy, a CBSA agent at the centre, clarified that immigrants are detained primarily because authorities are not sure of the immigrant's identity, or in cases in which the immigrant poses a “flight risk” or a menace to Canada. However, he would not comment on why the authorities decided to incarcerate Vides, who had declared his identity to the

Staff at St. Justine refused to examine the girl upon hearing that her injuries had stemmed from a confrontation with immigration authorities.

authorities, and, as an employed worker concerned with the continuation of his daughter's schooling, seemed to pose little risk of either flight or danger to the public.

Immigration attorney Jared Will observed in a telephone interview that, “Immigration officers have a great amount of power over people's lives. Yet there's no accountability process that is comparable to even something police officers have.”

Will noted that while it is possible to file complaints against immigration officers, “in terms of holding them accountable, there's no process that has any teeth.”

Locked up in the immigrant prison in Laval, Eduardo Vides took matters into his own hands.

He began a hunger strike in protest of his family's treatment.

CBSA put him in his own private “room” (like the term “prisoner,” the word “cell” is avoided in the parlance of the immigrant detention system), isolating him from the general population.

Meanwhile, Jessica Vides was desperately seeking medical treatment for her eldest

daughter, who she said had still not recovered from the injuries suffered in the hands of the immigration officer three weeks prior. Upon the advice of a local nonprofit, she brought Eduarda to Montreal's principal francophone children's hospital, St. Justine. However, staff there refused to examine the girl upon hearing that her injuries had stemmed from a confrontation with immigration authorities, according to Eduarda's

lawyer, Stephane Dulude, told Jessica Vides to go instead to the airport, as ordered by CBSA. Upon this advice, Jessica arrived at the airport with her three children, and presented herself to the immigration authorities. She appealed on her daughter's behalf for medical attention.

Reached by telephone, CBSA spokesperson Stephane Malepart said that, “we make sure that everybody's in good health to travel. If that person has to go to the hospital before travelling, well then we take them to the hospital and that's it.”

However, Jessica Vides told *The Dominion* that the immigration agent she appealed to responded by asking whether the girl was a Canadian citizen. Vides says she was told, “If not, it doesn't matter. She has to leave.” The seven-year-old was thus refused treatment again. And then she, her little brother and sister (both Canadian citizens), and their mom, were all immediately deported.

The Vides family's deportation was executed on day 22 of Eduardo's hunger strike.

Two days later, *The Dominion*, accompanied by Sarita Ahooja, an organizer with No One Is Illegal and Solidarity Across Borders, visited Eduardo in the Laval detention centre.

An activist with long experience working with immigrants in detention, Ahooja expressed surprise when the CBSA guards led us to a private office-style room equipped with office chairs, a desk, and a computer to wait for Eduardo Vides. (She pointed out the usual meeting room as we exited: a sparse common room with plastic chairs.)

Ahooja commented that she had never seen such measures taken in the Laval detention centre. Eduardo was being kept in isolation “to avoid the possibility that his resolve would spread and inspire others to defy an unjust and repressive system,” she later explained in an email to *The Dominion*, adding that this was not just her analysis but also Eduardo Vides's.

When asked about CBSA's response to the hunger strike,

Malepart said the agency takes such actions very “seriously.” In fact, they had even put off Vides’s deportation, originally scheduled for December 15.

But upon hearing about his wife and kids’ deportation, the Salvadoran man broke his hunger strike. He wished to be with his family, even despite the threats on his life in El Salvador, he explained.

Late on the afternoon of the following Friday, CBSA informed him that he would be deported very late that Sunday night—a timing Vides found “suspicious,” given that it left very little time for legal recourse.

In the 2008–2009 fiscal year, the last year for which figures are available on the CBSA’s website, 13,249 people were deported from Canada—an increase of well over 50 per cent since 1999. Of those deported, 9,672 were, like the Vides family, asylum seekers whose claims had been turned down by the Canadian government. And, since last summer’s passage of a new refugee reform bill, this trend seems to be on the rise, as the government shifts ever greater resources into what CBSA euphemistically refers to as “removals.”

Bill C-11, which will go into effect over the next year, is, among other things, supposed to eliminate the excessively long delays that families like the Videses have faced in waiting for a final decision on their asylum

claims. “It was a fact that many people had been waiting for years” for final decisions on their refugee claims, according to Dench. This problem has been made worse in recent years by the federal Conservatives’ failure to fill dozens of vacancies on the Immigration and Refugee Board.

