

The Trade Unions and Contemporary Protest. Solidarity and Symbolic Protest, Lessons for Labour from the Québec City Summit of the America

Kevin MacKay

Volume 50, 2002

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/llt50art01>

[See table of contents](#)

Publisher(s)

Canadian Committee on Labour History

ISSN

0700-3862 (print)

1911-4842 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

Article abstract

This photo-essay explores the significance of April 2001's Summit of the Americas for labour and other groups within the counter-globalization movement. Through text and images, the first section presents the Summit demonstrations as an instance of creative and symbolic protest, in which participants and observers were educated, empowered, and radicalized. It is argued that direct action protest, through the creation of immediate affective bonds and collective identities, can be a powerful force for generating solidarity between diverse movement groups. The second section examines the role of labour in Québec City, and in related counter-globalization protests. The tension between conservatism and radicalism within the trade union movement and between workers and other movement groups is explored, and it is argued that direct action protest provides means through which these tensions can be productively resolved. The final section asks what lessons Québec City can teach labour and other movement groups, and what role mass protest might play in achieving the goals of counter-globalization.

Cite this article

MacKay, K. (2002). The Trade Unions and Contemporary Protest. Solidarity and Symbolic Protest, Lessons for Labour from the Québec City Summit of the America. *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 50, 22–72.

ARTICLE: THE TRADE UNIONS AND CONTEMPORARY PROTEST

Solidarity and Symbolic Protest: Lessons for Labour from the Québec City Summit of the Americas

Kevin MacKay

THE APRIL 2001 SUMMIT of the Americas continues to reverberate throughout Canadian society as the approximately 70,000 demonstrators who protested the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) share their experiences within wider social networks. The proposed FTAA would bind the countries of the Americas into the world's largest trading bloc and would further entrench a "Washington Consensus" model of economic neo-liberalism within transnational regulatory bodies. To the thousands of protestors who took to the streets of Québec City, the FTAA represented a threat to job quality and security, environmental integrity, national sovereignty, and democratic participation. During the most intense three days of the summit (Thursday, 19 April through Saturday, 21 April) in which protestors engaged in mass marches, demonstrations, and acts of civil disobedience, a new generation of activists stood in solidarity with trade unions against the oppressive powers of the state — as the "wall of shame" and an overwhelming police presence were used to curtail democratic rights of assembly and protest.

Kevin MacKay, "Solidarity and Symbolic Protest: Lessons for Labour from the Québec City Summit of the Americas," *Labour/Le Travail*, 50 (Fall 2002), 21-72.

Within activist circles, the Summit sparked heated debates concerning protest tactics and the challenge of knitting diverse constituents into a coherent social movement. Although Québec City was generally considered a triumph within the movement, it also highlighted several contradictions that continue to plague the counter-globalization project. In this photo-essay, I reflect back on the Summit protest, and seek to answer two questions of importance to the future of counter-globalization activism.

The first question concerns what effect the Québec City protest has had on the movement in Canada, and addresses fears (expressed among segments of the activist community) that mass demonstrations since Seattle have become a form of “Mcprotest,” “characterized by an unorganized rash of violent activity with few goals or directions,”¹ and content “merely to chase the big neoliberal meetings around the planet.”² The second question asks what Québec City, and the resurgence of direct action protest in general, can tell us about divisions between labour and other groups within the counter-globalization movement.

The images and text in the first section address the question of Québec City’s impact from the perspective of those people (largely youth and militants, but including some trade unionists) who participated in direct actions “at the fence” (the security perimeter surrounding the Summit participants). Within this section, I argue that the importance of Québec City emerged primarily from its creative, educational, and cultural/symbolic aspects, and from the affective bonds formed during acts of direct action and collective resistance. Since the Summit, these effects have been developed through grassroots media collectives, activist testimonials, and the solidarity networks that have arisen in support of arrested protestors. I maintain that these aspects of the protest experience are instrumental in processes of collective identity formation, solidarity building, and radicalization, and that they complement the protest’s more obvious benefits of network building, information sharing, and political lobbying.

In the second section, I ask what recent counter-globalization protests can reveal about labour’s problematic relationship with other activist groups. The divided labour march in Québec City, the fragmented protests in Seattle, and more recently the conflicts between organized labour and militant activists in the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) all point to the important, yet contradictory, role that workers play within the current politics of anti-capitalist mobilization. Much of the conflict between labour and newer social movement groups can be attributed to the conservative, bureaucratized structure of unions. In the protest against the FTAA, this conflict emerged most tellingly in the decision of labour to march away

¹A. Dinner and C. Levkoe, “Building a Community Based Resistance Movement from the Grassroots,” *Canadian Dimension*, (July/August 2001), 31-2.

²R. Krishnan and B. Skanthakumar, “Anti-Globalization and its Discontents,” *Canadian Dimension* (March/April 2001), 16-18.

from the security perimeter. That some unionists broke off from the sanctioned march and confronted the fence speaks to further divisions within the labour movement (between rank and file and union leadership, and among unions from different sectors).

In the final section, I argue that Québec City reveals direct action protest — with its power to mobilize cultural and symbolic resources, empower subjects and create deep bonds of solidarity — to be an important process whereby rank and file workers can become radicalized, and through which people from diverse constituencies can build a collective movement of resistance. In closing, I suggest that mass protest is a vital component of a larger movement strategy involving grassroots community building and electoral politics. Articulating this larger strategy while continuing to account for specific historic and cultural conditions thus presents the greatest and most immediate challenge of the counter-globalization movement.

The Power of Protest: Québec City's Significance

Recently, the counter-globalization movement has entered into academic debates that have focused on the transnational aspect of social movements,³ on the difficulty of combining local and global struggles against capital,⁴ and on the increasingly violent policing at Summit events.⁵ An article by Jackie Smith focuses specifically on the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization demonstration, looking at the “repertoire of contention”⁶ utilized by activists, and identifying older protest forms and more recent innovations.⁷ Québec City displayed many of the same protest forms and mobilizing structures as were present in Seattle. Their effects can be divided into categories of *network building*, *education/framing*, *symbolic mobilization and confrontation*, and *solidarity-building/radicalization*.

