

# Fire and Flames!

## A Militant Report on Toronto Anti-G20 Resistance

by Zig Zag, July 2010



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## Report on Toronto G20 Resistance

“The images of riot police, tear gas, breaking glass and burning police cars in the heart of Toronto were distressing enough.

“Worse was the way these scenes emerged like a slow-motion train wreck over the weekend. We all saw it coming, yet were powerless to avert it...

“We look to these global leaders to solve the immense challenges of our age, yet they can't come up with a plan for getting together that doesn't lead to violence in the streets of the host city and absurd costs for security.”

(“How to close the curtain on the stage of criminal protest,” *Vancouver Sun* editorial, June 29, 2010)

## Introduction

From June 25-27, 2010, Canada hosted the G8 and G20 Summits. The G8 Summit was held on June 25 in Huntsville, Ontario, a small rural community. The G20 Summit was held in downtown Toronto from June 26-27. The security operation, involving some 19,000 security personnel, was billed as the largest in Canadian history (costing approximately \$1 billion).

After nearly a week of 'peaceful' and heavily policed protests, Saturday June 26 saw widespread property destruction and the arson of four Toronto police cars in downtown streets, including two in the financial district. In response to this humiliation, police went on a rampage later that evening and throughout the next day, violently attacking peaceful protesters, journalists, and bystanders. By the evening of Monday June 28, some 900 people had been arrested. The final total of arrests would be nearly 1,100—the largest mass arrests in Canadian history.

Like the WTO protests in Seattle 1999, the Toronto G20 will be a significant historical event in Canada. Not only for the widespread police brutality which occurred, but also for the potency of militant attacks as carried out by a Black Bloc in the context of the largest security operation in history.

While detractors claim the militant attacks were “allowed” to happen, or were the work of “agents provocateurs,” the reality is that a few hundred militants were able to outmaneuver an army of riot cops and carry out extensive property destruction.

The damage inflicted, even with thousands of riot cops in the streets, and the arson of four police cars in particular, shows the vulnerability of the “all-powerful” state and its repressive apparatus. That some dared to challenge this illusion and literally smash it to pieces appears impossible to those already defeated in their hearts and minds.

The mindless violence carried out by the police

following these attacks has revealed to many the reality of state control, an experience already lived by most peoples of the world on a daily basis.

The austerity measures agreed upon by the G20, with its focus on reducing deficits by 2013, amidst worsening socio-economic conditions, ensures that not only will millions of people experience even greater poverty and oppression, but that the state will increasingly resort to violent repression to counter the inevitable social conflict that will arise.

With this in mind, we should consider the Toronto G20 Summit as a training ground for the future, where both repression and resistance will be much sharper. As occurs when large social forces are mobilized and engage in conflict, there is a wealth of knowledge to be gained from the anti-G20 resistance in Toronto, knowledge that can be acquired in no other way.

## G8/G20: They Are Few, We Are Many!

The Group of Eight (G8) are the top advanced industrialized nation-states of the world: Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States. Annual G8 summits have been held since 1997, replacing the G7 (first established in the 1970s). The G8 dictates global policies on economic, political, military/security, and technological concerns affecting the capitalist system as a whole, and in the interests of the G8 states.

For these reasons, G8 summits are the frequent target of mass mobilizations opposing such policies. The most significant conflicts occurred in Genoa, Italy, in 2001, when over 300,000 people protested the G8 and one person (Carlo Giuliani) was shot dead by police. Extensive property destruction and rioting occurred. Italian police carried out brutal assaults on protesters, including an especially violent raid on a school where protesters were staying.

In 2002, the G8 summit was held in Kananaskis, Alberta, at a rural resort. The remote location of the summit limited protests to nearby Calgary, where there were no significant disruptions. Due to the smaller size of the G8 summits, they are now commonly held in such isolated locations in order to minimize conflict.

The first G20 summit occurred in 1999 and is made up of finance ministers and central bank governors of 19 countries and the European Union. The G20 comprises the G8 as well as the top 12 economies of the world: China, India, Saudi Arabia, Mexico, Brazil, South Korea, Argentina, Australia, Indonesia, South Africa, Turkey, and the European Union.

“At the Pittsburgh G20 summit in 2009, the G20 announced that it would replace the G8 as the main grouping for managing the global economy. This transition took place partly because of the growing strength of some of these economies, but also because of perceptions that without integrating these economies, the legitimacy of the G8 was in crisis. The G20 thus brings together important industrial and emerging-market countries from all regions of the world. Together, member countries represent around 90 percent of global gross national product, 80 percent of world trade... as well as two-thirds of the world's population.”

“Frequently asked questions,” by the Toronto Community Mobilization Network, *Coup de semonce 2010/Warning Shot!*, CLAC 2010 newsletter)

The G20 Summit in London in April 2009 saw tens of thousands of protesters converge in the downtown financial district. Some 5,000 police were deployed, who used baton charges and 'kettling' techniques to control demonstrators. A newspaper vendor caught up in a police kettle, Ian Tomlinson, died as a result of being assaulted by police, suffering a heart attack, and being denied access to medical aid by riot cops.

The G20 in Pittsburgh, held in September 2009, also saw a large police deployment of 4,000 cops against several thousand protesters, including the use of an LRAD (Long Range Acoustic Device), tear gas, pepper spray, and baton charges. Despite this, over \$50,000 of property damage was carried out by a Black Bloc and other militants.

## Background to Toronto Mobilization

Toronto is the largest city in Canada located on the shores of Lake Ontario. The total population of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), which includes its suburban regions, is some 5.5 million. It is the financial center of Canada, and southern Ontario is the main industrial manufacturing region of the country. The GTA is one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the world, although its police force is overwhelmingly white.

During the mid to late 1990s, Toronto had a vibrant, militant resistance, spearheaded by Anti-Racist Action (ARA) who carried out numerous street actions against fascist groups then organizing in the GTA. Toronto ARA inspired many other cities and regions to form similar militant ARA chapters. At this time, ARA Toronto was already attempting to form Black Blocs at

some of its major rallies, inspired largely by W. German autonomists. In the late 1990s, with the fascist threat largely defeated, community organizers formed the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), which became a large, militant anti-poverty group that inspired similar groups to form across the country (including the Anti-Poverty Committee in Vancouver).

The main coordinating group for anti-G20 organizing was the Toronto Community Mobilization Network (TCMN), which modelled itself somewhat after the RNC Welcoming Committee and the 2008 Republican National Convention in Minneapolis-St. Paul. This included the 'St.-Paul' statement advocating diversity of tactics, solidarity, and non-cooperation with police. Like the RNC-WC, the TCMN was also not a direct organizing group for protests, but rather a network to help coordinate activities organized by various groups. Unlike tactics used during the 2008 RNC, those for Toronto did not include dividing the target area into separate zones for which regional groups would be responsible for organizing actions.

The primary militant grouping within the TCMN was the Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance (SOAR), some members of which were present during the anti-Olympic convergence in Vancouver. SOAR organized the 'breakaway' Get Off the Fence contingent of June 26 (which included a Black Bloc) as well as “Saturday Night Fever,” a roving street party set to begin on the evening of



June 26 (although this was cancelled after the actions that afternoon).

Aside from SOAR, members of No One Is Illegal-Toronto were also central to the organizing effort, promoting both an anti-capitalist as well as anti-colonial analysis. Overall, however, much of the mobilizing in the city appeared to be dominated by Non-Governmental Organizations as well as organized labour.

### **2010 People's Summit, June 18-20**

The People's Summit was organized almost entirely by reformist groups. These included the Canadian Federation of Students, Canadian Labour Congress, Council of Canadians, Greenpeace, Oxfam, Rainforest Action Network, Sierra Youth Coalition, Canadian Union of Public Employees Ontario, and the Canadian Peace Alliance. Although the TCMN was also part of the organizing committee, the summit did not have a radical anti-capitalist or anti-colonial analysis.

Held at Ryerson University in downtown Toronto, the conference drew several hundred people over the course of the weekend (one reporter estimated 1,200), with scores of workshops on global justice, environment and climate change, human rights and civil liberties, economic justice, etc.

Overall, the conference was rather boring and was one of the most mundane 'people's summits' I've ever attended. There was a strong emphasis on nonviolence and legal-constitutionalism. I walked in on Ellen Gabriel's presentation on twenty years after Oka to hear her condemning the Royal Bank of Canada arson attack in Ottawa in May, then go on to assert that although weapons had been present at Oka, "not everyone agreed with this." Without those weapons, Gabriel, who was one of the main media spokespersons during the standoff in 1990, wouldn't have even been talking about Oka 20 years later (and in fact no one would be).

A Sunday morning workshop on "Diversity of tactics: what does it mean?" turned out to be a lecture on nonviolence by Philippe Duhamel, a Greenpeace organizer. Luckily, most of those who attended did not agree with this perspective and challenged the workshop facilitators on their dogmatic approach to forms of struggle.

A reporter from *NOW* magazine (local Toronto

paper) noted the middle-class character of the People's Summit:

"But the gathering did expose a weakness in the web of progressive movements: of the 1,200 participants, most were educated, middle to upper-middle-class, talking to each other about the needs of those living in poverty, who happened, for the most part, not to be present... At the People's Summit, nuanced debate around the tar sands, the green economy [etc.] made it easy for participants to stay inside intellectual and class comfort zones."

("Missing in the movement," Andrew Cash, *NOW*, June 24-30, 2010)

Many of the same NGOs who organized the People's Summit also participated in meetings with G20 representatives through a program entitled "At the Table" (the title of a luncheon/workshop at the People's Summit). This included the Assembly of First Nations, Oxfam Canada, Development and Peace, the World Wildlife Federation, World Vision Canada, the Canadian Council for International Cooperation and Kairos. Also participating in At the Table meetings were labour groups like the Canadian Auto



Workers, the Public Service Alliance of Canada, and the Canadian Labour Congress.

With such a dominating influence from NGOs and labour, with their legal-reformist methods and cooptation, I was starting to wonder if the Toronto G20 mobilization would turn out to be a no-go as had occurred in Copenhagen, where (along with the pigs) they effectively shut down and marginalized militant resistance.

### **Themed Days of Resistance,**

#### **June 21-24**

#### **Monday, June 21**

The protests began Monday, June 21, with a rally entitled "All Out in Defense of the Rights of All," a haphazardly organized protest beginning in Allan Garden Park near Church and College streets. The main coordinating group was Sense of Security (SOS), based in Waterloo-Kitchener and Guelph. By the time the rally began at 2PM, there were only about 100 protesters and a

nearly equal number of cops, primarily Toronto bike cops. Over time, there would be about 200 protesters.

The police positioned themselves at corners of the park and around the protest group itself. No flag poles or banners were permitted, and one woman who worked in the park and provided a protester with a light bamboo pole was arrested at this time. Police charged her with possessing burglary tools and took her to the temporary prison facility they had established in an old movie studio. She was later released without charge; the 'burglary tools' were her work keys.

As the march assembled and made its way out of the park, a group of bike cops blocked it, with the police commander (a Sergeant) claiming the group intended to carry out illegal activity. He based this on a statement by an organizer that they intended to occupy a building. The crowd began to chant "Let us walk!" and the police moved aside.

The march made its way down the streets, with a line of bike cops on either side, at the rear, and the front. Each pig had a helmet on their bike rack and a gas mask strapped to their thigh. The pigs, obviously directed to take a 'no-nonsense' approach, conducted themselves in an aggressive and belligerent manner. I realized they were also on a power trip, enabled by their commander's directives (ultimately motivated by political calculations).

At one point an Esso gas station was occupied by 6-7 persons as the rally gathered out front, but this only lasted ten minutes or so. More of a symbolic challenge than anything, although the cops didn't appear to know how to respond, and did nothing for a few minutes. Four or five approached on foot to monitor the occupation. After this, the protest marched up Yonge Street several blocks before stopping outside the Children's Aid Society (a target of protest due to its role in apprehending children and especially Indigenous children).

As the rally dispersed, police violently arrested an Indigenous warrior without cause, although they did find some weed. He was taken to the special prison for G20 arrestees and released later that night, charged with possession.

This first protest established the pattern over the next few days, characterized by an overwhelming police presence and arrogant cops 'power-tripping' on protesters. Until Friday's rally, there would be no direct actions, attacks, or skirmishes with police.

## **Tuesday June 22**

The main event on this day was the 'Queering the G20' rally organized by gay, lesbian, and transgender groups. It was comprised of a 'kiss-in' in the financial district and rally, which closed down a portion of Queen St. in the early evening. Approximately 200 attended this

rally, and at least one person was arrested.

## **Wednesday June 23**

The theme for this day was environmental justice, and the main event was an afternoon rally dubbed the 'Toxic Tour of Toronto'. This protest was organized largely by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), including the Rainforest Action Network. Approximately 400-500 people gathered at Alexandra Park.. Once again surrounded by scores of bike cops and pigs on foot, the march made its way through major streets, stopping outside an RBC where speakers denounced the bank's funding of the tar sands. Police also used a small minivan with a black camera mounted on the roof for crowd surveillance.

Several 'tar sands-themed' floats and large puppets had been made by organizers, including a large snake emblazoned with corporate logos. Some protesters were smeared in a black, sticky substance to resemble oil coated wildlife resulting from the Gulf of Mexico oil spill. Some nonviolent actions that had been planned were scrapped due to the heavy policing.

The rally made its way down University Ave. and stopped at a court building across from the US consulate. Scores of pigs stood in front of the consulate. In the square outside the court there were more speakers, including a brief performance by radical hip hop artists Testament and Illogick (who saved the day, being the only ones to speak of resistance and who would later be arrested on Sunday June 27).

Police set up a cordon around the rally with one exit on a corner, through which we had to pass when dispersing. This time we dispersed in a large group, since one of our members had been targeted for arrest the previous day. As we passed through the gauntlet of pigs, they called out his name in an attempt to further intimidate him.

This same day, an earthquake measuring 5.0 magnitude struck, its effects being felt in southern Ontario, Quebec, and New York state. There was also a tornado that wreaked havoc through Midland, Ontario, devastating the small rural town and destroying a trailer park, factories, stores, etc. Midland is located less than 100 km south-west of Huntsville (site of the G8 Summit).