Moreover, the lack of a refugee appeals process in the current system means that asylum seekers whose claims are rejected are forced to go through a lengthy judicial review by the Federal Court. These delays have serious consequences for asylum seekers, making it very likely that families like the Videses will settle in Canada over the course of the excessive waits they are forced to undergo, and then face undue hardships if their refugee claims are turned down and they are forced to leave the country.

Bill C-11 is supposed to address these problems by shortening the timelines for asylum decisions, and creating a new refugee appeals process that will expedite the processing of asylum seekers whose claims are rejected. According to the Canadian government’s backgrounder on the bill, the new system also entails “hiring more officers to expedite removals.”

Groups like the CCR assess the new legislation as a positive development overall, although they express concerns that the new timelines may not allow sufficient time for all asylum

seekers to prepare claims, and they are critical of the way the new system creates a discriminatory two-tier system based on asylum seekers’ country of origin. As well, given that many families like the Videses have already built lives for themselves in Canada due to the excessive delays of the old system, the new emphasis on “removals” raises serious concerns.

Already, there seem to be changes in how immigration authorities are dealing with outstanding deportation orders, according to Will. “There are situations where before they would have waited, and now they’re just plowing ahead as quickly as possible,” the Montreal-based immigration lawyer observed. “There’s definitely been a very obvious hardening in carrying out deportations in situations in which there may have been more leeway in the recent past,” he added.

As the country lurches from the old dysfunctional system in which thousands of asylum seekers spent years waiting for a decision, to a renewed emphasis on deportations, one can only guess how many families will suffer the consequences.

Back in San Salvador, Jessica Vides is worried about how her family will survive. If they pay the money to the gangs, “how will we feed the kids?” she asked, adding that with the threats to their lives, “Eduardo can’t go to work.” The family cannot possibly stay in El Salvador, she said.

More than a month after his family’s deportation, the young father who had defied CBSA with his hunger strike sounded tired, and sad.

“I don’t know what we’re going to do here right now. We’re in a very hard situation,” he said.

The family yearns to return home—to Canada.

Brought to Canada when she was just one year old, it is the only country Eduarda Vida has ever known. “She tells me that she misses her country,” Jessica Vides told *The Dominion*. The seven-year-old girl’s mom says she corrects her daughter’s “mistake.” For as CBSA has made painfully clear to both of Eduarda’s parents, Canada is not their country.

But for the girl who was abruptly yanked out of her first grade year at Montreal’s Bois Franc-Aquarelle elementary school in December, this is no easy lesson.

“I miss my friends,” the seven-year old told *The Dominion* mournfully, in a telephone from San Salvador more than a month after her family’s deportation. She also misses the snow, and her school, she said.

“I don’t have school here,” she added, explaining, “we can’t leave the house.”

Isabel Macdonald is a Montreal-based journalist and media scholar who has written for The Nation, The Guardian and The Toronto Star, amongst other publications.

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Canada Gets Cuddly with Mining Companies

Unconditional love for extractive industry costs taxpayers, say C-300 supporters

by Justin Ling

HALIFAX—Despite the death of Bill C-300, which would have introduced accountability for Canadian mining, oil or gas corporations operating in developing countries, watchdog groups are sounding the alarm louder than ever over what they see as a conflict of interest in the government. Not only is there a refusal to regulate these industries, they say, but government agencies are providing direct and indirect support for their practices.

“They are aiding and abetting, essentially,” said Catherine Coumans.

Coumans is the research coordinator for MiningWatch Canada. The group's raison d'être is to be a watchdog in the extractive sector, drawing attention to human rights and environmental abuses perpetrated by Canadian companies. MiningWatch also lobbies MPs to promote sustainable mining practices and policies, such as Bill C-300, which would have disqualified any corporation implicated in unethical operations from receiving government funds.

Bill C-300 gained broad support—from a coalition of NGOs and activists to the *Globe & Mail* and *The Toronto Star*—yet was defeated by six votes in its final reading in the House of Commons. Despite their initial support for the bill, the Bloc Québécois, Liberals and NDP were instrumental in its defeat, as a handful of their members missed the vote, including Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff.

Mining companies and the Conservative government vehemently opposed the bill. Industry lobbyists, including former Liberal cabinet minister Don Boudria, met with MPs on the issue nearly 100 times in October 2010 alone.