Network building involves creating new bonds among activist groups and strengthening and building upon existing coalitions or “advocacy networks.”⁸ As

³G. Maney, “Transnational Structures and Protest: Linking Theories and Assessing Evidence,” *Mobilization*, 6 (2001), 83-100; J. Ayres, *Defying Conventional Wisdom: Political Movements and Popular Contention Against North American Free Trade* (Toronto 1998); and M. Keck and K. Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca 1998).

⁴P. Evans, “Fighting Marginalization With Transnational Networks: Counter-Hegemonic Globalization,” *Contemporary Sociology*, 29, (2000), 230-241; and L. Sklair, “Social Movements and Global Capitalism,” *Sociology*, 29, (1995), 495-512.

⁵R. Ericson and A. Doyle, “Globalization and the policing of protest: the case of APEC 1997,” *British Journal of Sociology*, 50, (1999), 589-608.

⁶C. Tilly, “Social Movements and National Politics,” in C. Bright & S. Harding, eds., *Statemaking and Social Movements: Essays in History and Theory* (Ann Arbor 1984), 297-317.

⁷J. Smith, “Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements,” *Mobilization*, 6, (2001), 1-19.

⁸M. Keck and K. Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*.

24 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

in Seattle, where the phrase “teamsters and turtles together” expressed new links between labour and environmentalists, the Québec City Summit helped forge ties among diverse movement groups. Particularly important were the connections (often uneasy) created between institutionalized organizations such as labour unions, the Council of Canadians, the Sierra Club, and Alternatives (a large Québec NGO) and non-hierarchical, direct-action groups such as the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (CLAC), Mobilization for Global Justice, and Direct Action Network.

As the Seattle mobilization drew on previously constituted networks such as the Jubilee 2000 movement, earlier anti-World Bank/IMF protests (in the 1980s), and national labour coalitions (AFL-CIO, CLC), Québec City strengthened and expanded the activist networks created in Seattle along with those growing out of previous struggles against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (FTA), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA),⁹ and logging in Temagami and Clayoquot Sound.

Québec City also generated grassroots activist networks in communities across Canada, as the bonds of solidarity created through direct action evolved into local anti-globalization organizations and affinity groups, email discussion lists, media collectives and projects (such as the Toronto Video Activists Collective (TVAC), Blah, blah, blah Productions, and Quebec Indy-Media), Québec City retrospectives and follow-up events (as organized by the CLAC in Montreal and Mobilization for Global Justice in Toronto), university conferences on globalization and protest, and legal collectives supporting arrested protestors (Quebec Legal). In the following sections, images from the summit protest reflect the processes of solidarity building and radicalization through creative and symbolic direct actions.

Education and Creative Framing

Educating the Canadian and international public about capitalist globalization’s negative impacts was an explicit goal of many activists in Québec City. Smith mentions the teach-ins and educational forums that occurred during the Seattle protest, noting: “While mass media focused on street protests, more long-term damage to official trade policies may have been done in the churches, union halls, and schools where activists and the public engaged in civil education.”¹⁰ The Québec City protest also had a number of highly effective educational events, including teach-ins and workshops at the local CEGEP’s (technical colleges), the protest Convergence Welcome Centre, and Laval University. In addition, an alternative People’s Summit was established at the Vieux Port, consisting of a massive tent containing a full stage, twin video screens, translation services, and professional sound and lighting.

⁹J. Ayers, “Transnational Political Processes and Contention Against the Global Economy,” *Mobilization*, 6, (2001), 55-68.

¹⁰Smith, “Globalizing Resistance,” 10.

At the People's Summit, a multinational panel of speakers engaged the public on issues of the environment, trade liberalization, and labour, indigenous, and women's rights (fig. 1).

While these formal educational events were effective in enlightening their participants they received less media coverage, and therefore less attention within the wider public, than did the street protests. These protests involved a women's march and a torchlight rally/parade from Laval on Thursday (fig. 2), the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (CLAC) march to the perimeter on Friday (figs. 3-5), and the union-sponsored People's March on Saturday (figs. 6-8). At each march, and at countless other instances of smaller scale direct action protest, demonstrators conveyed the People's Summit message through creative means. Activists used signs and placards, puppets, music, dance, and street theatre to harness and direct media attention towards their own goals (figs. 9-11).

In addition to influencing the media, creative education by activists was highly visible to their fellow protestors and to residents of Québec City, who were often spectators at marches and other direct actions. These actions introduced alternative spaces of education: at the security perimeter, in the streets of the upper city, and in the artist's space of *Illot Fleurie* under the St. Foy overpass.¹¹ By taking the message of grassroots globalization outside of the still-traditional forums of CEGEP and university, the street actions strongly reflect Claus Offe's notion of new movements expanding the realm of politics — beyond both its traditional conceptual referents and its normal social spaces.¹²

The first group of images captures the energy and creativity of these alternative educational forums, in which critiques of capitalism and ideas for an alternative world were presented in novel ways. Instances of creative "framing" through signs and images abounded, in which the concept of free trade was re-interpreted and challenged, serving to educate and mobilize people through subversion of the dominant class's "cultural codes"¹³ (figs. 12-15). This aspect of the Québec City protests echoes Gindin's assessment of Seattle's impact. According to Gindin, the

¹¹*Illot fleurie* is one of those "cast-off" urban spaces created through the construction of an expressway from the lower to the upper section of Québec. Underneath the overpass is a large car park and a compound that local artists have transformed into a sculpture garden and performance space. During the Summit, this compound became the most important meeting-place for young activists. It was close to the stairways leading to the upper city and the perimeter, making it a good staging ground for groups moving up to confront the security forces, or retreating briefly to escape the tear gas. On the Saturday night, police raided *Illot Fleurie*, tear-gassing the compound, destroying the shelters built there, and arresting the volunteers who staffed a free kitchen.

¹²C. Offe, "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics," *Social Research*, 52, (1985), 817-68.