## **Thursday June 24**

This day was focused on Indigenous people's struggles and featured an afternoon rally of about 1,000 starting at Queen's Park at 11AM, the largest so far. The main organizing groups were Defenders of the Land, Native Council Fire, and Red Power United. The official title used for this rally was "Tell the truth about Canada's record on Indigenous rights," shortened to the slogan



“Canada Can’t Hide Genocide.”

The main demands were reformist: that Canada sign the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, justice for over 500 missing/murdered Native women, ending the criminalization of Indigenous resistance, respect for Aboriginal and treaty rights, and an end to the HST (the Harmonized Sales Tax, set to take effect July 1 and widely opposed by Indian Act band council business elites in Ontario).

Although this rally was the largest, it was also the most heavily controlled by organizers themselves. Considering the size of the crowd, the police presence was essentially the same as the previous day’s smaller rallies. Police were also more restrained in their interactions with protesters, contrary to the claim by Judy Rebick (a reformist movement ‘celebrity’) that this rally was the most heavily policed to date.

In their original call-out, organizers requested that supporters “take guidance and respectful leadership on messaging and tactics from Defenders of the Land,” proclaiming that “Non-violence is a guide for our hearts and our minds...” an obvious attempt to impose bureaucratic and pacifist control over solidarity movements.

Along with numerous security personnel wearing red shirts, organizers also collaborated with police. They agreed to have undercover cops inside the rally, they liasoned closely with the Integrated Security Unit (ISU), provided information from organizing meetings to police, and identified Native militants that could potentially cause ‘trouble’ (including the Indigenous man arrested at Monday’s rally).

During organizing meetings, some promoted the banning of Warrior flags and having any masked persons leave the rally. During the actual march, because so many had brought Warrior flags, this wasn’t carried out. In regards to masks, some people who wore masks were told to remove them.

The security personnel were at times belligerent with the crowd, clearly on a power-trip of their own. They also coordinated with police and one ISU member told me he was there to “protect the elders.” The main concern of the security was to prevent attacks or direct actions from within the ranks of the protest and had obviously been instructed to control the crowd (not to defend it against police attack).

It should be noted that **Defenders of the Land**, which claims to be a “network of grassroots Indigenous nations”, issued a call for the June 24 rally with an explicit call for nonviolence shortly after the 2010 Heart Attack action in Vancouver. As with the overall mobilization, it was a fear of any repeat of this action at the G20 that prompted the organizers of the June 24 rally to impose a strict code of nonviolence over the march.

To be fair, the Defenders are indeed comprised of grassroots people (as well as some band councils), but are managed in a bureaucratic manner. Many of the grassroots organizers that form the network are largely oblivious to how decisions are made. When the call-out for the June 24 rally was made, there was no internal discussion about the concept of nonviolence and it was simply presented as a *fait accompli*, even though some members attempted to have the paragraph on nonviolence removed.

Despite its ‘radical’ sounding name, **Red Power United** (RPU), a new entity based around Harrison Friesen (aka Harrison Helkrow) in the Toronto area, had also issued a statement condemning the arson attack on the Royal Bank of Canada in Ottawa. Days before the rallies began, Harrison had also participated in a secretly taped meeting with an agent from the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS).

The meeting was taped by the Aboriginal People’s Television Network (APTN) in downtown Toronto. The main concern expressed by the CSIS agent was Harrison’s stated intentions to blockade highways near Toronto. Protests and some blockades had already occurred through the spring across Ontario, organized by Indian Act band councils in opposition to the Harmonized Sales Tax (HST). The band councils in Ontario assert that treaty rights and provincial agreements exclude them from taxation.

Less than a week before the June 24 rally, the government announced that Natives in Ontario would be exempt from the HST, effective in September. Government officials stated that it was the threat of blockades during the G20 that prompted the decision.

The band councils then announced there would be no blockades. Despite this, RPU/Harrison continued to claim they would blockade two highways in Toronto with 30-40 people each. On June 24, there were no blockades, never mind actions, of any kind.

Another subject of discussion during the Red Power/CSIS/APTN meeting was the arson attack on RBC



*20 years after Oka, Native ‘grassroots’ groups are attempting to impose nonviolence on the movement (and will work with cops to do so).*

in Ottawa, which Harrison condemned. He also provided APTN with an email from Zig Zag (hey, that's me!) that criticized RPU's press release. Harrison implied that Zig Zag was associated with the FFFC-Ottawa, and that he wanted nothing to do with it.

Although many people felt the June 24 march was a great success, in that it was large and conveyed a strong Native involvement as well as solidarity with Native peoples, this only shows that *appearances can be deceiving* (as is often the case in an apartheid society such as Canada, where even if one looks in they don't always know what they are seeing).

While this is not the context to discuss the internal dynamics of Indigenous organizing, it should be said that Native peoples are beset by numerous obstacles.

This includes not only poverty but at times prosperity, a reactionary and conservative attitude ingrained through generations of Residential Schooling, dominating control from band councils and state-funded agencies, an apathetic approach to social struggle, and a dysfunctional, localized and non-unified movement.

While many can't see it, the June 24 rally was a manifestation of all these. Thankfully, because the struggle of Indigenous peoples was not central to the G20 mobilization, these collaborating, opportunist, and dysfunctional groups were not able to have any effect beyond the June 24 rally. That is, they did not control or dominate the organizing but instead focused on that one day's march.

In addition, both Defenders and RPU had also called for a national day of action on June 24 under the same guidelines they had issued for that day's rally in Toronto, suggesting blockades, occupations or ceremonies. Fortunately, this appears to have been largely ignored by Indigenous peoples across the country—another reflection of the apathy and disorganization of the movement, but also an indicator of the low level of awareness and support for the Defender's and RPU.

Later that night, real Indigenous revolutionaries nearly saw their event cancelled thanks to police

intervention. The Women's Chilean Coordinating Committee (WCCC, a group of Mapuche women) had organized an evening cultural and informational event entitled "Confront the Invasion" at the Steelworkers Hall. An hour or so before the event was to start, several police in mini-vans rolled up to the hall and spoke with a staff member.

After talking to the police, the staff person told WCCC that the event was cancelled. By 8PM, when the event was scheduled to begin, dozens of people had gathered in the front of the building. Plans were made to have the event outside, in the hall's parking lot.

After members of WCCC finally spoke with more senior staff members of the Steelworkers, the worker was told to allow the event to continue. Although relenting, after disrupting the event already, he only opened up three-quarters of the hall.

This shows how police repression is used against real grassroots radicals, as opposed to the cooperative relationship they establish with legal reformists and NGOs. This dual strategy by police would also manifest itself during the days of action.

## **Days of Action, June 25–27**

### **Friday, June 25**

The slogan for this day's protest was "Justice for Our Communities," billed as a community day of action with a rally/march, block party and tent city. It began at Allan Garden Park at 12 noon. A police cordon of bike cops and uniformed officers was established around the park. At this time hundreds of protesters were arriving by the hour on buses from towns and cities in Ontario and Quebec.

Initially, police stopped each person arriving and searched them. Bags were checked and any banners or flag poles, as well as protective gear (i.e., goggles), was being seized. In at least two cases, groups began challenging the searches as they attempted to enter the park. One group's refusal (SOS from Kitchener-Waterloo and Guelph) attracted a large mob of reporters, while in another two women from No One Is Illegal (NOII) broke through the police lines instead of being searched. Shortly after these incidents, police stopped searching people.

This was the biggest rally to date, with several thousand people, perhaps 3,000-4,000 or more. There was a wide variety of groups and movements, including unions, students, seniors, communists, anarchists,



Indigenous people, Haiti solidarity, Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP, one of the rally's organizing groups), NOII, TCMN, etc. While there were numerous people wearing masks of some kind (bandanas, etc.) there was a small Black Bloc of approximately 30 persons.

This was not only the largest but also the best organized of the protests to date. Good food was served at the rally point in the park. Organizers had a big loud sound system, and a speaker explained the significance of the park, the plan for the day, etc.

When we moved into the street, the size of the march took some time to form up. Because they wanted to promote these issues, women and disabled persons formed the front of the march. Unlike the previous day's peaceful parade, the June 25 protest had a far more radical vibe. There was also a lot more police, who once again acted aggressively towards protesters (unlike the previous day).

By the time we reached the downtown core, police had put on their riot helmets. Just past Yonge and College streets, police attempted to arrest a person, which began the first major skirmish.

Police bunched up together and deployed their batons, punching and striking some protesters. The bike cops grouped up and raised their front tires up to use in a defensive position. Some bike cops left their bikes on the side of the street as they rushed in to aid their comrades and these were knocked over and jumped on, while others had their tires slashed. After days of pigs power-tripping on us, it was good to see some fear among their ranks and to feel our collective power.

At this time a deaf man was arrested by police after he failed to obey their commands to stay on the street. He attempted to use sign language, and a friend who was an interpreter tried to explain his condition to police, who simply handcuffed him and removed him from the area through the doors of a shopping mall.

The march made its way to University Avenue, where it began going south (in the direction of the security fence, although many blocks away). En route, another skirmish erupted after cops grabbed a protester's umbrella, saying it was a weapon. People surrounded the cops until marshalls came and told us we should ignore it and keep marching. But the march only went another block before it was stopped by a line of riot cops and horses.

After a few minutes of negotiations between the

organizers and police, the march turned right into a small side street. Half a block in was an alley, filled with scores of riot cops. We kept moving west, passing by a police truck with two cops sitting inside, now trapped. While no one attacked these stranded officers, they did have a tire slashed.

While some in the march began calling for faster movement in the streets to outmaneuver the police, rally organizers again called for women and those with disabilities to form the front of the march. While the promotion of disability rights may be commendable, having people in wheel-chairs or other physical limitations at the front effectively limited the mobility of the protest. There was no way it could move fast enough to bypass police lines.

As we proceeded west on the small side street, another mass of riot cops appeared in front of us. We turned right again and end up marching back along the same route we had come on, down College St. and eventually back to Allan Lam Park. This is where the block party and tent city were established. The party went on for several hours, though many left shortly after the march ended. A few dozen tents were set up, but by the next day the tent city was no more.

## Saturday, June 26

The big labour/NGO parade was set to begin at 1PM at Queen's Park, located near College and University Ave. It was entitled "People First—We Deserve Better," an especially lame slogan typical of privileged citizens within a G8 nation.

This march was organized by the Ontario Federation of Labour, Council of Canadians, Greenpeace, Oxfam, Canadian Federation of Students, Canadian Labour Congress, etc. The route of the march, worked out in coordination with police, was to proceed south down University Ave. to Queen St., then east to Spadina Ave., north to College, then west to Queen's Park (a big circle). It would approach no more than six blocks from the security fence.

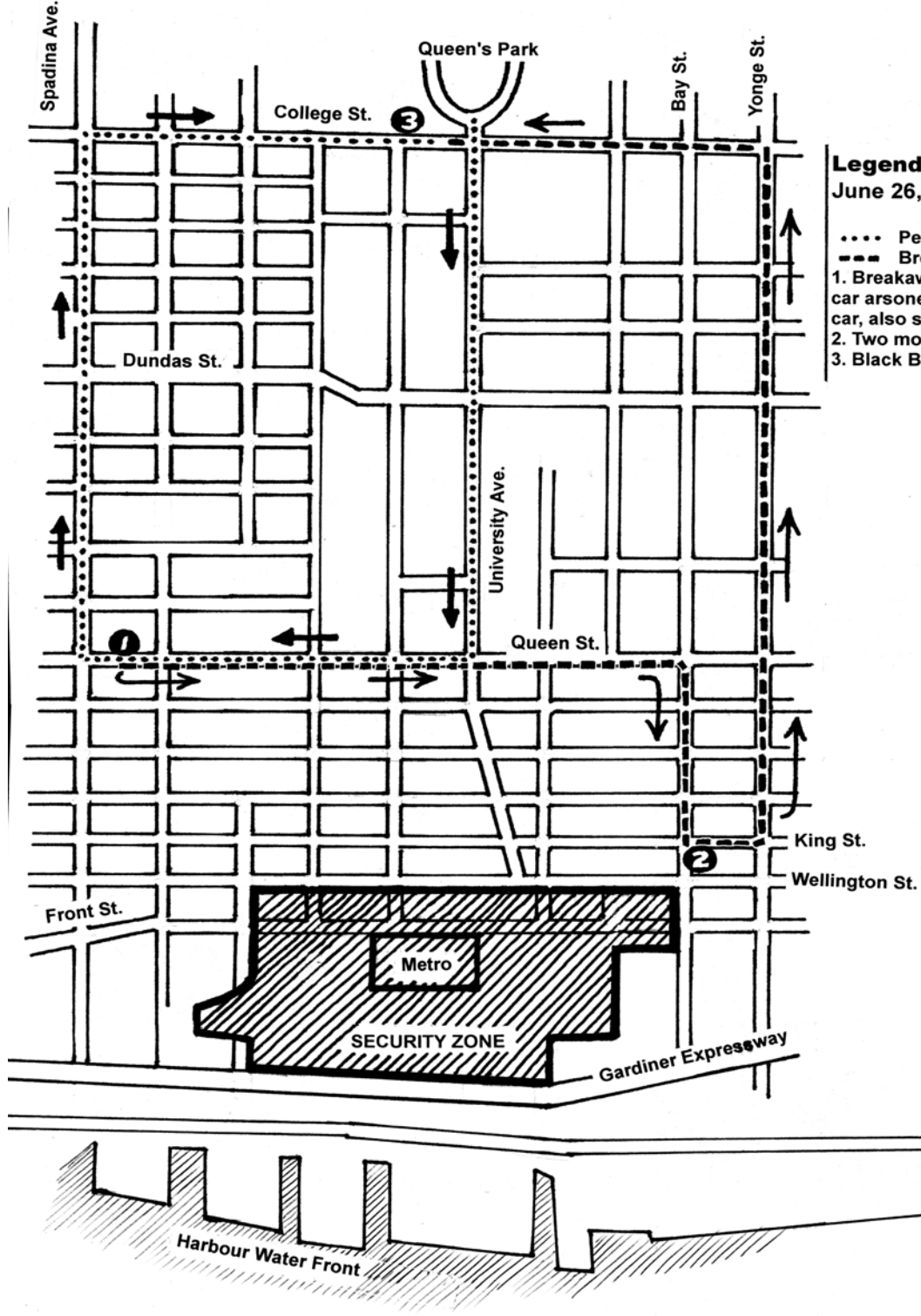
A 'break-away' contingent had been organized by the Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance (SOAR) entitled "Get Off the Fence," billed as a "militant and confrontational" action to march to the security fence with a high risk of police intervention.