Opposition to Bill C-300, and to regulations it would have imposed, extends abroad.

The Harper government committed in 2009 to re-focus aid to Latin America, adding five



Critics are asking whether, with the defeat of Bill C-300, the Canadian government is getting too comfortable with the country's mining, gas and oil companies.

Caitlin Crawshaw

countries from the region to its list of 20 countries targeted by a \$1.5 billion bilateral aid fund. The list included mineral-rich countries such as Colombia, Bolivia and Peru.

CIDA unexpectedly announced in November 2009 that KAIROS would no longer receive funding through the public agency. The sudden move raised eyebrows, especially after freelancer Kim Mackrael obtained through a freedom of information

committee, but has since admitted she edited the document.

In La Libertad, Peru, CIDA is spearheading a \$500,000 reforestation project. Coumans says the project sounds good, but if this project is reforesting its mine site, that should be the responsibility of Barrick Gold. Coumans argues that Canadian taxpayers should not be footing the bill to fix Barrick's environmental impact, especially not under the auspices of “development.”

Mining industry lobbyists met with MPs about Bill C-300 nearly 100 times in October 2010 alone.

request the department memo responding to KAIROS's funding proposal, and published the story with Canadian Press. The memo read, “RECOMMENDATION—That you sign below to indicate you (not) approve a contribution of \$7,098,758 over four years...” The word “not” was hand written above by an unknown person and was signed by International Co-operation Minister Bev Oda. Oda denied altering the application in front of a parliamentary

The La Libertad project is essentially a facade, says Emilie Lemieux, winner of the 2009 Gordon Global Fellowship, an annual award given to a progressive Canadian committed to sustainable international development. In a scathing report based on her experience in the region, she writes, “This project seems to fulfill the basic social needs the company is looking to address, as well as the Canadian embassy's interest to work in [Corporate

Social Responsibility], rather than the needs of the local population.” She goes on to say that CIDA's involvement exists simply to put a good face on Barrick's work, and that locals had no engagement in the projects.

In rhetoric and in cash, the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) also backs the Canadian extractive sector abroad. Centerra Gold, a Toronto-based company operates the Kumtor mine in Kyrgyzstan. The operation was sharply criticized for being a dangerous work environment after one worker was crushed by a pit wall in 2002. In 1998 and again in 2000, transport trucks spilled tonnes of toxic and explosive material. The accidents caused four deaths and 2,500 illnesses.

The Kumtor mine is the recipient of \$35 million from the Canada Pension Plan investment board and \$50 million in political risk insurance from Export Development Canada (EDC). Political risk insurance covers 90 per cent of a company's investment in a “developing” country against events such as government nationalization or political turmoil. The stipulations for receiving the insurance revolve around EDC's corporate social responsibility policies. The *Financial Post* has estimated that the crown corporation gives the extractive industry \$20 billion in subsidies and insurance, including \$1.3 billion in political risk insurance.

While Bill C-300 may be dead, an alternative bill is lying stagnant on the floor of the House of Commons. Bill C-354 would empower non-Canadian citizens who claim to be affected by Canadian mining companies to sue those companies. While opinion on the bill is mixed, those who supported C-300 are desperate for federal regulation of Canadian-owned mines.

Justin Ling is an activist and a journalist based in Halifax. For the complete version of this article, visit dominionpaper.ca.

Fighting the Height

No more condo towers in the Downtown East Side, says council



by Murray Bush

VANCOUVER—Downtown East Side (DTES) residents and organizations are speaking out against the Vancouver City plan for more condo towers in their neighbourhood.

Spearheaded by the Downtown East Side Neighbourhood Council (DNC),

an ad hoc coalition held a press conference January 17, 2011, to denounce the city's Historic Area Heights Review. The city council, which is dominated by Vancouver Vision, is expected to use the review as an excuse to ease height restrictions so developers can flood the area with high-rise luxury condos. The DNC is also cam-

paigning for 10 sites of low-income, resident-controlled housing in the DTES before the next civic election.

Speaker after speaker at the press conference vowed to take the fight to City Hall.

Murray Bush is a longtime Vancouver-based community activist and graphic designer who lives in the suburbs of Tent Village.

Clockwise from top: Community press conference in response to Vancouver City's condo towers plan; Sid Chow Tan of the Association of Chinese Canadians for Equality and Solidarity Society; Setting up for the height fight; Power of Women spokesperson Stella August.