¹³A. Melucci, *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society* (Philadelphia 1988).

importance of the historic anti-WTO protest was that demonstrators “dared to name the system that hath no name. If social justice could no longer be discussed without addressing globalization, Seattle declared that globalization could no longer be addressed without addressing capitalism.”¹⁴ In Québec City, activist framing of the FTAA made explicit its connection to global capitalism and neoliberal ideology. That these frames were presented in a creative and often humorous way arguably increased their effectiveness — adding an allure of celebration and joyful subversion to the more sober messages of counter-globalization (figs. 16-21). There were compelling examples that the creative energy present in the streets of Québec City had an impact on local non-protestors, as the two main marches from Laval university were quite successful at drawing in observers through music, theatre, and chants of “Dans La Rue! Dans La Rue!”

The creative frames presented by activists also served an important symbolic function through acting out alternative conceptions of democracy and community — versions opposed to the oligarchic, commodified, militarized social environment of the capitalist state. The CLAC billed their Friday actions as a “Carnival Against Capitalism,” and the celebratory tone of much of the demonstration reinforced this theme. In the artist’s space of *Illot Fleurie*, the symbolic presentation of an alternative society was particularly vivid. Activists expressed their political visions through paintings, music, and dance, while a tireless contingent of Food Not Bombs activists from Winnipeg staffed a free kitchen, providing vegetarian meals to thousands of protestors (figs. 22-27).

Symbolic Confrontation and the State

While marches, teach-ins, and celebrations created spaces for education, framing, and symbolic mobilization, the security perimeter and riot police presented demonstrators with a powerful opportunity to symbolically challenge and transform state power. The scope of state oppression at the Summit has been well-documented. A 3.9 kilometer chain link and concrete fence was erected around the old city of Québec, keeping Summit delegates well away from protestors (figs. 28-30). Over 6,000 riot police were present in Québec City, wielding an arsenal of tear gas, water cannons, batons, concussion-grenades, pepper spray, and rubber bullets. Between Friday, 20 April, and Sunday, 22 April, the police launched 5,192 canisters of tear gas and fired 903 rubber bullets into crowds of protestors.¹⁵ Some protestors were hit at point-blank range by these projectiles, resulting in several broken bones, and the

¹⁴S. Gindin, “The Terrain of Social Justice,” *Canadian Dimension* (July/August 2001), 33-8.

¹⁵J. Chang, B. Or, E. Tharmendran, E. Tsumara, S. Daniels, and D. Leroux, “Introduction,” in J. Chang, B. Or, E. Tharmendran, E. Tsumara, S. Daniels, and D. Leroux, eds., *Resist!* (Halifax 2001), 20.

¹⁶G. Konstantinidis, “Cop Offensive: Constitutional Expert Says Police Went Too Far,” *NOW* (3-9 May 2001), 19.

crushing of one young man's throat.¹⁶ In addition to these assaults, police made 463 arrests — many of them involving excessive force and some utilizing “snatch squads” that roamed the streets of Québec City and violently apprehended protest organizers.¹⁷ The cost of the summit police action, the largest in Canadian history, was over \$100,000,000.00.¹⁸

The security perimeter was seen by activists as proof both of the exclusionary nature of the FTAA process, and of the determination of Canadian officials to criminalize political dissent. Despite this universal condemnation, the perimeter played a complex role during the summit, presenting a dividing *and* a uniting force to protestors. At first it seemed a point of schism, as confronting and breaching the wall became a goal for several militant groups and something to be avoided by more mainstream contingents, which saw it as a distracting side-issue. However, as direct actions commenced, the wall emerged as a source of unity, as the unprecedented level of police repression led several “moderate” organizations (including the Council of Canadians and several labour unions) to assail the fence in solidarity with more militant activists.

On a symbolic level, activists' confronting the perimeter served to question the legitimacy of the FTAA meetings, the Canadian government, and the entire capitalist world system. In this sense, the immense police reaction to protestors revealed the coercive, oppressive capacity of the capitalist state, and served to weaken the state's hegemonic control and symbolic capital.¹⁹ Foucault, Melucci, and Bourdieu, suggest that power functions most effectively when it is invisible.²⁰ By breaching the perimeter, attempting to theatrically or aesthetically transform it, refusing to disperse in the face of continuous assaults of tear-gas, rubber bullets, and

¹⁷ A. Panetta, “Stripped and hosed down: Abuse allegations to be investigated,” in *The Hamilton Spectator*, (24 April 2001), D1 and D5; R. Seguin, ““It makes me the creation of the media’,” *The Globe and Mail*, (5 May 2001), A3.

¹⁸ Chang, “Introduction,” *Resist!*, 20.

¹⁹ In the Gramscian conception of the hegemonic state, liberal democratic governments rule more by ethical/political leadership than by coercion. The more that counter-hegemonic forces reveal political elites to be illegitimate, the more elites must rely on force to maintain power. This form of control is inherently less stable, being vulnerable to massive rebellion from underclasses who, becoming aware of their oppression, act to overthrow the existing order. In Bourdieu's conception of symbolic power, states rule through presenting dominant interests as part of the natural order (doxa). Through challenging this naturalization of power, activists shift the balance of symbolic capital between state and opposing forces, revealing accepted “truths” (competition, free trade, liberal economics) to be both partial and politically constructed. A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London 1971); and P. Bourdieu, in J. Thompson, ed., *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge 1991).

²⁰ M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction: Volume 1* (New York 1990); A. Melucci, *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society* (Philadelphia 1989), and P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*.

water cannons, and blocking police lines through sit-ins, protestors served to “make power visible” on the streets of Québec City (figs. 31-33).

Some groups present at the Friday afternoon CLAC march, including a strong contingent of anarchists, had a goal of breaching the security perimeter, and succeeded in pulling down large sections of the fence before being pushed back by police (figs. 34-38). An even smaller number of affinity groups engaged in street battles with police — through throwing bricks, bottles, concrete, and even molotov cocktails.²¹ Of all the protest tactics utilized at the Summit, these seem to be the most complex in terms of motive, impact, and popular perception. They are also the tactics that are typically cited as “violent” by government officials, mainstream media, and most non-mobilized Summit observers (fig. 39).