*Parade marshalls directing people away from fence, with cops behind. What side are they on?*



# DOWNTOWN TORONTO



## Legend

June 26, 2010, Anti-G20

- ..... People First Parade
- Breakaway March
- 1. Breakaway March, first cop car arsoned (later, another cop car, also site of June 27 'kettle')
- 2. Two more cop cars arsoned
- 3. Black Bloc dispersal

The official People First! March had some 200 of its own marshalls, not to protect the protesters but to control them, in collaboration with the police. When the Get Off the Fence contingent attempted to break away on Queen St., they were initially blocked by the parade marshalls.

It was raining heavy so I waited to see if it would die down, knowing I wouldn't miss anything by not hearing the reformist speeches. By the time I left the apartment I was staying at, however, transit in the downtown area had been shut down. The streetcar I was on turned back so I got off, disoriented and unsure of where I was.

After getting my bearings I headed for Queen's Park, only to find the march had already left. I then spent another hour or so trying to find the march, wandering to within two blocks of the security fencing where I was stopped by a cop. He did a half-ass search of my bag for any obvious weapons, not noticing my 'riot gear' or that I was wearing protective gear as well as two layers of clothing. Walking around the downtown area I tried to figure out where the action was. There was a spotter plane flying overhead but it wasn't much help since it just flew in a wide circle. There were groups of pigs on every corner, and I tried to act as 'normal' as possible to avoid being questioned and searched again.

Finally I stumbled upon the 'break-away' march as it neared the downtown financial district, going south on Bay Street. There were perhaps 600-700 persons, and I could see a loose and chaotic Black Bloc was there as well. Black-clad affinity groups were spread throughout one section of the march, but there were many other militants with masks as well. Many people had no masks, or just a bandana over their lower face (not an adequate disguise, by the way).

A massive window complex of a Bank of Montreal was attacked, starting first with a hammer thrown through the air that stuck into the pane, like a hatchet thrown into a wall (but splintering the glass). A black-clad fighter ran up and pulled it out, ready to use it again.

At Bay and King Street, two police cars were positioned in the intersection, abandoned by retreating pigs. One immediately had its windows smashed out. This attack seemed to slow the march, as most stopped to

observe the destruction. There was now a gap between the forward section that had passed through the cars in the intersection, and a much larger group still on the other side.

Then another police car roared towards the intersection of Bay and King, with four cops jumping out and running towards the mob. They quickly fled, however. The second abandoned car then had its windows smashed out, while the first one was now engulfed in flames. Shortly after, the second cop car was torched as well.

I could see the corner of the security fence up ahead at the next intersection and wondered if there was any cops outside it. I ran up and was just across the street from the fence. To my left I could see a large mass of riot cops marching west towards Bay St. I ran back to begin informing people at the front. The arrival of these pigs effectively blocked us from reaching the security fencing—we were just one block away!

Towards the rear, another platoon of riot cops appeared at the corner. Myself and others who saw this made a run to escape before they blocked the street. But they saw us approaching and quickly moved to block us. I ran back to the front, where the other mass of riot cops was now advancing up Bay St. from the security fence.

We began running east on King and then turned north at the next intersection, on Yonge Street, the main consumer strip for which Toronto is renowned. Now many more windows were smashed—every bank (including Toronto Dominion, CIBC, Bank of Montreal, etc.), an Adidas store, Bell Canada, a jewellery store, a leather shop, a porn theatre, Pizza Pizza, Starbucks, a McDonalds, surveillance cameras. Small family-owned type stores were left untouched. Any claims that this was “mindless” destruction are completely false: all destruction was targeted and deliberate. Inside some stores, staff and customers ran to find cover as glass shards sprayed in. I heard someone yelling “There's workers in there,” while others were telling staff to get away from windows that were going to be smashed.

Along the route of the march were discarded black clothing and protective gear; some people were already de-blocing. I saw one bag with rope and a grappling hook (useless now since we were walking away from the fence).

There was also a mob of reporters following and intermixed in the march. When militants were carrying



*Militant smashes window with metal chair, June 26.  
Is that a cell phone on his ass? If so, it's a bad call...*

out attacks, some would yell at the media to stop taking photos. I saw one with a long stick swinging at several photographers until others came and urged restraint. A masked woman opened up an umbrella to conceal one militant who was smashing a window.

People used sticks, stones and bricks found on the street, chairs, construction signage, anything that could be used to smash windows. When a window was broken with an object, others would run up and retrieve it to use again on another window. Some people used golf balls, but these were mostly ineffective and bounced wildly back into the bloc, with some calling for others to stop using them.

As the bloc proceeded north on Yonge, people became bolder and began stepping into the smashed storefronts, removing furniture and looting another Bell Canada outlet of cell phones. An American Apparel shop was attacked and its mannequins taken out, dismembered and used as projectiles. At College

and Yonge another Starbucks, Second Cup and CIBC bank were smashed. As we passed the Toronto Police Headquarters, rocks and bricks were thrown at the riot cops deployed out in front of it (the only cops we saw since leaving Bay and King Streets). At least one window was smashed, but the mob didn't linger too long here.

As we marched west on College Street and neared Queen's Park (where the big parade had originally started) a police rental mini-van was found at the intersection and smashed up, while across the street a platoon of riot cops advanced, their gunners moving up to counter anyone who approached them. They shot several 'muzzle blasts' that sprayed a large cloud of smoke (talc with tear gas) and a small 'wafer'-like projectile.

At this point the Black Bloc dispersed, forming a circle inside which members removed their black clothing and protective gear, including shin pads, knee and elbow pads, etc. Some protesters began mingling in the park as more riot cops arrived. At this time there were only a few dozen stragglers in various groups in the park, leftovers from the People First parade, as well as numerous media personnel.

I stayed for another 30 minutes until it seemed

like it was time to leave, hesitating because I assumed police would be cordoning off the surrounding streets and randomly detaining people leaving the area, searching them, etc. I still had a mask and gloves that I didn't want to throw away, although I had discarded my other gear. As I began walking north, I saw a large mass of riot cops and bike cops advancing towards the park. Now was definitely the time to leave. Next to the park was a University of Toronto campus, and I asked a man if he knew the area and if it was possible to leave through the campus.

He told me it was and I departed, walking west to Spadina Ave.

Later I would learn the cops had encircled the people left at Queen's Park and assaulted them with fists, kicks, batons, and pepper spray, before forcing them to disperse. The park had been the officially designated 'free speech zone.'

Since all the transit was closed, I was unable to go back to the apartment I was staying at and wanted to avoid walking through the downtown core. As I approached Spadina Ave. and Queen St., I saw a plume of black smoke billowing up into the sky and a large crowd gathered. A police car was burning. Just then a platoon of OPP riot cops was advancing north to Queen. They secured the street around the burning car while fire fighters extinguished the blaze.

I later learned this was where the first clashes had occurred, at approximately 3:30PM, when the breakaway contingent (about 1,000 at this point) moved away from the People First parade. After being blocked from moving south by riot cops, the marchers began moving east on Queen St., overtaking police vehicles that had been following behind.

One police car was immediately abandoned, while another had a pig trapped inside (Staff Sergeant Graham Queen, who was also hit in the head). Both vehicles had their windows smashed. The pig was rescued by a group of cops, who also removed weapons from the car and then fled. This was when the car was set on fire, and property destruction began with windows of



*One of four torched police vehicles, this one at Bay and King St. Graf reads 'ACAB' and 'Die Pigs.' Ya, the cops really 'want' us to burn their cars and destroy property.*

banks and corporations smashed, including a Nike store, Gap, Burger King, Footlocker, and Tim Hortons.

The march had continued moving east on Queen at a rapid pace, until it reached Bay St. where it then turned south, towards the security fence. This is where I came across it.

By the time I had left Queen's park after dispersing, a large crowd of mostly citizen bystanders had gathered at Spadina Ave. and Queen St. to watch the first burning cop car. Just as I arrived, the OPP riot squad was marching in to secure the 'scene'. They formed lines on either side of the two damaged vehicles while firefighters extinguished the one on fire. After a firefighter vehicle was escorted out through the crowd by the riot cops, they formed a line and began advancing, forcing people back onto Spadina. This aggravated the people and created a crowd control situation where before there wasn't one. Some bottles were thrown at the cops, who advanced to clear the intersection and then began pushing the crowd further down Queen St.

After an hour of this, the OPP retreated and left the area, marching out as they had come in, in columns of two. The crowd surged back across Spadina and into the block where the damaged cars were. Then the second police car was set on fire to cheers from the crowd (most of whom weren't protesters). After fifteen minutes of the cop car burning, the OPP returned. Then more cops, including horse-mounted pigs and buses of RCMP and Newfoundland Constabulary arrived, all dressed in full riot gear (a truly national effort).

The police repeated their earlier actions, pushing the crowds back and then charging. A horse charge was used to chase down an 'agitator' and escort him back for arrest. The horse charge terrified the citizens caught up in it, and most ran wildly at any advance made by the riot cops (even though they would only charge 20 feet or so, then stop to reform their line).

At one point, a person suggested the crowd sing 'Oh Canada' (the national anthem), as if the spirit of patriotism would endear them to the line of riot cops facing them. Another fool walked to the front and sat on the street, with his back to the cops, and persuaded others to join him. As soon as they finished singing the anthem, the riot cops charge, trampling several.

These scenes of police violence and brutality would be repeated over the next couple of days, not only against protesters but journalists as well as innocent bystanders. Later that night one of the first mass arrests of nearly 300 nonviolent protesters occurred after they marched down Yonge St. towards the security fence and rallying at the Novotel hotel (erronously reported as being a group of Black Bloc).

Another scheduled action that night, "Saturday

Night Fever," promoted as a reclaim the streets roving street party, was cancelled. Some of the organizers had been arrested during early morning raids at three different locations (including members of the Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance, SOAR). A message announcing the cancellation stated there was no sound system, no technicians, and no safe space at which to rally. It was also clear the situation had now changed and police were on a mission to squash any protests.

## **Sunday, June 27**

The day began with a raid at the University of Toronto, where some seventy people from Quebec were staying. Police claimed to have found discarded black clothing, gear, and weapons in the grounds around the building (including bricks and rocks). Some 50 people were arrested.

At around 10AM a jail solidarity rally gathered at a park near the temporary prison on Eastern Avenue. By this time several hundred people had been arrested. Police were out in force for this rally, and only after negotiations were the protesters allowed to walk to the jail. These agreements would be later broken.

After the protest arrived at the temporary jail, riot cops were deployed and snatch squads began grabbing people from among the crowd, throwing them into their rented min-vans. Violent assaults were carried out in many of these arrests, and an ARWEN was fired into the crowd several times (muzzle blasts with tear gas).

At 3:30PM, police stopped a bus with Quebec license plates. They detained fifty people and arrested ten. A bomb squad was also called in during the search of the bus. Throughout the day, police also continued to board transit vehicles in the downtown area searching for anyone wearing black or who appeared to be a protester.

In the late afternoon, police surrounded the convergence space located off of Queen St. (but quite a distance from the downtown area). Scores of mostly bike cops kept a crowd back, although it was unclear what their intentions were. After an hour and a half or so they departed. Many feared they would raid the space, and perhaps this was their plan. But by then another crowd control situation was developing further east on Queen St.

In the downtown area, again near Queen and Spadina, and the area where the two cop cars had been arsoned on Saturday, riot cops confronted another crowd at around 6PM (a rally that had begun around 5PM). By 7PM they 'kettled' a crowd of 200 or so by blocking the front with vehicles, then moving in on the sides and rear with platoons of riot cops. A torrential rain then began, just as the G20 Summit ended (and as it had began, prompting some conspiracy theorists to assert that the government was 'seeding' clouds to cause them to rain!).

No one was permitted to leave the kettle, and cops began searching and arresting anyone wearing black clothing or with a black back pack, people they recognized from previous day's protests, etc. Snatch squads were used to grab people. Although there were some who had attended protests, there were also many bystander citizens, residents, and journalists in the crowd.

The heavy downpour lasted for the duration of the kettle and drenched everyone. People were wet and cold and would be held for over three hours, most being arrested and loaded onto buses. Among those who experienced this were reporters for the *National Post* and CTV News. Police would later claim they had seen evidence of Black Bloc tactics in the crowd, including some wearing masks (although none were dressed in all-black clothing).

By the end of the night, some 900 people had been arrested during Saturday and Sunday, the largest mass arrests in Canadian history. The total would eventually be some 1,100 arrests.

Beginning Sunday afternoon and evening, prisoners were being released, some without shoes. All described having been held in cold, cramped, wire cages, some overcrowded, with toilets having no doors. Many women reported threats of rape and sexual harassment, while others were forced to strip-search in front of male pigs. Prisoners were threatened with further violence, and

some who resisted arrest were reportedly kept zip-tied for up to ten hours. Many of the prisoners, and those who were yet to be arrested throughout the course of the day, would not have a chance to contact anyone, lawyers or family, for 14 hours or more.

### TACTICAL TIP: The Kettle

A 'kettle' is an old military term for the encirclement of an enemy force, closing off all routes of escape and resupply, causing levels of frustration and fear to rise (similar to a kettle on a stove, with the water gradually heating until it boils).

The kettle is usually established with police blocking a group at its front, rear, and sides. It is done quickly, like an ambush, with cops suddenly appearing at one or more intersections to effectively trap the crowd.

There may be a group of pigs following directly behind the rally and/or at the front. There may also be groups of pigs moving on parallel side streets, or already pre-positioned and waiting for the crowd to enter the trap.