Sinixt in Vancouver Courts

"Extinct" nation defends traditional territory

by Gord Hill

VANCOUVER—Throughout January and early February 2011, members of the Sinixt Nation were in Vancouver attending a BC Supreme Court case resulting from their three-week-long anti-logging blockade in October 2010. In this case, Sunshine Logging Ltd., as well as the Attorney-General and Ministry of Forests, are respondents to the Sinixt injunction that was obtained at that time (and which granted a temporary halt to logging operations).

The territory of the Sinixt is located in the south-east region of the province in the Slocan Valley area between the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers (including the Upper and Lower Arrow Lakes, for which the Sinixt are also named). They began the blockade in October 2010 to protect Perry Ridge, the site of proposed logging. According to the Sinixt, Perry Ridge is an important archeological site as well as some of the last remaining untouched wilderness in their territory.

The Sinixt are an interior Salish people who were declared extinct by the federal government in 1956, effectively eliminating Sinixt from any benefits under the Indian Act, including a land base (i.e., a reserve). Their traditional territory spans the US-Canada border, which was established in 1846. Many Sinixt gravitated towards the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington State (which had several different tribal groups concentrated there, including Okanagan and Nez Perce). Some 80 per cent of Sinixt territory, however, is north of the border.

The Sinixt territory has been devastated by a century of industrial mining, logging and dams. Fifteen dams have been built in the region, centred around the Columbia River Basin. In fact, just one year after Canada declared the Sinixt extinct, the US-Canada Columbia River Treaty was signed (in 1957), granting the US access



Once described as "extinct," the Sinixt Nation is seeking a court injunction against logging in their territory.

Ryan James Terry

to vast amounts of water and hydroelectric energy from this dam system.

The dams, which have destroyed salmon habitat (a primary food source for the Columbia River peoples), are used to supply power to numerous metal smelters, including aluminum, zinc, and lead. Corporations such as Cominco have dumped millions of tons of toxic pollutants into the Columbia River.

For the past 25 years, members of the Sinixt Nation have campaigned for recognition of their sovereignty and in defence of their land. Some also demand that the federal government re-establish the Arrow Lakes Indian Band and reserve.

Since 1989, the Sinixt have maintained a presence at Vallican along the Slocan River. The camp was established to protect burial grounds and archeological sites unearthed by road construction in 1987. At that time, the Ministry of Highways (which builds the roads and bridges for

logging companies) made no effort to contact any Sinixt and instead deposited skeletal remains and archeological objects into museums.

In 1997, the Sinixt, along with local residents and environmentalists, blocked road construction on Perry Ridge. As many as 300 people participated. In 2000, non-Native residents of the area protested clear-cut logging by blockading the logging road. Most recently, on October 26, 2010, the Sinixt Nation asserted their sovereignty by initiating the Sinixt Slhu7kin' (Perry Ridge) Protection Camp on their ancestral lands.

In addition to government bureaucracy and intransigence, the Sinixt also face obstacles from neighbouring Indian Act band councils, including those of the Okanagan National Alliance and the Lower Kootenay Band, both of which claim Sinixt land as part of their traditional territories. In Washington state, the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation has asserted itself as

the sole representative of Sinixt in both the US and Canada.

Hearings into the case concluded on February 4, and, according to the Nelson Star, a decision could be rendered within the month. For updates, visit <http://mediacoop.ca>.

Gord Hill is from the Kwakwaka'wakw Nation and has been active in Indigenous and anti-capitalist movements for many years, including writing and graphic arts under the pseudonym Zig Zag.

These articles were produced by the Vancouver Media Co-op.



For more radical news from unsundered Coast Salish Territory check out vancouver.mediacoop.ca

You've Got Bail!

Ryan Rainville, "freedom," and the letter of G20 law

by Megan Kinch

TORONTO—The men's shelter doesn't look like a prison. There are no bars on the windows, no sign announcing the building's institutional status. The walls are decorated with posters about Indigenous pride and occasionally the air is tinged with the sweet smell of burning sage.

For Ryan Rainville however, it is a prison. He is not allowed to leave the shelter except to see his lawyer and for occasional group activities. There is a long list of people—some of whom he has never met—whom the courts have ordered him not to contact. Because of these conditions he can't work or go to school.