The labelling of physically confrontational protestors as “violent” became one of the flashpoints of debate among activists, media, and security forces. From the perspective of many activists, not all of the actions labeled “violent” actually threatened humans with physical harm. Breaching the fence and smashing corporate windows were not seen as violence, but rather at the very worst as vandalism (and vandalism with a definite political purpose). However, tactics that involved attacking police were widely condemned by Summit activists, who questioned their effects on both moral and strategic grounds. The issue of “violence” as a protest tactic is incredibly complex, and beyond my ability to explore fully in this photo-essay. By most definitions, both police *and* protestors engaged in acts of violence at the Summit. However, the difference in the capacity for violence, the willingness to utilize it, and the danger of being injured differed vastly between protestors and police. If one takes the use of tear gas alone as a violent assault (however justified as a “security measure”), then those affected numbered in the tens of thousands, including countless Québec City residents (figs. 40-42). Interestingly, this differential in violent capacity and action is seldom mentioned within media accounts of mass protest, and most non-activists place the blame for violence squarely on the shoulders of protestors. Wholly apart from the veracity of this perception, its existence has implications for mobilizing new movement constituents and framing movement goals.

Partially masked by the debate over violent versus non-violent protest was the potent symbolic impact of confronting the security perimeter. Many activist groups made their challenges to the perimeter through art, theatre, music, and symbolic gesture. The women’s march on Thursday afternoon saw activists affixing dozens of brassieres and banners to the chain link fence, in defiance of police warnings not to touch it (fig. 43). Several groups engaged in prayer or silent “witnessing” at the perimeter, while several others performed street theatre for the riot police defending it. Another expression of resistance that left a compelling memory was the con-

²¹From my experience at the front of the CLAC march, molotov cocktails were not used by protestors on Friday afternoon; however, I saw several used on Saturday afternoon.

stant drumming at all of the conflict zones, as activists used various objects to hammer out rhythms on traffic signs, guard rails, telephone poles, and street lights. On Saturday afternoon, thousands of activists pounded in unison on the guard-rail in front of the Rue Cote d'Abraham perimeter entrance, producing an ominous metallic beat that complemented the post-apocalyptic landscape in which police and protestors struggled.

I describe these actions as instances of *symbolic transformation*, in which the oppressive powers of state and international trade organizations are confronted in such a way as to empower activists, celebrate their ingenuity and creativity, and cast Summit delegates and security forces in a light of shame, ridicule, and mockery. Even at the areas of the security perimeter where the protest was most often termed “violent” by mainstream media, the atmosphere was generally one of creativity and irreverent humour. Although a group of 50 or so militants destroyed media vehicles and hurled objects at police, the majority of activists who breached the fence in Friday’s CLAC march made their point through a kind of theatre of the absurd. Miniature pink cardboard tanks were pushed up to the police line, along with a life-sized catapult that launched an assortment of teddy bears. This mockery of “siege mentality” demonstrated by the security perimeter and phalanx of armoured police was accompanied by a bag-piper (wearing a gas-mask), who urged the protestors on in their satirical assault (fig. 44).

Direct actions at the security perimeter were thus largely aimed at transforming the relationships of exclusion and division established by the state. Turning the fence into an open-air art display demonstrated the ability of protestors to creatively appropriate the tools of oppression and change them into displays of resistance; physically breaching the perimeter also metaphorically breached the division between political elites and protestors; reacting to police assaults with theatre, art, and music worked to disrupt the cycle of violence by countering its manifestations through creative, non-violent means. Many of these actions also refused to accept the relation of police oppressor and protestor oppressed — common chants directed at police included “Join us!” and “Who’s cops? Our cops!” In a particularly memorable example, a courageous protestor dressed as the Easter Bunny could be seen at several conflict zones — walking through clouds of tear gas and volley’s of plastic bullets to offer chocolate eggs to the police (fig. 45).

The photos in this section reveal the diverse ways in which Québec City activists engaged in acts of symbolic confrontation with the FTAA. Through these acts, protestors demonstrated their lack of fear in the face of repression while simultaneously shaming the state’s use of force and further eroding its legitimacy. Although the pictures clearly demonstrate the creative, non-violent nature of most of this direct action, they must also be weighed against the more violent acts focused on by the mainstream media. Part of the complexity of the Summit protest was the extent to which protestors engaged in acts of symbolic transformation were juxtaposed with a much smaller group involved in violent confrontation (throwing

stones, bricks, and molotov cocktails at police). These different protest tactics led to several contradictions that are neither adequately described or justified through the concept of a “diversity of tactics” — the term used by protest organizers to accommodate multiple (and sometimes incompatible) theories and forms of protest.

Solidarity Building and Radicalization

Although much Left critical analysis of Seattle and Québec City has focused on tactics and longer-term political strategy, there is also a tendency by activists to speak of the gatherings in strongly emotional terms. Writers refer to the “Spirit of Seattle”²² and to the “life-changing”²³ nature of protest. Direct Action Network co-founder Chris Dixon remembers the Seattle protest as “incredibly transformative,” and as a “passionate, intensely liberating moment.”²⁴ Similarly, the *Canadian Dimension* editorial collective described the Québec City demonstration as a “political awakening” which, for a new generation of young activists, “struck a chord in their imaginations as well as their intellects.”²⁵

The emotional power of protest events and other collective actions has recently been retheorized in scholarly writings on social movements. From early accounts of movements as irrational, emotionally immature, or psychologically deviant social manifestations, through resource mobilization and collective-identity models that reduced agents to calculating, cognitive “computers,” current writers have begun to study the importance of emotion in forging collective identities, mobilizing actors, and sustaining resistance in the face of oppression.²⁶ Although these writers acknowledge the importance of “political opportunity structures” and “cognitive frames,” they argue for the radicalizing potential of emotionally transformative events and the solidarity that emerges from affective bonds gained through shared experience.

Two powerful aspects of the Québec City protest were the solidarity established among a diverse coalition of movement groups and the radicalization of either peripherally-involved or “first-time” activists. Through exchanging narratives and analyses, activists gained insight into the plight of other subordinate groups. This information plays a large role in expanding the various “militant

²²J. Harden, “Young Radicals Challenge Veterans on the Left,” *Canadian Dimension* (July/August 2001), 23-5.

²³Starhawk, “How We Really Shut Down the WTO,” in M. Prokosh, and L. Raymond, eds., *The Global Activist's Manual* (New York 2002).