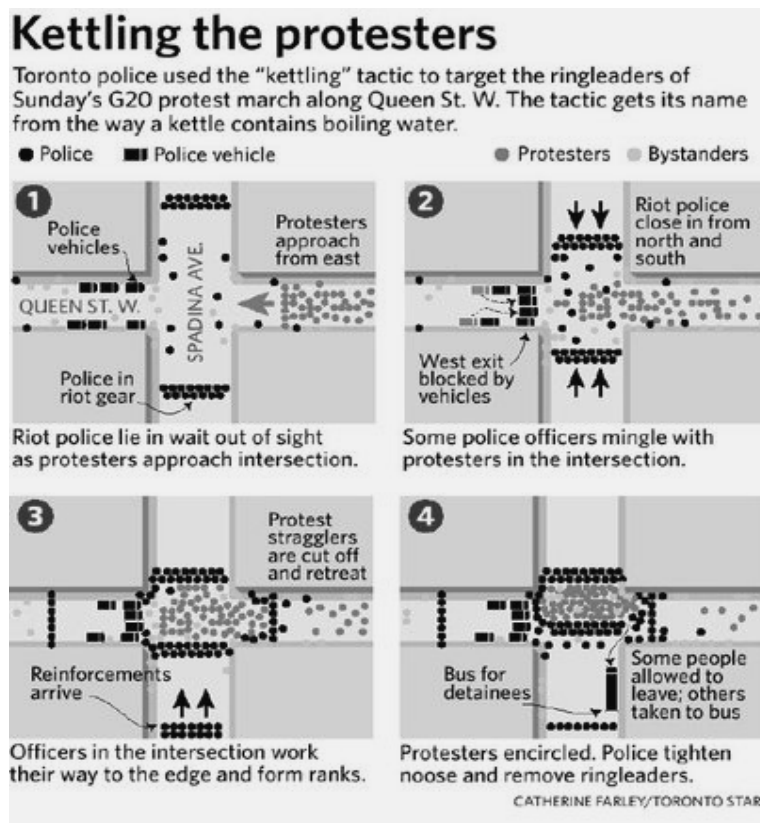
In some cases, pigs try to kettle people caught in the middle of a street, between intersections and ideally where there is no way out between buildings.

The best defense individually is to stay aware of your surroundings and possible escape routes .

**The best defense against a kettle is the use of scouts** patrolling to the front, sides and rear, up to two blocks or so, and reporting on the movement or position of police forces. Knowledge of the terrain will also help counter the use of kettles.

Militants have been successful in escaping kettles by breaking through police lines, usually more vulnerable at their flanks rather than the middle.

If a group is trapped inside a kettle, the ranks facing police may need to link arms against snatch squads. Kettles may last several hours. In London during the G20 Summit in April 2009 , hundreds of protesters were held for up to eight hours in a kettle, without bathrooms or water. During the kettle in Toronto on the evening of June 27, people were held for three hours during a torrential downpour that left them soaking wet and shivering from the cold.





## Toronto G20 Police State

The security operation for the 2010 Winter Olympics was the largest in Canadian history, including nearly 17,000 security personnel (some six thousand police, 5,000 military, and several thousand private security guards), at a cost of nearly \$1 billion. This was for two weeks of Olympic events, however.

The G8/G20 Summit security surpassed this with some 19,000 security personnel: over 10,000 police, some 4,000 military, and several thousand security guards for just three days (although the costs were relatively the same). As in Vancouver during the Olympics, the RCMP were in charge of the overall operation and established an Integrated Security Unit (ISU) to coordinate the efforts of police, military, intelligence, and emergency services. Some \$570 million of the G20 security budget went to the RCMP. As had been the case in Vancouver, security outside the security perimeter was the responsibility of local police, in this case the Toronto Police Service (augmented by other police forces when necessary).

The enormous costs of the Summits became a public controversy, adding up to some \$833,000 per minute of actual summit meetings for a total of \$1.2 billion (over 90 percent of this on security). Adding to the outrage was a \$1.9 million fake lake built at the Toronto Media Centre for the enjoyment of journalists, along with other squandering of public money (even as G20 leaders urged restraint and budget cuts).

The security costs seemed especially extravagant compared to recent G20 Summits: in London, the April 2008 summit saw some 5,000 security personnel with \$28.6 million on security; the Pittsburg September 2009 summit saw 4,000 security personnel with a cost of \$12.2 million.

As had occurred in the lead up to the Olympics, police and intelligence agents had conducted extensive surveillance of social movements they believed would be involved in organizing against the G8/G20 Summits. Beginning shortly after the Games, organizers began to be approached by police and intelligence agents (their attempts at intimidation framed as “community

consultation”).

By early June, police were issuing dire warnings about the potential for violence, bolstered by a continuous display of riot gear and weaponry that were being acquired, promoted through regular press conferences. This included the purchase of four LRADs (Long Range Acoustic Devices, also referred to as 'sound cannons'), a water cannon, and less-lethal weaponry. Just a week prior to the beginning of the themed days of resistance, police displayed their new ARWENs (Anti-Riot Weapons) consisting of single-shot and multi-launchers capable of firing rubber bullets, pellets, bean bag rounds, tear gas, and pepper spray.



*Newfoundland Constabulary riot cop with ARWEN Multi-launcher, capable of firing rubber bullets, pellets, tear gas, etc. Range: 100 meters.*

This display of weaponry and issuing of warnings was intended to intimidate protesters and deter them from participating in the mobilization (just as the police/intelligence visits were meant to intimidate organizers). It also reinforced the police line that the protests would be violent, and that citizens should avoid the downtown area.

The effort to reduce the population in the downtown core also involved major banks, financial institutions, and other businesses issuing warnings to employees to avoid wearing suits (as they could be attacked), and instructions on how to deal with pepper spray or tear gas. Thousands of employees were told to not come into work during the time of the actual G20 Summit (June 26-27), and citizens were

advised to also avoid the downtown area.

This effort was compounded by the 'lockdown' of the downtown core that began with the construction of some 6 km of security fencing beginning on June 7. This was comprised of two layers of fencing around the Toronto Convention Centre, CN Tower, and some hotels. The outer layer was small gauge (2.5 cm) chain-link fencing mounted on concrete barriers ('jersey barriers'). The inner line was made of 'expanded metal' fencing, flatter and with an even smaller gauge than the chain link. This was bolted onto concrete barriers or anchored directly into the pavement. According to one analyst, this would take 100 people to push it over. The fencing cost some \$5.5 million and was constructed by Montreal-

based SNC-Lavalin. Similar fencing was also erected around the Deerhurst resort at Huntsville (site of G8 Summit on June 25).

The security zone established around the G20 site created significant traffic disruptions for the two weeks prior to the actual event. This, along with the massive security costs, generated widespread public criticism of the Summit itself. Months prior, when the G20 was first announced, Toronto mayor David Miller and city councillors attempted to have the summit moved to an exhibition centre that was out of the downtown core and more easily secured. Their requests were denied by the federal government, however.

Police were brought in from across the country, including the RCMP, Vancouver, Ontario Provincial Police (OPP), Hamilton, London (Ontario), Ottawa, Montreal, Surete du Quebec (SQ, Quebec Provincial Police), as well as the Newfoundland Constabulary. These were mostly crowd control units.

In order to transport all these pigs in Toronto, chartered buses were used as well as fleets of rented mini-vans. Police had rented so many vehicles that rental agencies were largely sold out during the week of the Summit. In the downtown area it was not uncommon to see a mini-van full of pigs, and all mini-vans became suspicious (especially those with a certain type of roof rack configuration).

The military deployment included Joint Task Force 2 (JTF2), naval vessels, armoured personnel carriers, air support (including NORAD, the North American Air Defence agency comprised of US and Canadian forces), etc.

Among the private security employed were over a thousand from Contemporary Security Canada (CSC), a Vancouver-based firm that had been used for Olympic security. Although not certified to work in Ontario, a special licensing process was carried out so they could. Each guard was paid \$20-\$25 per hour.

These 19,000 security personnel were deployed at both Huntsville and Toronto. It is unclear what the exact numbers were for each location, although the figure of 5,500 cops for Toronto has been reported. Due to its rural location, Huntsville may have had more military

forces than downtown Toronto, while Toronto would most likely have had the bulk of private security guards.

It is worth noting some of the police efforts to instill fear and paranoia among both the public as well as organizers. Beginning from February 2010, the Movement Defence Committee (MDC) catalogued 28 incidents of police/intelligence contacts with organizers leading up to the June 21. In late May, police advised they were searching for a man who had purchased 1,625 kg of ammonium nitrate fertilizer (a component used in fertilizer bombs). That same month, a JTF2 training exercise was conducted near Brockville, Ontario, where residents were awakened at night by blasts and gunfire as soldiers stormed an abandoned school on the shores of the St. Lawrence River.

On June 7, police warned that 'hardcore' protesters from the US and internationally were infiltrating into Toronto, intent on wreaking havoc at the G20. On June 8, a press conference by the Toronto Community Mobilization Network (TCMN) saw a large police presence. Police also began removing all garbage cans, newspaper and postal boxes, plant containers, and benches, from the downtown core (to prevent them being used as projectiles or barricades). Sewer



*Protesters sit down with backs to RCMP riot cops. Not only is this weak and submissive (which emboldens aggressors) it's also very stupid. Note the two women on right, not fully into the sit down.*

entrances were welded shut. Along with the fencing, 77 CCTV cameras were mounted on light poles throughout the downtown core.

On June 18, it was announced that school buses in the downtown area would be cancelled for Friday, June 25 due to traffic concerns (affecting some 45,000 students). The University of Toronto, where some anti-G20 events had been scheduled, was also to be closed for the time period of the summit. Police also announced there would be disruptions to cell phone service during the G20 due to the use of frequency scramblers for VIP convoy security (as cell phones are a common means of detonating Improvised Explosive Devices).

On June 22, police and military personnel (including pre-positioned snipers) raided a house in the affluent Forest Hills area of Toronto. They arrested Byron Sonne, a 37-year old computer security specialist and surveillance 'hobbyist' who apparently had a

mischievous tendency and had wanted to 'test' the vast security apparatus set up for the G20.

Sonne's neighbors reported that a black SUV with plain-clothes cop had been positioned outside his home for about a week prior to the raid. He had also been stopped by police a couple of times before the raid. Police claim large amounts of bomb-making material (ammonium nitrate fertilizer) were found in his residence. He was charged with possession of explosive substances, attempted mischief, and intimidation. Also arrested was his common-law wife, Kristen Peterson. Neither Sonne nor Peterson appear to have been involved in anti-G20 organizing.

By June 22 as well, Toronto's Pearson Airport saw a significant increase in security, with police and military patrols checking trucks and cargo. With the security fence nearly completed, people taking photographs of it were detained and questioned, with some being forced to delete their photos (see Siri Argell "G8/G20 Notebook," *Globe and Mail*, June 22, 2010).

On June 24, an organizer with the Rainforest Action Network (RAN) was arrested while walking near the security fence. He had refused to provide ID when asked by police, who arrested him claiming he was in a special security zone established under Ontario's Public Works Protection Act (PWPA). Police claimed this zone extended five metres out from the fence, although it was later revealed that in fact it only applied on the inside of the perimeter. This application of the PWPA was done secretly, on June 2, and the public was not made aware of it until the June 24 arrest (which set off waves of controversy).

By this time, numerous banks and corporate businesses in the downtown area had boarded up their windows with plywood. Some attached garbage bags over corporate signage. Others had 'blast resistant' film applied to mitigate the effects of shattering. Some statues were also encased in plywood structures. Many reporters and citizens described the downtown financial district as a 'ghost town.' Restaurants, bars and clubs reported as much as a 90 percent drop in business (with similar complaints from merchants in Huntsville).

Throughout the week, people were routinely detained and searched while walking in the downtown area (all 'illegal' according to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms). Groups of police were posted at

intersections and outside banks, financial institutions, and police headquarters, during the week beginning June 21.

### ***Independent Media Targeted***

As protesters began arriving during the week beginning June 21, some independent and radical media were denied entry at the US-Canada border. During the themed days of resistance and days of action, media were also targeted by police with physical assaults (including damaging cameras) and arrests. One radical journalist reported that, along with being assaulted, he had been detained and searched eight times during the week.

On Sunday afternoon, the Alternative Media Centre, established by the Toronto Media Coop and others, faced a possible raid when police arrived to investigate a call about a possible 'break and enter' on the premises. They were refused entry, however, and after a short period departed.

The police attacks extended to corporate media as well, including journalists from Reuters, the *National Post*, and CTV, some of whom were arrested and spent a night in the temporary jail. One independent video journalist returning to the US after the summit was detained for several hours while police copied his footage. Several journalists have launched lawsuits and complaints



*Kettle at Spadina & Queen, Sunday June 27*

against the Toronto police.

### ***Police Raids***

Along with the heavy policing of protests beginning June 21, police also began raids of houses of organizers starting on the morning of Saturday June 26 (excluding that of June 22 in Forest Hills). This included several homes where members of SOAR were staying. Amanda Hiscocks, Leah Henderson, Alex Hundert, and Peter Hopperton were arrested during these raids and face charges of conspiracy to commit mischief. Police allege they are among 15 other co-conspirators and their arrests the result of a year-long undercover operation involving two undercover cops that had infiltrated groups in Guelph, Kitchener, Waterloo, and Toronto (beginning April 2009).

In one of these raids, police entered through an unlocked side door. Others had their doors kicked in. In one house an upstairs apartment was raided containing a

young family, who woke to police guns pointing at them (they were not involved in any protests or organizing). Police had photographs and names of targeted individuals. When asked for warrants, police claimed they had already shown them to others in the house, or simply refused.

These raids continued on Sunday June 27, with the arrests at the University of Toronto and then later that afternoon of the bus (both targeting those from Quebec including the 2010 Anti-Capitalist Convergence, CLAC 2010 in its French acronym). In the late afternoon police also surrounded the convergence space on Queen St., possibly for a planned raid that was never carried out.

### **Mass Arrests and Temporary Prison**

Police acquired the premises of the old Toronto Movie Studio to use as a temporary jail for G20 arrests. This was located away from the downtown area on Eastern Ave. Inside the large building were wire cages, some large and some small, similar to what police had constructed during the Copenhagen climate conference in Denmark in 2009 (when nearly 2,000 were arrested).

By the morning of Saturday June 26, police had reported a total of 32 arrests. By the late afternoon, the number had increased to 132 arrests. That evening and through the following day, the majority of the 900 arrests would occur.\* This included the Saturday night mass arrest of nearly 300 protesters (near the Novotel Hotel), the Sunday morning raid at the University of Toronto, arrests of solidarity protesters outside the jail, random stop and searches in the downtown area, and the kettle at Queen and Spadina that evening.