"I went from being able to actually work and come up with my own money to not being able to work...It's driving me nuts that I can't go out there and look for work because I want to help my mom, and her partner," said Rainville, whose mother was recently diagnosed with cancer. "That poor guy is working double shifts so that he can keep up with the [medical] bills."

Rainville is charged with crimes related to alleged participation in the Black Bloc during the G20 protests. He was arrested August 5, 2010. His original bail was denied and he spent three months in pre-trial detention in prisons in the Toronto area before finally being granted bail on November 9, 2010.

During the G20 protests in Toronto in June 2010, more than 1,100 people were arrested in the largest mass arrest in Canadian history. Many more were detained or trapped in the rainy streets for hours between lines of riot police using a tactic called "kettling."

The now-infamous Public Works Protection Act, a Second World War-era law that was secretly re-enacted by the province—and which the Ontario Ombudsman called "illegal" and "likely unconstitutional" in a report released in December



Ryan Rainville is out on bail for alleged involvement in Black Bloc activities during the Toronto G20. Bail conditions—and the entire judicial process—depend heavily on a person's financial situation.

Megan Kinch

2010—was used for arrests across a broad swath of downtown Toronto, even though the act was supposed to apply to the area inside the G20 security fence. In a video posted on YouTube, police officers were quoted as saying, "This ain't Canada right now; you're in G20 land." Only one man—envi-

after arrest. Due cause was thin on the ground, and in many cases, passers-by were arrested. A Toronto Transit Commission worker in full uniform was arrested while walking between job sites. By the time of the first mass court date for G20 defendants in August 2010, only 300 people

appear to be targeting particular kinds of activists on thin pretenses. Indigenous activist Jaroslava Avila was arrested after speaking at a health-related event on September 29, 2010, at the University of Toronto, only to have charges dropped for lack of evidence on December 20, 2010, after her name was released to the press and she had spent months living with restrictive bail conditions.

Rainville, 23, is active in Indigenous and working-class organizing. Friends describe him as a tireless activist, always ready with a joke or an insightful observation. He is of Cree background, but notes that he appears White, and therefore escapes the worst racial prejudice.

He is fluent in Spanish—his stepfather is from El Salvador and he taught himself the language while spending time in the country. Self-educated, Rainville is reading through a huge stack of books—political literature, texts on Indigenous land claims and Fou-

"If you have a lot of money you are going to get more justice in this system."

—lawyer Davin Charney

ronmental justice activist Dave Vasey—was formally charged under the Public Works Protection Act, but when he arrived at his court date, he found the charges had been "lost."

Many who were released from the temporary detention centre on Eastern Avenue allege beatings by police, threats of rape, strip searches of young women by male officers and widespread denial of the right to call a lawyer

faced charges, 100 of which were dropped that day at the courthouse for lack of evidence, and 100 more which were dropped October 14, 2010.

Since the G20, police have engaged in what critics are calling a witchhunt against activists, arresting 11 from Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) during a small demonstration outside Liberal Party headquarters in downtown Toronto. Authorities

cault's Discipline and Punish. He was working on his high school diploma through an academic upgrading course at George Brown before he was forced to drop out due to post-G20 legal harassment. Prior to his current bail conditions, he supported himself through work as a factory laborer and as a baker.

Despite having no criminal record, Rainville was initially denied bail, and had to wait in jail for three months until his appeal was heard. Most other G20 defendants in this situation were released within days or weeks. Rainville attributes this disparity in treatment to poverty.

"My father is dirt-poor and works for just above minimum wage as a truck driver, and my mother lives in the US right now, and is also dirt-poor," he said. "She was working in a factory for \$7.25 per hour until she contracted breast cancer, for which she just had surgery today."

Because of economic insecurity, he explained, his family has been forced to disperse from Toronto. This makes it difficult to get bail, as he would be unable to live with family if released. Neither can his family post up large amounts of money, nor purchase a plane ticket to Toronto to testify in court on his behalf. Each of these elements of a disadvantaged economic situation work against someone going through the court system.

"If you have a lot of money you are going to get more justice in this system," said lawyer Davin Charney, who is familiar with Rainville's case and is defending other G20 arrestees. "This doesn't apply just to Ryan; this applies to people of the working class and impoverished people." Charney said many people in economic difficulty find it hard to access bail, not only because they have trouble raising the large sums of

money required, but also because they have trouble finding someone who will be respected by the court, and who has space to put them up if the court requires a residential surety—someone who can vouch for them. Homeless people, for example, do not have an address—a requirement to be granted bail.