²⁴C. Dixon, “The Roots of My Resistance: From Rhetoric to Reality,” in N. Welton, & L. Wolf, eds., *Global Uprising* (Gabriola Island, BC 2001).

²⁵Canadian Dimension Editorial Collective, “From the Berlin Wall to the Quebec Wall,” *Canadian Dimension* (May/June 2001), 2-3.

²⁶J. Goodwin, J. Jasper and F. Polletta, eds., *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago 2001).

particularisms,²⁷ which constitute the counter-globalization movement, as global capital is revealed as the source of diverse social, political, economic, and environmental crises. The resulting collective radicalization is reflected in the Declaration of the Second People's Summit:

We are the Hemispheric Social Alliance, the voices of the unions, popular and environmental organizations, women's groups, human rights organizations, international solidarity groups, indigenous, peasant and student associations and church groups. We have come from every corner of the Americas to make our voices heard.

We reject this project of liberalized trade and investment, deregulation and privatization. This neoliberal project is racist and sexist and destructive of the environment. We propose new ways of continental integration based on democracy, human rights, equality, solidarity, pluralism, and respect for the environment.²⁸

As Smith notes, the collection in one event of delegates from diverse social struggles also has an important impact through testimonials and "witnessing," in which activists relate their direct experiences of injustice, oppression, or environmental degradation.²⁹ These live testimonials facilitate an emotional exchange between protestors, as crises and horror-stories are given a human face and the impact of an impassioned, first-person narrative. The result is that activists from other organizations are able to make a direct affective connection between their own struggles and the struggles of others.

Another important way in which the Québec City protest served to build solidarity and radicalize participants was through the collective experience of state repression. There were many instances in which activists from different groups were forced to rely on each other during police assaults (figs. 46-47). An Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU) member describes the solidarity experienced by workers who split off from the sanctioned People's March on Saturday:

The thud of tear gas was continuous. The canisters would fly in a high arc and then crash down to the ground. We would try to chart the parabola and avoid being hit. When the canisters smashed onto the ground they would bounce and spin, spewing out poison. Then, something amazing would happen. A black-clad figure with a gas-mask would appear from nowhere and hurl the bomb back over the fence at the police. Every time one was lobbed back, a huge cheer went up from the crowd.

I guess these 'bomb disposal teams' were the anarchists — the CLAC, the Black Bloc. Usually they were like ghosts, invisible, and then they would suddenly appear and deal with the tear gas. Other times, they would snake in a line through the protest, heading towards the

²⁷R. Williams, *Resources of Hope* (London 1989), 115, 249.

²⁸Delegates of the Second People's Summit, in J. Chang, et al., *Resist!*

²⁹Smith, "Globalizing Resistance," 12.

32 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

fence. The crowd would part and let them through. As the afternoon continued, our admiration for them steadily grew.³⁰

Similarly, a Filipino-Canadian protestor writes of solidarity-building in Québec City:

I am especially touched and hopeful when I see and hear stories of thousands of students and workers around the world who are willing to endure arrests, tear gas and rubber bullets to fight for change. The image of students in Seattle raising their hands in peace signs nearly two years ago at the World Trade Organization demonstrations, and again in Quebec City as they confronted rows of police in riot gear, will remain with me for a long time.³¹

Another protestor tells of the radicalizing effect which arrest had on activists:

After almost three full days of detention, I stepped out into freedom. Cheers arose from the couple of dozen protestors who had set up a jail solidarity camp right outside. If the purpose of jail is to crush your spirit and show who's boss, it backfired. We went in scared, assaulted by the forces of the state. But we shared stories and hopes. Everyone I spoke with came out stronger from the experience and more deeply committed.³²

Finally, the sense of empowerment and excitement generated through celebratory collective action (what Durkheim referred to as “collective effervescence”)³³, acted to create solidarity among protestors (figs. 48-49). In an account from *Our Times*, a member of the Steelworkers' union describes his experiences in Saturday's people's march:

Griselda can't stop smiling. Her dark eyes are glowing. She is full of life. She jumps to see what is going on at the front of the parade.... Now, she is marching, holding hands with people she has never met before. It doesn't matter — they are sisters and brothers in the struggle....

I am happy here. Maybe more, I am exultant, radiant, thrilled. I cannot stop chanting. Shouting. “So-so-solidarite, so-so-solidarite!” My throat is hurting, it doesn't matter. “The people, united, will never be defeated!” Some friends wanted to join our group, so I gave away my steelworker vest and hat. I keep a flag and wrap it over my shoulders — part political marcher, part soccer fan.³⁴

³⁰P. Jones, “Going to the Wall,” *Our Times*, 20 (2001), 17-19.

³¹A. Manzo, “Gas Not Only Cause of Tears at Trade Summit,” in J. Chang, *Resist!*.

³²T. Gomberg, “Tooker Gomberg's Prison Diary,” *NOW* (3-9 May 2001), 19, 23.

³³E. Durkheim, cited in R Collins, “Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention,” in J. Goodwin, J. Jasper, and F. Polletta, eds., *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago 2001), 27-44.

³⁴J. Garcia-Orgales, “We are Many More Than Two,” *Our Times*, 20 (2001), 23.

The images that follow present examples of solidarity among activists and also illustrate the potent mixture of empowering and oppressive conditions that gave Québec City its radicalizing character (figs. 50-54). These images reflect both a common sight and a common feeling present on the streets of the upper city. From the time the security assault began on Friday afternoon until the police cleared the upper city of protestors on Saturday evening, wherever one looked there were pockets of activists who were overcome by tear gas and receiving treatment from “street medics,” other protestors, or Québec City residents (figs. 55-56). The affective bonds created in the upper city were further strengthened in the solidarity camp created outside of Orsainville prison, where the Summit arrestees were kept (fig. 57). For days a group of protestors kept a vigil at the prison – supporting the newly released activists with food, information, phone calls, and rides into the city.