According to Liem Vu, an intern with the *National Post*, the majority of those arrested during the Sunday night kettle were not protesters:

“The majority of [the detained people] were not a part of the protest. They just happened to be walking by,” he said. “It started raining. People were shivering. A lot of people were scared. They didn’t know what was happening. I’d say the general feeling was fear.”

(“Crowd held in rain for over 3 hours,” Drew Halfnight, *National Post*, June 28, 2010)

Most of those arrested had no criminal record, and many were released without charge having been detained for ‘breach of the peace.’ Those who were charged faced minor charges of mischief, causing a disturbance, conspiracy to commit an indictable offense, as well as carrying concealed weapons and assault on police. Those charged were released on bails averaging \$2,000. Many had conditions not to attend protests and disassociation from others involved in protests.

A *Globe and Mail* editorial commented on the

overall random and arbitrary nature of the arrests:

“The numbers of arrests ought to raise concern, especially as they appear to have involved few representatives of the truly violent, but rather a rag-tag bunch of other protesters, arrested not for vandalism, but for ‘breach of peace,’ a measure that does not result in a charge but which should be used with extreme caution...”

(“Collateral damage,” *Globe and Mail*, June 28, 2010)

\* The final total of arrests was nearly 1,100. Of these, 714 were arrested for ‘breach of the peace,’ which is not a criminal offense but a pre-emptive arrest. By July 5, some 16 persons remained in jail.

### **TACTICAL TIP: Snatch Squads**

Snatch squads are groups of 4-6 cops who emerge from behind police lines, run into a crowd, grab a targeted individual, and then drag them back behind the line for arrest. Two pigs are usually tasked with the actual capture, while 2-4 provide security for them against members of the crowd. The security element may use batons, pepper spray, or hand/foot strikes to force the crowd back. If riot cops, the snatch squad does not usually carry shields. Snatch squads are usually meant to be sudden, explosive actions that can penetrate into a crowd and catch the target off guard.

It is possible to identify targeted individuals prior to a snatch squad by observing police talking about them and/or pointing them out to other officers. Commanders usually target persons that are seen as ‘crowd agitators’--not necessarily movement organizers but simply those who talk loudly, yell at police, or whom they may recognize from some earlier incident (or, in fact, a movement organizer that has been identified).

**A common defense against snatch squads is the linking of arms.** This makes it more difficult for a snatch squad to enter a crowd. Targeted persons can also move deeper into the ranks and change hats or jackets, etc.

Reinforced banners, ropes, etc. along the front, rear and sides of a group can further deter snatch squads (as well as defend against police lines cutting the crowd in half, etc.).

Snatch squads are not generally used against hostile crowds armed with sticks and projectiles.

In one incident I saw on Queen St. in the early evening of Saturday, June 26, horse mounted police were used as a snatch squad. A man was standing slightly to the front of the crowd and proclaiming that it was his civil right to be on the street. After a short time, a wide opening was made by riot cops on the side of the street he was on, and 7-8 horse cops galloped through.

The crowd fled in panic and terror, some being hit by the horses. One horse cop got in front of the ‘agitator’ and he was quickly surrounded by 3-4 more horses. Thus surrounding him, they forced him back through the riot cop lines.

Another variation of a snatch squad is the use of vehicles driven up/into a crowd, with pigs jumping out and grabbing an individual, then throwing them into the vehicle and departing. This technique was observed in both



Pittsburgh 2009 and during the Toronto G20 protests.

Snatch squads are most commonly used when facing a line of cops (riot or regular patrol cops). Therefore, in any confrontation with a line of cops, it may be advisable to begin linking arms, especially if there are groups of pigs lurking behind the line or on the sides. This may have to be initiated by someone as it is not a normal practise in N. America. Telling people why it is used will probably help in motivating them to adopt this technique.

As noted, linking arms can also deter police from entering your ranks, and can be reinforced with banners, etc. It can also make people feel more powerful as a group. On the other hand, it can also limit rapid movement and cause people to fall over if the crowd begins running (as during a police baton charge). Linking arms is not recommended when there is a high level of action occurring (such as street fighting or throwing projectiles, building barricades, vandal attacks, etc.).

### **Police Humiliation and Revenge**

“You see the humiliation on the officer's faces when this stuff goes on in their city... My members are completely devastated by that.”

(Mike McCormack, head of Toronto Police Association, quoted in “Security or Liberty,” by Marcus Gee and Colin Freeze, *Globe and Mail*, June 28, 2010)



*A cop's vision of hell: running past burning cop car...*

The fallout from the Toronto G20 will continue for weeks, months, and even years. The police action/inaction will itself be a major issue, their arbitrary violence vastly overshadowing the vandalism carried out by the Black Bloc. Lawsuits, resignations, investigations, and calls for inquiries will now follow, as has occurred in most other major summit conflicts (and something which Ontario recently experienced with the public inquiry into the OPP's 1995 shooting death of Dudley George at Ipperwash/Aazhoodeena).

The police assaults following the vandalism on the afternoon of June 26 angered many citizens and caused widespread condemnation. The police, having been caught off guard by the fury of the Black Bloc attack, appeared to be on a mission to re-establish their power and control over the streets, indiscriminately attacking anyone who remotely looked like a protester, or even just those on the streets.

But for many, especially merchants, it was too little, too late:

“Where are the police? Why are they all down at the fence? What about us?”

(Michael Mitchell, manager of ice cream store on Yonge St., quoted in “Security or Liberty,” by Marcus Gee and Colin Freeze, *Globe and Mail*, June 28, 2010)

Public criticism grew so intense that police were pleading their case, admitting they “weren't perfect, aware that their authority had been greatly undermined:

“This is a very challenging time for our officers... I hope the public can continue to support us.”

(TPS Staff Sergeant Jeff McGuire, quoted in “Crowd held in rain for over 3 hours,” by Drew Halfnight, *National Post*, June 28, 2010)

For the moment, the Toronto police in particular are desperate to restore public trust and confidence, and to justify their actions. During a press conference on June 29, Toronto police chief Bill Blair displayed weapons he claimed had been seized from protesters. These included items taken from persons who had nothing to do with the protests, however.

The most obvious were a crossbow, chainsaw, sledgehammers, and a

machete seized from a man who drove his car near the security fence on June 25 and was arrested. It was already known he had nothing to do with G20 protests, a fact that Blair was questioned on. He responded that this was true, but that everything else in the 'weapons' display was.

“Everything else” also included body armour, shields, and arrows that had stuffed socks on the end. This gear belonged to a man who also happened to be stopped by police in downtown Toronto, but had nothing to do with the protests. His gear was used for re-creating medieval-style sparring as part of a hobbyist group he belonged to. The arrows, which Blair claimed were to be used for flaming projectiles, were blunted so they could be fired during fake 'battles.'

Some of the other 'weaponry' displayed included goggles, helmets, golf balls, tennis balls, bandanas, and even a copy of *Upping the Ante* (an anarchist/autonomist journal published in Toronto).

That same day, it was also learned that the 5-metre 'arrest zone' around the security fencing did not empower police to arrest those who refused to provide ID



or to be searched. This 'zone' had already been a controversial subject since its enactment (under the *Public Works Protection Act*, a provincial legislation) had been passed secretly on June 2, and was not revealed to the public until June 24, when one person who refused to give their ID was arrested.

“But there was no power to search people coming within five metres of the fence, said ministry spokeswoman Laura Blondeau.

“The area designated by the regulation as a public work does not extend outside the boundary of the fence,” Ms. Blondeau said.

“Asked Tuesday if there actually was a five-metre rule given the ministry’s clarification, Toronto Police Chief Bill Blair smiled and said, “No, but I was trying to keep the criminals out.”

(“Police admit no five-metre rule existed on security fence law,” *The Canadian Press*, Jun. 29, 2010)

### ***Police Response to Black Bloc***

Toronto Police chief Bill Blair attempted to rationalize the police inaction during the Black Bloc attacks by claiming they had sought to distract police and lure them away from the fence. The police's main priority, according to Blair, was to protect the G20 Summit. Mission accomplished.

Yet, just two weeks prior, he had stated that “his biggest fear was that radicals would destroy property by 'breaking windows, burning cars, overturning street furniture’” (quoted in “Security or Liberty,” by Marcus Gee and Colin Freeze, *Globe and Mail*, June 28, 2010).

At the same time, a CBC News headline reported that “Black Bloc expected to test G20 security” (Monday, June 14, 2010). Police, therefore, cannot claim to have been ignorant of what was coming. While some are portraying the police inaction as part of a larger conspiracy, discussed below, it appears that they were unprepared for the level of militant resistance on the streets and may have even believed it had been dampened through their fear-mongering, massive police deployment, the raids and arrests earlier in the day of 'ringleaders', and overall intimidation of protesters.

The police inaction in the face of the Black Bloc was portrayed as an example of “remarkable restraint and professionalism,” according to Michele Paradis of the Integrated Security Unit. Yet, some were left wondering:

“Thousands of cops were brought in from around the country, a new law was secretly enacted to give police more power, millions spent on security... but still a committed group of protesters made Toronto burn. So what happened?”

(“The Burning Question,” Michelle Shephard, *Toronto Star*, June 27, 2010)

The 'burning question' over why police failed to respond more aggressively to the Black Bloc quickly gave rise to conspiracy theories that they “allowed it to happen.” This is a common response from conspiracy theorists and liberals and has a number of contributing factors.

On the one hand, there is a deeply-rooted cynicism and distrust of government that sees sinister motivations behind any major disturbance or event (the 'Reichstag syndrome'). This attitude itself has a subversive tendency, but it also leads to a distorted view of the powers of the ruling class.

The idea that police allowed the destruction to occur also arises from a belief in the all-knowing, all-seeing and all-powerful state. This view corresponds to the conspiracy theories that the world is ruled by a secret elite that manipulate all major events, including social disorder as a means of imposing ever-greater state control and repression. It is ultimately defeatist in that all resistance falls into the realm of 'state manipulation.'

For liberal reformists, it is contrary to their belief that the state can be fought, and therefore conciliation, negotiation, and adherence to strictly legal measures are the order of the day. When militants make a successful attack, especially against such a massive security operation, it shatters an essential premise upon which reformism is based (which is essentially defeatist by nature). Their response to such attacks is that it must be part of a 'greater conspiracy,' which will only make them look like fools (as they are).

The idea that police allowed the destruction to occur unopposed also includes allegations that police planted derelict vehicles to be torched, and that some of the arson attacks were carried out by undercover pigs within the Black Bloc.

A well known conspiracy website, [globalresearch.com](http://globalresearch.com), even posted photos of members of the Black Bloc and focusing on their footwear as 'evidence' they were undercover cops. This weak effort seeks to duplicate the incident at Montebello in 2007, when undercover SQ pigs were identified posing as masked militants, who were then 'arrested' by riot cops as a means of removing them from the hostile crowd. A key piece of evidence was that they wore the exact same boots as the riot cops (and the SQ later admitted they were indeed undercover cops).

From this, [globalresearch.com](http://globalresearch.com) attempted to show that the same technique was used in the G20 Black Bloc, focusing on some militant's shoes. In one case, they showed a pair of walking shoes with an outdoor tread and claimed they were military issue combat boots, although they weren't even boots. In another, they showed a person wearing runners and claimed they were the same

as boots worn by riot cops. They also showed a mismatched pair of black and white socks worn by one person, speculating this was a 'code' for cops to identify the undercover agent.

The abandoned and subsequently arsoned police vehicles were perhaps the most popular of the conspiracy theories. According to this line of thought, they had been purposefully left behind to be smashed and burnt (thereby somehow 'justifying' the massive security operation). Yet, while it may be shocking news to reformists and other armchair theorists, it is not unprecedented that pigs abandon their vehicles and run for their lives in the face of determined resistance, as occurred during the initial police raid at Oka in 1990, and then at Quebec City in 2001 (where I saw police vans abandoned, full of riot shields, shotguns, munitions, etc., which were in the process of being looted until more vans of riot cops arrived to secure it).

The first police cars abandoned had been following the People First Parade on June 26 and were trapped when the break-away contingent reversed direction, storming east on Queen St. One officer, a Staff Sergeant, was trapped inside his vehicle and only rescued when a group of officers ran to protect him (documented by, among others, SubMedia TV).

The second pair of cop cars attacked was at King and Bay Streets, again overwhelmed by a rapidly moving mob that caught them by surprise. The pigs inside these vehicles ran for their lives.

In both cases of arsoned pig cars, munitions inside the vehicles could be seen exploding. If police had orchestrated the destruction of police cars, they surely wouldn't have left munitions that could be taken by militants, militants already armed with Molotov cocktails and other weapons. Clearly, these were not pre-planned actions and could not have been, given the chaotic, fluid, and rapidly changing situation on the streets.

The idea that police 'allowed' the destruction to occur also fails to account for what gains the police would

make by doing so. Some assert that the \$1 billion security needed to be justified, and by allowing militants to rampage through the downtown core this could be done. Sort of like, "See all the destruction? That's why we needed \$1 billion!"

However, the most common response was not a case of "I told you so," but instead sharp questions about police incompetence: With some 5,500 riot cops in the downtown area, a billion dollar security budget, etc., why

couldn't police stop the Black Bloc? By 'allowing' the attacks to occur in the context of the largest security operation in Canadian history, the police only appeared as incompetent, if not cowardly.

A *Toronto Sun* columnist claims to have spoken to frontline pigs deployed during the June 26 protests. They described a situation of utter confusion and signs of fear among police commanders about attacking the Black Bloc:

"The orders went from engage to, no, don't engage, to engage to, no, don't engage," said an officer. "It was an absolute shambles. Everyone was talking over each other on the radio. Nobody seemed to know what to do. It was just a mess."

"The officer said that eventually there was "a clear order from the command centre saying 'Do not engage' " and, at that point, smelling weakness and no repercussions, the downtown was effectively turned over to the vandals while police, up to 19,000 strong, were ordered to stay out of it.