Gary McCullough, who was arrested for driving near the G20 zone with most of his possessions

"I think it's supposed to disrupt...and to be punitive despite the fact that we haven't been convicted of anything."

—G20 defendant Alex Hundert

in his car, experienced the judicial disadvantage of poverty that Charney cited. According to the *Toronto Star*, McCullough was kept in prison with minimal health care and suffered a jailhouse beating, exacerbating his mental illness. He was initially denied bail because his elderly parents are unable to supervise him. He was only released December 6, 2010.

"People charged with what would be essentially the same crime are being treated very differently [than non-G20 related offenders]," said Charney. "For example, in my practice when people are charged with mischief it's seen as a less serious offence, but for some reason because of the context of the G20 there is all this hysteria... They are pulling officers who would normally be on the homicide squad, or the sexual assault squad, and [assigning] them to investigate these 'mischief makers,' which I find really upsetting. It's a political decision on the part of the police."

Byron Sonne, charged with computer crimes, has been incarcerated without bail since his arrest on June 22, 2010, before the G20 even started.

Activist Alex Hundert was

preemptively arrested in the early morning on June 26, 2010, released on bail, then re-arrested. Police interpreted his speaking with several professors at an indoor panel at Ryerson University on September 17, 2010, as violating a bail condition about speaking at public demonstrations. He was released after the legality of this was challenged and after being forced under duress on October 13

having surgery. "They're telling me that I'm free. But if I were free I'd be holding my mom's hand next to her hospital bed right now in Louisiana."

More recent tests found his mother to now be free of cancer.

Rainville can leave the shelter for medical and legal appointments and on group field trips with the shelter staff.

"Aside from that I'm forcibly confined...I basically feel like I'm in jail still, minus the fact my mail is not being torn through and I can read whatever literature I want, and I can have visitors...But aside from that I'm forcibly confined."

The front door of the shelter visibly bothers Ryan; he says he effectively acts as his own jailer.

"I'm doing it to myself, it's basically out of this want to not end up in jail again," he said. "I go crazy in this place sometimes. I have to stick to doing jumping jacks and push-ups in my room because I feel like a trapped animal."

In spite of blatant denial of individuals' civil rights by the Canadian state, G20 arrestees have been first to encourage Canadians to keep their arrests and detentions in perspective.

"It's a hugely intrusive imposition," said Hundert of bail conditions before he was placed on conditions which restricted his ability to talk to media, "I think it's supposed to disrupt the communities in which we organize and to be punitive despite the fact that we haven't been convicted of anything."

Rainville agrees. "Forget about this," he said. "Forget about me having a little bit of privilege stripped away from me...This whole thing is a walk in the park compared to what they are doing to people like Omar Khadr."

Megan Kinch is an activist and journalist in Toronto.

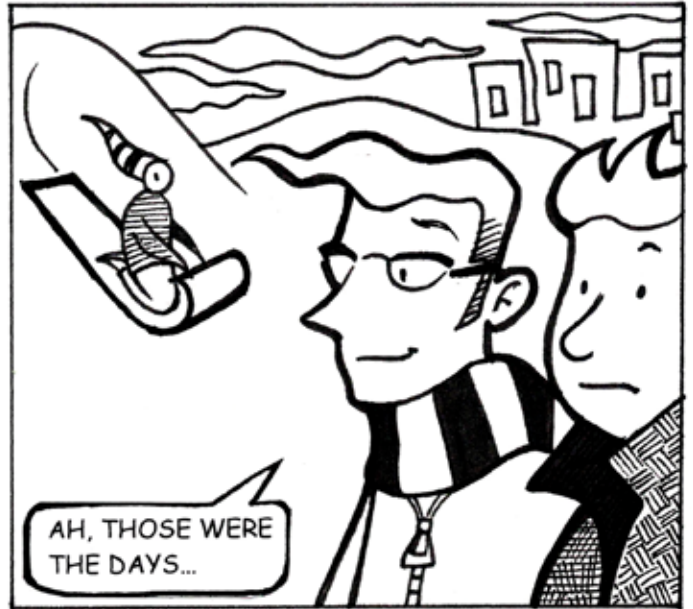
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