Labour in Québec City

From my vantage point at the security perimeter on Friday and Saturday, there was not much union presence; the streets were thronged mostly with youth and militants. Instead, labour’s role in Québec City was similar to the one it played in Seattle. Unions were involved in the Operation Quebec Printemps (OCP) coalition and the Summit of the Americas Welcoming Committee (CASA) coalition, both of which were instrumental in organizing and financially supporting the protest. Some rank-and-file trade unionists participated in Friday’s CLAC march, while scores of unions showed up for Saturday’s People’s March, which was festooned with the flags of hundreds of locals from across North America. As in Seattle, where member unions of the AFL-CIO and CLC helped with protest funding and organized large rallies, the “official” labour presence in Québec expressed solidarity with the other movement groups through means other than direct-action protest.

Similar again to 1999 anti-WTO protests, labour’s presence at the FTAA Summit revealed divisions both within the workers’ movement and between labour and other movement groups. In Seattle, labour was chastised for holding its major rally at the docks — well away from the direct actions and civil disobedience taking place downtown.³⁵ The AFL-CIO was also criticized by activists for taking a reformist approach to the WTO, in opposition to the desire of most protesting groups to scrap the organization and radically re-configure the structures of global trade.³⁶ In Québec City, the division between unions and other movement groups was highlighted by labour’s big event (the People’s March) again being directed away from the scene of direct action.

³⁵C. Pearson, “Peaceful in Seattle,” *Our Times*, 19 (December/January 1999), 13.

³⁶Canadian Dimension Editorial Collective, “What Happened at Seattle: CD Responds,” *Canadian Dimension* (May 2000), 7; D. Bacon, “After Seattle: Can Workers Stop Globalization?,” *Canadian Dimension* (March 2000), 34-38; and S. Gindin, “The Terrain of Social Justice,” *Canadian Dimension* (July/August 2001), 33-8.

In an article in the *Toronto Star*, Thomas Walkom wrote that “the route of the labour march has been bitterly contested,” with more activist-oriented unions such as CUPE arguing for taking the march towards the perimeter.³⁷ Avoiding the perimeter was seen by some as an abandonment of the radical goal of shutting down the Summit or at least sending a direct message that the FTAA needs to be scrapped. One union activist wrote in *Our Times*:

Where was labour? That is an angry question that I cannot answer. The process of expedience and concession that came up with the plan to avoid the fence is beyond my understanding. It was as if the Second World War generals, who were preparing to drive the Nazis out of Europe, turned around and launched an attack in the direction of Baffin Island. The presence of individual workers at the fence on Saturday was no compensation for the mistaken union decision to avoid meaningful protest in the first place.³⁸

Other union activists defended the move away from the fence, crediting the large numbers in the People’s March with assurances from Québec unions that it would be safe for more moderate workers and their families.³⁹ However, most labour commentators expressed the opinion that in future protests, unions have to be more willing and more prepared to engage in direct action. After Québec City, Ken Davidson, co-chair of the CUPE International Solidarity Committee, expressed this growing realization: “We can’t leave it up to the youth. We have to take it on ourselves. Once our members understand how trade deals affect their jobs, they’ll be willing to engage in civil disobedience.”⁴⁰

Both Québec City and Seattle have focused attention on the long-standing tension between political conservatism and radicalism within the labour movement. Although the large labour bureaucracies (CLC, AFL-CIO, FTQ) tend toward conservatism, there are examples in both Seattle and Québec City of unions that pursued a more radical course. In Seattle, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) shut down every port on the west coast on 30 November 1999 in solidarity with arrested protestors.⁴¹ Similarly, in Québec City, a radical CUPE labour contingent marched to the fence, refusing to follow the union-led People’s March away from the direct action confrontations. The division between conservatism and radicalism has also been seen more recently in labour’s relationship with the Ontario

³⁷T. Walkom, “My city is broken,” *The Toronto Star*, 22 April 2001, B2.

³⁸P. Jones, “Going to the Wall,” *Our Times*, 20 (June/July 2001), 17-19.

³⁹Canadian Dimension Editorial Collective, “From the Berlin Wall to the Quebec Wall,” *Canadian Dimension* (May/June 2001), 2-3; and J. Bickerton, “Labour Looks Forward From Quebec City,” *Canadian Dimension* (May/June 2001), 4.

⁴⁰K. Davidson, quoted in L. Kingston, “Our World at a Crossroads: A Quebec City Diary,” *Our Times*, 20 (June/July 2001), 24-33.

⁴¹D. Bacon, “After Seattle: Can Workers Stop Globalization?” *Canadian Dimension* (March 2000), 34-8.

Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP). Following OCAP's mock "eviction" of Tory finance minister Jim Flaherty, the CAW executive publicly denounced the anti-poverty group and withdrew its funding. In contrast, CUPE and CUPW have remained staunch public supporters of OCAP and the related Ontario Common Front (OCF).⁴²

Although there is great variation *among* unions regarding their degree of political activism, a more important conflict highlighted by Québec City, Seattle, and recent OCF demonstrations is that between the executive and rank-and-file *within* labour organizations. In Seattle, many rank- and-file unionists marched toward the direct action zones after the "official" rally at the docks. In Québec City, hundreds of unionists went against the "official" position of avoiding confrontation, instead marching up to the wall in solidarity with youth, anarchists, and other radical activists. Similarly, in the OCF's 16 October 2001 shut-down of the Toronto financial district, members of CAW flying squads participated in the actions against the wishes of their union executive. The flying squads were subsequently demobilized.

These recent demonstrations speak to the persistence of grassroots radicalism among workers, in which they are able to move beyond conservative structures and connect directly with their own power to resist, and with the concerns of other movements. The need to forge solidarity between grassroots activists in labour and other counter-globalization groups is held to be of great importance by several movement commentators. David McNally describes the danger of not bridging this divide:

On the labour side, there is the danger of an overly tame politics of "mass action," of marches and demonstrations that don't confront the state, don't raise levels of self-activity of working people, and don't produce new forms of militancy and solidarity. On the side of global justice radicals, on the other hand, there is a risk that a confrontational politics of "direct action" will become detached from the movement-building strategies required to connect with larger numbers of working-class people who are vital to the very success of the movement. This can result in a politics that sees confrontation with the state as an end in itself, rather than one aspect of building a militant mass movement.⁴³

In the final section, I discuss the role that Québec City has played in strengthening grassroots solidarity and building the counter-globalization movement.