("Warmington: Cops had hands 'cuffed," by Joe Warmington, *Toronto Sun*, June 30, 2010)

It may very well be that police intelligence, based largely on the 2001 Quebec City riots, expected the security fence to be the primary target. Two weeks before June 26, CBC News had reported that "The No. 1 target of the Black Bloc in Toronto is expected to be the tall mesh security fence surrounding the centre where the G20 leaders will meet" ("Black Bloc expected to test G20 security," CBC News, Monday, June 14, 2010).

This report was probably based on interviews with police and reflected not only their main concern (security for the Summit), but also wishful thinking (the militants will only attack the fence). Much of the

### The Art of War

Quotes from Sun Tzu for all you civilians questioning military tactics (of which you know nothing). This text is 2,000 years old:

"Appear where they cannot go, head for where they least expect you...To unfailingly take what you attack, attack where there is no defense..."

"So in the case of those who are skilled in attack, their opponents do not know where to defend..."

"Therefore when you induce others to construct a formation while you yourself are formless, then you are concentrated while the opponent is divided... If you can strike few with many, you will thus minimize the number of those with whom you do battle..."

"Your battleground is not to be known, for when it cannot be known, the enemy makes many guard outposts, and since multiple outposts are established, you only have to do battle with small squads."

"Therefore the consummation of forming an army is to arrive at formlessness. When you have no form, undercover espionage cannot find out anything, intelligence cannot form a strategy."

mobilizing propaganda was also focused on the fence, with graphics and slogans referring to tearing it down. Police may also have felt that their efforts at intimidation, raids and arrests, had seriously eroded the capability of a Black Bloc to carry out any actions on June 26. In this regard, they would have seriously underestimated the resistance.

There are also reports that police had significant problems with communications. Toronto police had received a new communication system prior to the G20. They would also have had problems coordinating the actions of multiple police agencies from across the country, cops unfamiliar with the downtown streets.

The ability of the bloc to move quickly enabled it to outmaneuver the riot cops, who were hampered by a slow response time. Wearing up to 80-90 pounds of gear, they could not move fast enough over any distance. Just to get to an area required moving chartered buses or convoys of mini-vans through city streets (not an easy task even under normal traffic conditions).

I observed one convoy of vans, for example, moving to stop the protest that was eventually mass-arrested on Saturday night (at the Novotel Hotel). After the protest had passed south down Yonge St., the convoy rolled up and stopped at an intersection. A pig got out of the lead vehicle and began walking back, telling others he had extra batteries for their radios. Pigs got out of the vehicles and made last-minute adjustments of their gear, then got back in. The whole process took some 5-10 minutes. Overall, they were just too big and cumbersome to move quickly enough, especially against the elusive Black Bloc.

Days prior to the June 26 action, a local Toronto activist told me that Toronto police had lots of experience in crowd control. Aside from the militant actions of ARA and OCAP in the late 1990s, however, most crowd control situations in Toronto have simply been for large public events such as baseball or hockey games, parades and festivals, etc. It can hardly be said that they have much experience in countering militant street fighters (as is the case with Montreal pigs). This lack of experience would be another contributing factor to the poor performance by Toronto pigs (who had overall control of security outside the fence).

If police had simply swallowed their pig pride, they would have used restraint following the Black Bloc attacks in order to keep attention focused on the 'violent vandals.' Instead, unable to capture the black-masked militants, impotent with rage, and with orders to re-

establish control of the streets, they launched a counter-offensive against peaceful protesters and citizens, thereby creating an even bigger problem. In fact, the police's heavy-handed response to the vandalism helped minimize criticism of the militant attacks and focused attention back to the police state:

“On Saturday, as images of torched police cruisers and masked vandals left a public embarrassed by the world's view of Toronto, much of the criticism was directed at violent protesters.

“But by late Sunday, with a reported 604 people arrested, tear gas used on Toronto streets for the first time and demonstrators stung by rubber bullets, the focus had turned to the police.”

(“Police tactics: Too tough or too soft?” Robyn Doolittle and Michelle Shephard, *Toronto Star*, June 28, 2010)

One can see the same dilemma affecting Western military forces in Iraq and Afghanistan; unable to identify and directly attack insurgents, soldiers vent their frustration and anger on the civilian population. Although they know that the insurgents find cover among the people, their repressive actions attempting to separate the people from the insurgency only draw more people into the ranks of the insurgents.

Now the pigs are screwed either way. The enormous security budget and the imposition of the security zone had already drawn widespread criticism. Now people are asking why, with a \$1 billion budget and some 19,000 security personnel, could they not stop the Black Bloc? Why were police so slow to respond, and only attack peaceful protesters and citizens when they did? Not only do they appear incompetent and cowardly, they also emerge as brutal and vindictive (all true).

In summary, there is no evidence that police 'allowed' the Black Bloc to carry out attacks as justification for the massive security operation, even if authorities attempt to spin it this way (as they do with any militant attack or disruption, part of the cycle of resistance-repression).

More than anything else, the inability or unwillingness to control the militants shows the state to be vulnerable and weak, while the brutality unleashed on peaceful protesters and citizens has further alienated them from the public. Both are dangerous trends for state authority; on the one hand it encourages and emboldens the resistance, while on the other it deepens public cynicism and hostility towards the state itself.

## The Black Bloc Actions

“This isn't violence. This is vandalism against violent corporations.”

(Black Bloc militant quoted in “Tear gas fired in rampage,” Kenneth Kidd, *Toronto Star*, June 27, 2010)

There is no question the Black Bloc and militant attacks 'stole the thunder' from both the liberal reformists as well as the G20 Summit itself. As an act of 'armed propaganda' it was highly successful, with widespread media coverage and public attention focused on militant resistance. Even if many citizens aren't aware of what the G20 is or its policies, they know there is determined resistance against it. They also now have an example of successful militant attacks in the face of the largest security operation in Canadian history, in the downtown financial district of the largest city in Canada.

Despite the usual condemnations regarding 'mindless violence', the overwhelming majority of attacks were against state or corporate targets. Many journalists noted that property destruction was limited almost exclusively to banks and corporations. Despite Toronto police chief Blair's assertions of 'mindless' destruction, it was obvious that the attacks were targeted and avoided violence against persons (even against police for the most part):



*No fotoz please, we're famous; masked vandal attempts to stop the world. Best defense: good disguise and concealment.*

“On Queen Street West, the scene of burning police cars Saturday, merchants surveyed the damage yesterday and noted there was method to the madness of rioters. They targeted the icons of consumerism and financing.

“The list of battered stores in the strip between University and Spadina includes Starbucks, Foot Locker, Nike and Gap. Every bank branch along the strip also had windows smashed.

“Independent shop owners were spared—at least by the rioters. These merchants instead complained of a sharp drop in business due to the G20 security lockdown.”

(“Cat and mouse game,” *Metro* (Toronto), June 28, 2010)

“We were spared... I do have a feeling that all these places were targeted. I think because we're an

independent business, they left us alone.”

(Glen Cameron, manager of Sunrise Records, quoted in “It was a mess, there was glass everywhere,” Katherine Laidlaw, *National Post*, June 28, 2010)

“For the most part, their targets are specific and symbolic: As the crowd tore across Queen St., they hammered police cruisers, attacked banks and other corporate companies. Yet they left a record store, a local tavern and an independent hardware shop untouched.”

(“Behind the Black Bloc,” by Jesse McLean, *Toronto Star*, June 27, 2010)

Despite the overall demonization of the Black Bloc, there is also a significant appreciation of their audacity and effectiveness among the general population:

“They're very organized—it's almost like a cat-and-mouse game,' one observer said. They are picking the few weaknesses they can find in the cops and targeting them and then quickly dispersing so they don't get caught.”

(“Organized anarchy,” *Toronto Sun*, June 27, 2010)

“After bringing in thousands of reinforcements, police still managed to be outwitted and outrun by a determined group of anarchists bent on destruction.”

(“Police burned by protesters,” by Michelle Shephard, *Toronto Star*, Sunday June 27, 2010)

The mystique of the Black Bloc, itself a powerful propaganda image, was strengthened by media accounts of the 'mysterious,' 'sinister' and 'elusive' militants, with headlines such as “Violent protesters who never were,” “Cat and mouse game,” “In black and running wild,” all of which described the tactics of the Black Bloc and its intent. Most of these reports contained a surprisingly good understanding of the tactics and intention of the Black Bloc, noting its origin in West Germany during the 1980s and its subsequent emergence in North America at the Seattle anti-WTO mobilization in 1999.

One of the more interesting media reports of the Black Bloc was published in Vancouver's *Georgia Straight*:

“Neither thugs nor criminals lurk behind the masks of black bloc protesters, a renowned police psychologist suggests.

“Rather, what Mike Webster sees are 'very

thoughtful people'...

"The vast majority of people in that crowd are not bad people,' Webster told the *Georgia Straight* in a phone interview... 'They've got the same values that most of the rest of us have. If they didn't, they'd be in jail, locked up in jail for murder.'

"A BC-based crisis-management expert who has consulted with the RCMP, the FBI, and many other police forces inside and outside of Canada, Webster went as far as arguing that black bloc activists aren't much different from 'well-socialized young individuals' who go off to fight a war believing it's an honourable thing to do."

("Anarchist actions have complicated motives," Carlito Pablo, *Georgia Straight*, July 1-8, 2010)

There was little physical violence, and that which occurred was usually the result of an attempted arrest or assault of militants by pigs or vigilante citizens. In some cases militants also assaulted corporate media personnel in an effort to stop them recording attacks. The singular purpose of the action was clearly vandalism.

### **Black Bloc Preparation**

The Black Bloc itself was approximately 100-150 strong, with another 300 or so masked militants not in black. The bloc members were fairly well equipped with uniform black clothing, masks, goggles, gloves, etc. Tools included hammers, a baseball bat, slingshots, cue balls, sticks, and whatever could be found on the street, including loose bricks, rocks, chairs, and construction equipment.

Despite the enormous propaganda victory for militant resistance and the Black Bloc tactic, this was one of the most chaotic Black Blocs I have ever experienced. In fact, it was so 'helter-skelter' that I am convinced only police incompetence prevented it from being contained at the outset (that and the spirits were on our side). The closest the bloc came to being trapped was at the intersection of Bay and King streets, where two cop cars were set on fire.

At this intersection, just one block from the security fence, large numbers of riot cops had positioned themselves on the north and south of Bay St. If riot cops had been deployed east at Yonge St., and then west on

King, it would have been relatively easy to trap us.

There were no scouts used by the bloc, at least none I could observe. Against a better organized riot police, this could have led to our capture, as occurred with the kettle the next day at Queen and Spadina Ave. (where police trapped a 'peaceful' protest and then kettled them, along with citizen bystanders, for over 3 hours).

Some who engaged in militant actions, most of whom were not dressed in black, did not have adequate disguises. This included just wearing a bandana over their lower face, wearing distinctive clothing (their regular street clothes, some with patches and other unique markings), wearing short-sleeve shirts that showed tattoos, etc. Many of these were probably more inexperienced protesters caught up in the excitement. Some who did wear all-black clothing were photographed with their masks half-off, easily identified by anyone who knows them (the worst offender appears to be the bandana).

In addition, the Black Bloc's dispersal at Queen's Park was not carried out under the best conditions. There was no large crowd for the group to disperse within, and instead it huddled on College St. at first, until moving onto an open piece of grass. When it left this spot, a pile of black clothing and gear were left behind. Meanwhile, people were continuing to film and photograph the group, even as members now appeared in civilian clothing and walked away. There was not adequate concealment. A better option would have been to move into the nearby environs of the University of Toronto buildings and shrubbery.

### **Police Hunt for Black Bloc Militants**

After the attacks of Saturday afternoon, police began an intensive hunt for anyone associated with the Black Bloc (with the chief of police announcing that those responsible for attacks would be "held accountable") or even the protests in general. This included random stops and searches of individuals on the street, especially those wearing black or having back packs. People found with black clothing, bandanas, or protective gear such as goggles, were arrested.

Police not only targeted those at subsequent rallies later that day and the next, they also carried out raids (i.e., the university and buses from Quebec), boarded public transit, and stopped people walking in the



*Black Bloc marching, June 26. Uniform black clothing makes it hard to identify & target persons.*



downtown area. Vehicles with Quebec license plates were also pulled over.

Within days, Toronto police announced the establishment of a special unit to investigate 'criminal offenses' that occurred during the protests. They also requested that media and citizens supply them with any photo or videos of the Black Bloc for use in their investigation.

It is likely that their strategy in mass arresting people (aside from reasserting control and authority in the streets) was to scoop up militants in their net. Once captured, prisoners and their clothing, packs, etc., could be examined to determine if any were part of the Black Bloc and/or involved in vandalism (by comparing captured clothing and items to those in photos or videos taken during the actions).

In the future, when police carry out such counter-measures after a Black Bloc action, members will have to discard every piece of black clothing and gear in order to pass through any cordons, to avoid arrest, and to minimize forensic evidence. Ideally, this clothing and gear would be burnt at the dispersal point.

I myself hesitated to discard my mask and gloves; the mask had sentimental value as I had worn it at previous Black Blocs, and the gloves were well-made. Had I been stopped and searched, these would have been incriminating items that would certainly have led to my arrest. In the future, black clothing and gear must be seen as one-time use only and totally disposable (I know others already understand this, but it is an important point worth emphasizing).

Total concealment of one's identity will be necessary as well to avoid subsequent identification from the large amounts of photos and videos produced, much of which will end up in the hands of police (through sympathetic media or citizens, as well as through YouTube, etc.). In Toronto, there were far too many cameras to be countered, not only with media and citizens, but also CCTV cameras mounted by police in the streets and those in businesses. The best defense against cameras is proper concealment (and especially the face and hands).

At the same time as the June 26 resistance in Toronto, Vancouver police were targeting a much smaller Black Bloc during a G20 solidarity rally. Vancouver

police used similar language in targeting the bloc as police in Toronto were using:

"A core group of the black-clad protesters began to try to bait officers who were facilitating the protest by trying to damage police equipment, kicking the officers and taunting them."