The Place of Protest: Direct Action, Diversity, and Movement Building

Through the images in this essay, I have attempted to convey the spirit of a diverse, multifaceted protest event, and to suggest that the strategic importance of moments like Québec City may lie less in their abilities to disrupt meetings physically and

⁴²D. McNally, "Common Front Demo Shakes Up Bay St.," *Canadian Dimension*, (November/December 2002), 9-10.

⁴³McNally, "Common Front Demo," 10.

win tangible political victories, than in their capacity to inspire and radicalize participants and to build solidarity among diverse movement groups.

What makes Québec City important is how it was *different* from the usual protest model of marches, speeches, and media sound-bites. Québec City (and similar protests in Seattle, Washington, Prague, Gothenburg, and Genoa) has reinvigorated the old tactic of mass protest and turned it into an incredibly flexible and productive tool for education, creative framing, symbolic confrontation, and solidarity-building. Testimonials from summit protestors, taken in this essay from labour and radical journals such as *Our Times* and *Canadian Dimension*, and from the activist collections *Resist!*, *Global Uprising*, and *The Global Activist's Manual*, attest to the profound emotional and cognitive impact that the Québec City protest had on its participants. This personal experience of dissent, oppression and solidarity has had long-ranging effects, as activists return to their communities with photographs, videos, sound recordings, and above all, *stories* of “Quebec’s Intifada”⁴⁴ — an uprising of popular resistance unprecedented in recent Canadian history.

Along with these positive aspects, Québec City also teaches us through its contradictions, limitations, and failures. Several reflections on the Québec City protest in *Resist!* point to these contradictions, beginning with the feeling that women, indigenous peoples, and minority groups are continuing to be marginalized within a supposedly inclusive movement.⁴⁵ In order to deal with these divisions, activists argue that movement groups need to continue the outreach, education, and solidarity-building begun in Québec City. Mass protest events can be powerful ways to begin building a truly inclusive movement, but this process must stretch far beyond the hurried organization of demonstrations, conferences, and Summits, and into the local, everyday work of activists.⁴⁶ Organizations and constituencies need to be open to each other’s platforms and to realize that, as Foucault persuasively argues, relations of power are much more intricate than can be appreciated within either reformist Liberal-democratic politics or classical Marxist notions of class struggle.⁴⁷ Issues of racism, sexism, nationalism, and ethnocentrism must be taken seriously by movement organizers, not merely integrated as throwaway lines in Summit manifestos.

As a focus of controversy in Québec City, and yet an undeniable resource to progressive movements against global capital, the trade union movement needs to

⁴⁴S. Weinstein, “Analyzing Quebec’s Intifada,” in J. Chang, *Resist!*

⁴⁵J. Bennet, “Anishinaabe Girl in Quebec,” in J. Chang, *Resist!*, 48-52; C. Hewitt-White, “Women Talking About Sexism in the Anti-Globalization Movement,” in J. Chang, *Resist!*, 152-9; K. Molope, “Rebuilding the Global Rebellion,” in J. Chang, *Resist!*, 165-6; and P. Hwang, “Anti-Racist Organizing: Reflecting on Lessons From Quebec City,” in J. Chang, *Resist!*, (Halifax 2001), 171-7.

⁴⁶A. Dinner and C. Levkoe, “Building a Community-Based Resistance Movement From the Grassroots,” *Canadian Dimension* (July/August 2001), 31-2.

⁴⁷Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*.

acknowledge its internal contradictions and reach out to other movement groups. For conservative unionists, this means realizing the importance of democratizing union structures and of re-integrating an explicitly anti-capitalist politics. For Marxist labour activists, this involves accepting that there is no essential social actor destined to be the focal or dominant player within a new counter-hegemonic historic bloc.⁴⁸ If anti-capitalism is the needed political and economic focus of the movement, it must be a directly democratic anti-capitalism, which respects cultural and ideological diversity.⁴⁹

These criticisms do not imply that labour unions and working-class people do not have a major role to play in the struggle for social change, but simply that unions have to account for indigenous, women's, peace, and environmental movements, each of which constitute an important element within a new and radically democratic political formation. The role of workers in this formation remains key — labour unions are recognized institutions with access to resources, and factory workers interact most directly with capitalist production processes, thus providing an important perspective on their coercive, de-humanizing structures.⁵⁰ What Québec City suggests is that in the fluidity and intensity of mass direct-action protest, the rigid structures of conservative institutions are more easily broken down. Rank-and-file unionists can be exposed to the solidarity-building and radicalizing effects of civil disobedience, and these effects might consequently ripple up the union hierarchies. The resulting organizational changes could then lead to greater democratization within unions, and stronger connections between workers and other movement groups.

Another important way Québec City teaches us is by revealing the limitations of mass, direct-action demonstrations. The forms of protest in Québec City were extremely diverse and, for the most part, were creative, empowering, and educational. However, the issue of violent versus non-violent protest was once more shown to be a source of contention within the movement, and one that necessitates serious debate. This debate must address a range of issues.

First, groups must decide on a definition of violence that distinguishes it from forms of symbolic confrontation that involve some property damage, yet which do not harm human beings (including breaching security perimeters, “liberating” billboards and corporate signs, graffiti, barricading, etc.). Second, the movement must decide on its long-term political goals and on the strategies most likely to attain them. This involves paying greater attention to how protest actions are perceived by diverse activist groups and by unmobilized movement constituents. After the protest, several women's groups and church groups put forward views completely

⁴⁸E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Toward a Radical Democratic Politics* (London 1985).

⁴⁹H. Bannerji, “Rebuilding, Rethinking: Toward a truly inclusive Left,” *Canadian Dimension* (January/February 2001), 22-3.

⁵⁰M. Burawoy, *The Politics of Production* (London 1987).

opposed to attacks on police. In addition, some activists were dismayed at trends towards “heroic protest,” in which actions were judged on a scale of how confrontational or “violent” they are (the more violent, the more authentic, or *real*).⁵¹ These issues present challenges to movement solidarity and reveal the difficulty of integrating different ideological groups into a common front against capital. They also reflect the need for movement tactics to be informed by a comprehensive, properly contextualized analysis of power structures, and a practical theory for their transformation. Can institutional change be achieved solely by extra-institutional means? Can one effect social transformation without winning over the hearts and minds of ordinary citizens? In a media-saturated environment, of what importance are mainstream media perceptions? Does violent resistance replicate systems of violent oppression? Answers to these, and other important questions, must begin to guide movement actions.