(VPD Constable Lindsey Houghton, quoted in "Vancouver G20 protest turns ugly," *Metro* (Toronto), June 28, 2010)

### **Damages**

The total amount of damages inflicted during the Toronto G20 Summit has yet to be determined. It is surely over a million dollars. According to Tim Byrne, manager of Stadia Industries Ltd., his company alone had replaced about \$750,000 in broken windows by Sunday night (June 27). Each police vehicle was reported to cost \$30,000, and with four utterly destroyed by arson would total some \$120,000. Along with this numerous other police vehicles had windows smashed and tires slashed. There was also extensive graffiti on buildings, including "Fuck the Rich," "Bomb the Banks," "Fuck the Police," etc.

### **Comparisons to Other Black Bloc Actions**

During the Seattle anti-WTO protests and riots, a similarly small (approx. 100) Black Bloc focused on property destruction away from the site of more peaceful protests. This was highly effective and caused extensive damage (one of the most effective Black Bloc actions in N. America at this time). Along with tens of thousands of other protesters, the militant attacks caught police off guard and resulted in widespread police attacks, including the firing of thousands of rounds of tear gas, rubber pellets, baton charges, pepper spray, etc. Over 600 people were arrested.

As a result of the indiscriminate police violence and charges of incompetence, the Seattle chief of police and other senior commanders were forced to resign. Lawsuits were launched by enraged citizens and calls for a public inquiry were raised. The 'Battle of Seattle' had a profound impact on social movements in N. America and within the overall anti-globalization movement.

During the 2001 Quebec City Summit of the Americas, the Black Bloc was comprised of over 500 militants marching as part of a larger mobilization involving as many as 60,000 people. Its main goal was dismantling the security fence erected around the summit site, and over the course of two days repeated attacks



*"They vanished into thin air, Sarge!" With line of riot cops in background, all that remains of Black Bloc are discarded clothing and gear.*

were made with sections of fencing torn down.

In Quebec City, the police at first limited their deployment to inside the security perimeter, until sections of the fence were torn down and they advanced into the streets in efforts to disperse the crowds. There was a high level of public support among citizens for not just protesters, but also the Black Bloc (at one point marching down the street, citizens lining the sides cheered the militants as they headed towards the fence).

The police response in Quebec City was similar as to what occurred in Seattle: police fired thousands of rounds of tear gas and nearly a thousand rubber bullets. Hundreds of people were injured and over 460 were arrested. The widespread police brutality and gassing of the city led to public criticism of the police (both RCMP and SQ).

The Black Bloc in Toronto was unique and in some respects a combination of what had occurred in Seattle and Quebec City. Although small, the bloc marched as part of a larger mobilization with a breakaway contingent that headed towards the fence (as in Quebec City). Instead of confronting the riot cops, the bloc's main focus became property destruction (as in Seattle). Police were clearly hesitant to deploy tear gas or to fire rubber bullets (mostly using 'muzzle blasts').

Overall, compared to Seattle and Quebec City, the anti-G20 mobilization was far smaller. The largest rally on Saturday June 26 (the People First parade) was perhaps 10,000 at most (and certainly not the 40,000 reported by some). Why this mobilization was far smaller than previous ones arises from several factors: the shorter organizing period leading up to the Toronto G20 (a matter of months, not years), the lack of specific policies that attracted opposition (as compared to the WTO or Free Trade Area of the Americas), and the fact that it was held in Toronto (a politically conservative city dominated by financial institutions).

It is interesting to note how much the situation has changed over the last two decades. In 1988, Toronto hosted a summit of the G7. Although there was security, it was nowhere near what was deployed in 2010. Heads of state, such as US President Ronald Reagan and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, were able to travel through the city in public motorcades, waving to citizens, etc.

During the G20 summit in Toronto, no heads of state dared leave the security zone for any public events. Whereas in 1988 there was no security fencing and just a few hundred Toronto cops, the G20 summit saw the downtown core on lockdown with fencing and thousands of riot police.

## **Post-G20 Summit Solidarity Demonstrations and Attacks**

Solidarity attacks and protests began immediately after the end of the G20 Summit and occurred in several cities across the country. There are undoubtedly other rallies and actions that occurred that are not listed:

In Calgary on the night/morning of June 26/27, an RBC and McDonalds were vandalized (see communique below).

On the night/morning of June 27/28, two Bank of Montreal branches were vandalized in Toronto, with windows being smashed and ATM machines being glued (see communique, below).

During a Gay Pride event in Toronto on June 29, police chief Bill Blair required police protection when over 100 protesters crashed the community center where Blair was to appear as a guest. They chanted "No justice, no peace! No homophobic police!," and condemned Blair for the police brutality.

On June 30, a Kiewit construction company truck was arsoned in Vancouver, with a communique (see below) targeting Kiewit for its work on the Sea-to-Sky Highway expansion as part of the 2010 Olympics, and declaring solidarity with the anti-G20 resistance. In Ottawa, some 200 rallied in support of the G20 prisoners.

On July 1 (Canada Day) in Toronto, a protest of 3,000 people condemned the police violence and demanded a public inquiry, as well as the resignation of police chief Bill Blair. Rallies were also held in Winnipeg (with 200) and Montreal (over 1,000). Later that night, two RBC branches were vandalized in Montreal (communique below).

On July 2, a Canadian Forces recruiting centre was bombed in Trois-Rivieres (between Montreal and Quebec City). The attack was claimed by the Resistance Internationaliste, which has claimed responsibility for two previous actions (a 2004 bombing of a hydro tower, and the 2006 firebombing of an oil executive's car). The statement referred to the police violence at the G20 protests as well as Canadian military involvement in Afghanistan (and specifically against recruiting youth into the military).

On July 3, some 200 people rallied in Edmonton.

On July 4, approx. 200 marched in Vancouver (in solidarity with prisoners as well as Black Bloc action).

**Did You Know?** The Vandals were a European tribe that fought the Roman Empire, invading and looting Rome during their anti-colonial resistance.  
**When in Rome, do as the Vandals do!**

“[W]hat went on in Toronto on the weekend was far from the 'marketing opportunity' the Harper government had been hoping and preparing for.”

“Harper's summit gains may be lost in uproar over costs, lost rights,” Barbara Yaffe, columnist, *Vancouver Sun*, June 29, 2010)

The militant attacks of June 26 created chaos in the streets of Toronto and humiliated the state security forces. With a \$1 billion security budget, some 19,000 security personnel, including over 10,000 police, the Integrated Security Unit failed to stop militant actions or the Black Bloc. Then, motivated by revenge, the pigs attacked and arrested some 900 peaceful protesters and citizens.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper's closing address to the G20 Summit acknowledged the extent of this resistance, deploring “the actions of a few thugs. But the reality is, unfortunately, these summits attract this element, and that has been a problem, as we know, around the world.”

Yet, due to the size of the G20 Summits (with some 10,000 delegates and 4,000 media), and the need to promote their power and authority, major urban centers are the only areas appropriate for hosting such gatherings:

“That means the G20 will by necessity end up in large cities, a fertile environment for radicals, with plenty of support, places to hide, and easy targets.”

“Collateral damage,” *Globe and Mail* editorial, June 28, 2010)

The next G20 is to be held in South Korea later this year. The next G8 summit is scheduled to occur in Nice, France in 2011, as well as a G20 summit at an undetermined location in France.

For those of us in N. America, the experiences and lessons of the Toronto G20 Summit must be absorbed, analyzed and articulated. In particular, the actions of the Black Bloc shows what a powerful impact even a small militant force can have. The security apparatus will surely be attempting to draw its own lessons on how to repress Black Blocs and the growing militancy which has manifested itself during 2010, including the anti-Olympic mobilization and the arson attack on the Ottawa Royal Bank of Canada (for which three comrades have been charged).

As a result of all these actions, there are now many comrades facing serious charges to which our solidarity must be extended, including jail support, fundraising for legal costs, and publicizing their cases. This year will be marked in history as a significant turning point for resistance in Canada. With worsening

socio-economic conditions, which the G20 both perpetuates and attempts to manage, the future will be one of ever-greater social conflict for which our movements must prepare.

## **Communiqués of Solidarity Attacks**

### **RBC and McDonalds attacked in Calgary**

June 26/27: Saturday evening/early Sunday morning, under a full moon, a group of Calgary Anarchist's set out to show solidarity with political prisoners and comrades injured in recent events in Toronto. With police eyes distracted by the summits, we were able to destroy a local McDonalds and an RBC bank (chosen due to video footage of these establishments being targeted in Toronto riots) in retaliation of the police state brutalizing our friends and comrades from every walk of life, during the G8 and G20 protests. In addition to painting "NO G8, NO G20. THESE STREETS ARE OUR STREETS", to show our gestures of solidarity with protesters, we wanted to do even the smallest amount of action to show our respect and pride in all you people out there. Piece!

"Stay peaceful, by keeping your piece full." Dead Prez

"G8, G20. They few, we many." Test Their Logic

### **Anti-G20 Solidarity Action in Toronto**

On the night of Sunday June 27th – Monday June 28th two Bank of Montreal branches were attacked in Toronto, Ontario. We smashed several windows on the bank at the corner of Christie and Dupont. At another, near the corner of Ossington and Dundas, we glued shut the card slot of its ATM before smashing its screen; we then broke several window and walked away.

We caused this damage to respond to the arrests that happened earlier that day, as well as to attack the larger context of this repression. Bank of Montreal provides financial support for the development of the Toronto South Detention Centre, a large expansion on a prison in Mimico. This expansion will replace the existing Toronto Jail in 2012 with new high-tech and sterile forms of incarceration.

Solidarity means attack! Against all repression and its prisons!

### **Kiewit Truck Torched in Solidarity Action - Vancouver**

On the night of June 30th, a work truck belonging to Peter Kiewit and Sons was set alight in East Vancouver. This was an act of solidarity with all those taking action against the G20 in Toronto, the hundreds

who were kidnapped, beaten and detained by the State and those who are now facing charges.

Kiewit built the Olympic Sea to Sky highway project and filed the injunction against the Eagle Ridge Occupation ultimately resulting in the death of indigenous elder and warrior Harriet Nahanee. Among other things, Kiewit also constructs US military bases.

An attack against repression and those who profit off our misery. Happy Anti-Canada Day on stolen land!

From Toronto to Vancouver Fire in the Streets!

## **Montreal: RBC Attacked in Solidarity with the G20 Prisoners**

Montreal: On the night of Thursday, July 1st, the windows of two ATM's at the Royal Bank of Canada on the corner of Monkland and Harvard were smashed. This attack is in solidarity with comrades facing state repression from the G20 weekend.

Solidarity means attack, indeed. Toronto was not the beginning and it won't be the end.

DON'T FUCK WITH US.

-some anarchists

## **Corporate News articles on Toronto G20 Black Bloc**

### **In black and running wild**

*Masked members of anarchist group responsible for much of window-smashing*

Jesse McLean, *Toronto Star*, June 27, 2010

As suddenly as they burst onto the streets, they vanished into the crowd.

The men and women clad in black clothes, their faces obscured with bandanas, ski goggles and gas masks, had spent the last hour storming city streets, hurling rocks and debris through the windows of banks and big-chain stores.

They embraced the Black Bloc tactic, a popular sight at almost every international protest since the late 1990s: The crowd, dressed in their black uniforms, moves as a blob, its members indistinguishable from one another. One will run from the pack and lob a rock through a window, before disappearing back into the mob.

On Saturday, as the riot police shuffled closer to the intersection at College and University Aves.--shields up, gas masks on, guns raised—they disappeared again.

Dozens huddled on a patch of grass outside Queen's Park. Protected by their peers, the ones in the middle changed into their street clothes. Within minutes, all that was left was a pile of black garments.

"Don't take a f—king picture of me," said one

man, now wearing a brown T-shirt, as he walked away.

Many in the black uniforms are self-proclaimed anarchists, some members of the Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance, a group police say they have been watching for a year.

While Saturday marked their first rampage, many members of the Black Bloc have been attending the more peaceful protests throughout the week, unmasked and limiting their tactics to non-violent actions. Some performed anti-G20 raps; others held banners.

They bided their time and plotted their strategy.

Carloads of protesters arrived from Quebec for the weekend to join the Bloc, members said.

The group's causes are many: They're anti-capitalist, anti-police, anti-colonial. While the labour members marched to have their voices heard, the anarchists are resolute that world leaders aren't listening and don't care.

Any change has to come at their own hands.

For the most part, their targets are specific and symbolic: As the crowd tore across Queen St., they hammered cruisers, attacked banks and other corporate companies. "This isn't violence. This is vandalism against violent corporations. We did not hurt anybody. They (the corporations) are the ones hurting people," one man said.

Others pelted the Zanzibar strip bar with mannequin limbs snatched from a nearby clothing store.

"This is all part of the sexist, male-dominated war machine we live in," explained one member.

Factions within the that group, however, appeared to relish the mayhem. As the protesters marched up Yonge St., they became more indiscriminate in what they damaged.

On College St. a pack of masked protesters began to vandalize an empty BMW.

"Stop it. They're not our enemies," one protester shouted. The other retorted: "Yuppies are our enemy."

While the end result seems chaotic, the Bloc is organized. It's made up of groups of 10 or so activists, keeping head counts and decision-making quick and easy. Directions are passed through the mob with codes—on Saturday, "umbrella" was a call to move to the frontline.

With files from Jaume Poisson and Jennifer Yang.

### **The violent protesters who never were**

*While Black Bloc mob simply comes together, there is organization on the street*

Jesse McLean and Andrew Chung, *Toronto Star*, Sunday, June 27, 2010

On a summer morning in 1981, hundreds of police raided a large squat and dozens of houses in West

Germany, resulting in six people being charged for founding and belonging to a criminal organization: Schwarzer Block. The Black Bloc.

But the case fell apart and police acknowledged that this militant group — who dressed in black and had violent confrontations with police — didn't really exist.

Black Bloc is not an organization. It has no leaders. Like a spectre, it simply appears out of nowhere, wreaks havoc, then vanishes.

It's a realization many Torontonians are trying to grasp after dozens of protesters formed a Black Bloc mob Saturday and stormed through city streets, damaging banks and corporate storefronts, as well as setting fire to several police cruisers.

Some, including Mayor David Miller, have implied the mob was made up of out-of-town hoodlums. Protesters, meanwhile, say police tried to quash any Black Bloc by arresting a handful of perceived leaders in a series of early-morning raids.

But for 90 minutes, a mass of black-clad protesters still took over the streets.

"Nobody speaks for anybody in this milieu. They're totally organic structures of people that come together in a certain time and place, and then they dissolve," said Sina Rahmani, a graduate student with the University of California, Los Angeles, who has written on the history and meaning of Black Bloc tactic.

On the streets, Bloc members appeared organized: They used code words to pass along directions and, as their rampage came to an end, they formed a tight huddle, changed into street clothes and carefully dispersed into the crowd.

As many as 1,000 Quebec protesters made the trip to Toronto, at least 75 of whom have been arrested, some for allegedly being involved in Bloc vandalism.

The strength and tenacity of the Quebec element in the G20 protests is not surprising. The province is an incubator of ideas relating to anti-capitalism, anarchy and the like. In Montreal, relatively small Black Blocs regularly make their presence felt during an annual march against police brutality.

"Nostalgic for the Summit of the Americas? You want to relive the experience?" enquired an article in a

local alternative newspaper in Quebec City, site of that 2001 summit, before giving information on organized bus transport to Toronto to protest the G20.

Police appeared to have tracked their convoy Friday and when they arrived, dropping off some activists at Ryerson University, about 50 officers confronted them, demanding identification and rifling through bags.

"It was annoying they arrived so quickly, but their tactics weren't surprising," said Mathieu Francoeur, a spokesman for Anti-Capitalist Convergence, a group formed in January in part to rage against the summit. "They were trying to intimidate people. It's illegal."

Five courts were open Sunday to accommodate the crush of those arrested, including one devoted to processing French-speaking protesters.

According to Rahmani, the Bloc isn't a unified organization and its actions are reactive to the police presence as well as the tenseness of the situation.

It comprises any number of smaller, autonomous protest groups who "share nothing but certain motifs of militancy — attire, chants and above all, a desire to remain anonymous," Rahmani wrote.

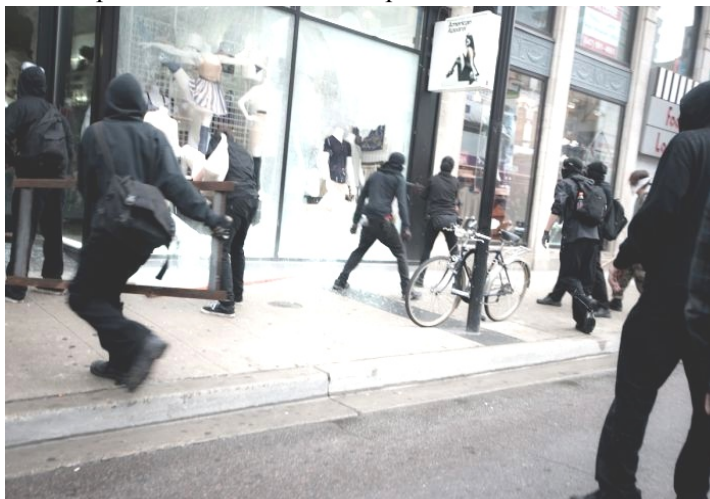
Others disagree, arguing that the protesters form a de facto organization while roaming the streets. On Saturday, clusters of street medics stayed close to the pack, bandaging

and treating their injured peers. Others drifted ahead of the march to act as lookouts as damage was inflicted.

"A natural organization does sort of emerge. It's human nature and even the anarchists can't deny that," said John Thompson, president of the Mackenzie Institute, a Toronto think tank that focuses on issues related to political instability and organized violence

Bloc participants also take pains to weed out police infiltrators, using their established networks to ensure someone among their trusted brethren knows any new arrival, said Francis Dupuis-Déri, professor at the University of Quebec at Montreal, who teaches anarchist theory and practice, and has written a book called *Les Black Blocs*.

The Black Bloc tactic — both in name and form — is rooted in the violent battles anti-nuclear activists had with police in West Germany during the 1970s. During the clashes, the so-called Autonomes dressed in



Vandals attack American Apparel store on Yonge St. June 26



black, wore helmets and obscured their faces.

Unlike the Dutch anarchists, who focused on combating the police, the target of contemporary Black Blocs are symbolic properties: banks, Starbucks, police cruisers and equipment.

“The express purpose of this march was to embarrass the security apparatus,” said one man minutes after the Bloc had disbanded.

Others said it was about confronting — and damaging — corporations responsible for violence across the world.

Because the participants are so diverse, it’s not uncommon for there to be disagreements within a roving Bloc, Rahmani said.

Since the late 1990s, Black Bloc has become an increasingly more common sight at large-scale protests, something Thompson credits to two factors.

A proliferation of social networking tools has enabled protesters to communicate quickly and easily. Meanwhile, the international summits provide a “cluster of targets,” Thompson said.

He describes the black-clad protests as theatre, adding that the destructive protesters create a situation “where force and authority will have to be on display and you can confront it.”

When the two sides skirmish, it “provides evidence that, somehow or another, the system is violent,” he said.

One protester, who planned on participating in the Black Bloc but opted out after police began preemptively arresting her friends, defended the approach, saying it puts pressure on corporations that are exploiting workers and resources.

“No one has the right to tell me how to defend myself when we’re under threat,” she said. “Maybe it’s not 100 per cent right, but I don’t see any other options.”

With files from Jayme Poisson

## **Police burned by protesters**

*After bringing in thousands of reinforcements, police still managed to be outwitted and outrun by a determined group of anarchists bent on destruction*

By Michelle Shephard, National Security Reporter, *Toronto Star*, Sunday June 27, 2010

Thousands of cops were brought in from around the country, a new law was secretly enacted to give police more power, millions spent for security and even Mother Nature cooperated by raining on the parade, but still a committed group of protesters managed to make Toronto burn.

So what happened?

Toronto police Chief Bill Blair asked Saturday night for the public’s “patience and support.”

“It is very regrettable that such vandalism and violence could not be prevented,” Blair told reporters at a news conference. “But I want to assure you that the persons responsible will be held accountable.”

Mayor David Miller warned people to stay out of the downtown core until it is deemed safe.

He wouldn’t say whether he thought police lost control of the protesters, saying it was unfair to “second guess what they’re doing in the heat of the moment.”

The heat began just before 4 p.m. Saturday when an abandoned police cruiser was set on fire at King and Bay Sts., in the heart of Toronto’s financial district.

As the cruiser burned and sent sparks and huge black clouds into the air, further west, near Queen St. and Spadina Ave., police abandoned two more police cars as protesters enveloped them.

North on College St. near University Ave. police closed in on demonstrators, forcing many to flee. Those who refused, and sat on the grassy median, were pepper sprayed and struck with batons.

“Why are you doing this?” shouted a weeping Alison Blais. The journalism student said she was trying to leave when the cops came at her. “They just attacked. They came on like crazy,” the bleary-eyed 24-year-old said.

It was this picture of chaos, fire and the lines of beefy riot cops beamed around the world and had fingers pointing at police to explain what happened to Toronto the Good – especially after taxpayers had forfeited millions for security.

But Michele Paradis of the Integrated Security Unit responsible for G20 Summit safety cautioned that the violence had to be put into perspective.

“Yes there are broken windows, yes there is graffiti and yes there are burned cars,” she said Saturday. She said police showed a remarkable amount of restraint and professionalism.

“Our officers did not engage. There were times when they were hit and they stood their ground. We have always said we will take a balanced and measured approach and I think you saw that today.”

For much of the day that seemed true. Police effectively moved protesters from one street to another as the group of thousands marched south from Queen’s Park. The first line of police defence was often the bicycle cops or uniformed officers standing shoulder to shoulder. Behind them one street south was an impenetrable line of riot cops and others on horseback.

If an intersection got rowdy, busloads of riot cops were brought to the site and marched two-by-two behind

the lines as they banged their batons against shields. Tucked away in back alleys were Toronto's elite Emergency Task Force.

Police did manage to keep protesters well north of the security zone known as "the cage" where international leaders met.

And this was the main goal, Chief Blair told reporters at the news conference. Perhaps it was one that police had learned from past protests.

During the 2001 Summit of the Americas in Quebec City, the security fence became the flashpoint for protesters and led to violent clashes with police. Tear gas was also fired far into the crowds, reaching not just the groups bent on anarchy but igniting panic as peaceful protesters were left gasping.

Although tear gas was used Saturday it was done sparingly during "muzzle blasts" rather than the overpowering canisters of tear gas, Toronto police spokesperson Const. Wendy Drummond said.

Chief Blair disputed claims that rubber bullets had been used and said somewhat testily that he was aware that had been "twittered" by a number of people.

"That, like much of the information put out by these anarchists, was misinformation in order to mislead the public and the media."

However, Const. Tim Garland confirmed early Sunday that plastic bullets, pepper spray guns and ARWEN launchers, which shoot a special kind of bean bag or plastic projectiles, have been deployed against protesters.

In many ways Saturday was a battle of strategy between the violent protesters and police. Some felt police tactics were too harsh, and questioned how police appeared to lose control. Others believe after a week of expecting the worst, the violence was not as bad as expected.

As clashes continued Saturday night, the second battle for public opinion will continue Sunday between those who are asking police what went wrong, and those pointing out what went right.

With files from Fabiola Carletti, Jennifer Yang, Jim Rankin, Robyn Doolittle, Raveena Aulakh and David Rider

## Four alleged G20 violence ringleaders appear in court

Francine Kopun and Peter Small, *Toronto Star*, Saturday June 26, 2010

Fires were still burning in Toronto Saturday afternoon as Crown attorneys laid out their case against four alleged ringleaders of the violence. Amanda Hiscocks, Leah Henderson, Alex Hundert and Peter Hopperton appeared before a justice of the peace and had their bail hearing put over till Monday at the request of a prosecutor who said he was overwhelmed by the volume of evidence collected by numerous police forces in a year-long undercover investigation.



Toronto police 'Public Order Unit' with new riot gear.

Crown attorney Vincent Paris said a plan for violence had been put into place over a series of meetings leading up to the G20 Summit, "action which is what's happening now."

The four, allegedly executives in the Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance, were arrested Friday morning and charged with conspiracy to commit indictable mischief. They are among 15 alleged co-conspirators.

Paris said that their arrest was the culmination of a large-scale investigation, which is still ongoing, involving two undercover agents. The investigation began in April 2009. It was conducted by a joint intelligence group that included the RCMP, Ontario Provincial Police, as well as the Toronto, Peel, Waterloo, Ottawa, Guelph and Barrie police services.

The undercover officers infiltrated criminal extremist groups in Guelph, Kitchener, Waterloo and Toronto and forged relationships with several people whose ideological beliefs and backgrounds pose a direct threat to large-scale public events, including the G20 and the Vancouver Olympics, according to the allegations they planned to "use the cover of a lawful protest to break off and do this kind of criminal activity," Paris said.

The list of contemplated targets included Metro Hall, City Hall, Goldman Sachs, The Bay, as well as the U.S., Russian and Indian consulates.

"We are a little overwhelmed by the information," Paris said. "The information is coming in fast." The alleged conspirators discussed using golf balls, body armour, fireworks and flares, Paris said.

But defence lawyer Brydie Bethell said the

Crown had no specific evidence related to her clients. "There is nothing wrong under the Constitution with participating and planning peaceful protest." She said there was little to link her clients to "the situation ongoing downtown."

Meanwhile, a visual artist charged in the G20 security investigation of her common law spouse was released on \$25,000 bail.

On Saturday afternoon Kristen Peterson, 37, was released on condition she live with her parents in their Glencairn Ave. home. Looking relaxed in green jail issue sweats, Peterson smiled at her father and mother, John and Maureen Peterson, who were sitting in court.

She is barred from communicating with her spouse and co-accused, Byron Sonne, 37, a computer expert charged with several G20-related offences. She is also barred from accessing any website controlled by Sonne and is barred from altering their joint financial accounts.

Peterson is charged with possession of an explosive device and possession of a weapon for a dangerous purpose. She had no comment as she left court

with her parents.

Sonne appeared separately from her. Dressed in a black T-shirt and jeans, he looked haggard as his lawyer asked that his case be put over until June 30.

He is charged with intimidation of justice system participants, mischief, possession of explosives and weapons dangerous. Sonne was arrested Wednesday as a result of a police search conducted at the couple's home in Forest Hill.

Emomotimi Azorbo, a deaf man who says he was watching a protest Thursday night when he was arrested and held overnight without access to counsel and an interpreter, was released Saturday on bail.

Azorbo, 30, was arrested at the intersection of College and Yonge Sts. after he did not heed police commands to stay off the road, his friends say.

"The police should have been prepared for this," said Dean Walker of the Ontario Association of the Deaf.

## **Solidarity is a Weapon in the Struggle for Freedom!**

Of the approximately 1,100 arrests that occurred during the Toronto G20 Summit, some 714 were arrested for 'breach of the peace' which does not involve a criminal charge.

Hundreds of others, however, face various charges including mischief, disturbing the peace, carrying concealed weapons, assault on police, etc. There are also over a dozen facing 'conspiracy to commit mischief' charges (organizers of some of the protests).

### **Toronto Community Mobilization Network Defence Fund**

#### **To Transfer Funds:**

OPIRG York

Transit No. 00646 Institution No. 842 Account No. 3542240 ('G20 legal Defence' in memo)

#### **To Write a Cheque:**

Payable to OPIRG York ('G20 legal defence' on subject line)

OPIRG York/TCMN

360A Bloor St. W., PO Box 68557, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1X0, Canada

#### **For More Info and Updates:**

[www.G20.TorontoMobilize.org](http://www.G20.TorontoMobilize.org) \* [www.toronto.mediacoop.ca](http://www.toronto.mediacoop.ca)

\* There are also people facing charges from anti-Olympics resistance in Vancouver, as well as 3 comrades charged with May 2010 arson attack on the Royal Bank of Canada in Ottawa.

To contact **Solidarity with Anti-Olympic Convergence Arrestees**: [2010saca@gmail.com](mailto:2010saca@gmail.com)

# **\$1 Billion Security:**

**19,000 Security Personnel—5,000 security guards + 4,000 military (including NORAD and JTF2) + 10,000 cops =**

***They're gonna need more pigs!!!***



**Fight For Freedom!!!**

***PS: To all the pigs in Toronto, thanx for the memories—  
they will burn in our hearts forever!!!***