Third, and finally, groups must re-evaluate their tactics in light of increasing police repression at international Summit events. The excessive state repression in Québec City has increased at subsequent counter-globalization protests, with a protestor shot in Gothenburg, Sweden, and a protestor killed and several others brutally beaten in Genoa, Italy.⁵² These tragic occurrences are matched by an increasing tendency of police to utilize undercover snatch squads, video-surveillance, baton-charges, attack dogs, and even agent-provocateurs in order to crush demonstrations and discredit participating organizations. These state tactics, which are given popular justification by the violence of a small number of protestors, can have a “chilling” impact on demonstrations, with fear keeping activists and mainstream NGO’s away and discouraging new members. Consequently, arguments justifying violent retribution against state oppression must be balanced against the goals of establishing public legitimacy, building a broad popular movement, and maintaining, as much as possible, the safety of those who participate in mass demonstrations.

Even without divisive arguments over violent tactics, mass protests are limited in that they do not necessarily have a direct or lasting impact on traditional political structures. A criticism long made of new social movements is their inability or unwillingness to deal with the world of electoral politics and the power of the state.⁵³ Arguably, this is still the case for much of the counter-globalization movement, which has been slow to translate its critique of global capital into a coherent political project, and which has not presented viable strategies for reforming the state.

⁵¹J. Rebick, “Qatar reveals impact of Sept. 11 on trade battle,” *Znet*, 2001 <<http://zmag.org/rebick911strat.htm>>.

⁵²S. Castle and R. Mendick, “The first martyr of anti-global protest,” *The Independent* (London), printed in *The Hamilton Spectator* (21 July 2001), D1.

⁵³R.S. Ratner, “New Movements, New Theory, New Possibilities? Reflections on Counter-Hegemony Today,” in W. Carroll, ed., *Organizing Dissent: Contemporary Social Movements in Theory and Practice* (Victoria 1992), 234-42.

Since Seattle, there have been hopeful advances toward forming an alternative politics. Porto Alegre's 2000 World Social Forum marked a serious beginning of this task, while locally, initiatives like the Structured Movement Against Capitalism (SMAC) and the New Politics Initiative (NPI) continue the work.

In closing, despite the limitations of mass demonstrations, it continues to be important for counter globalization activists to take to the streets. Direct action protests are where radicalized subjectivities and strengthened coalitions are forged. As well, they are the laboratories in which new social relationships and political visions are formed and acted out. In the reactionary political climate after 11 September 2001, in which progressive voices in North America have been cowed by patriotism, militarism, and repressive anti-terrorist laws, mass protests are more vital than ever. Under the guise of a war on terrorism, governments in the US, Canada, and Britain have stepped up neoliberal assaults upon social programs, civil liberties, and national sovereignty. Once more, the working of oppressive capitalist power is being concealed, this time behind paranoia and "terrorist" threat-mongering. It is thus critically important that people continue to *visibly* organize, protest, and persist in those actions that reveal this oppressive power, and that create the political spaces in which new capacities for resistance can grow and labour and other social movements come together.⁵⁴

I would first like to thank Charlotte Yates from the McMaster Labour Studies Department for generous effort and guidance above and beyond the call of a journal editor. Thanks also to Bryan Palmer for his revision suggestions and overall help with developing the manuscript. Thanks finally to my doctoral supervisor Harvey Feit, for understanding the need to combine action with scholarship; to Gord Odegarrd for allowing his video camera to enter the war-zone of Quebec; to the Hamilton Action for Social Change for organizing the bus to the Summit; and to my partner Rae, whose presence with me at the protest was a source of strength and inspiration. All errors and omissions in the manuscript are the sole responsibility of the author.

⁵⁴S. Gindin, "Toward a Structured Anti-Capitalist Movement," *Canadian Dimension*, (January/February 2001), 20-1.

Note on Images

The images that follow were taken from video footage shot in the streets of Québec City from 18th April to 21st April, 2001. When I went to Québec with my partner Rae and a busload of Hamilton students and activists, I was equipped with a friend's video camera and a vague intention of recording the proceedings. I had never used a video camera previously, and had few aspirations toward producing a comprehensive visual record of the summit protest. However, upon arriving in Québec City and trying out the camera, I became engaged by the story unfolding around me, and soon developed a desire to document (in a very amateur fashion) as much as I could.

The conditions of filming were often chaotic — attempts to capture a particularly compelling image were variously thwarted by jostling crowds, thick clouds of tear gas, volley's of rubber and plastic bullets, and the need to run for safety during police assaults. My partner and I were in the thick of the direct actions on the 19th and 20th, and personally experienced the now infamous police repression. Despite having gas masks, both of us were overcome by tear-gas on several occasions. In addition, Rae was arrested on the 20th at the same time that I was shot three times in the left knee with plastic bullets.

Because of the chaotic environment in which filming took place, several parts of the footage were blurred and unsuitable for capturing still images. Further limiting the range of images was the simple fact that, as one person with one camera, there were always important events I was unable to cover. Rae and I were interested in direct actions at the fence, and missed much of the public forums, sanctioned rallies, and labour events. These images thus present one perspective on the diverse Summit protest — there could be many others. In addition, those images that could be captured suffer from weaknesses in focus and clarity endemic to all video stills. In the best of conditions, such images have a resolution much poorer than actual photographs.

Despite these limitations in image representativeness and quality, the pictures that follow present a fairly faithful tableaux of my Québec City memories. I hope others find them similarly evocative.

1. Saturday, inside the People's Summit tent waiting for Maude Barlow to speak
2. Thursday, torch-lit march from Laval University to *Illot Fleurie*
3. Friday, Anarchist drummers in the CLAC march from Laval University to the security perimeter
4. Friday, CAW flag carried by a Hamilton labour activist
5. Friday, covering up as the CLAC march approaches the fence
6. Saturday, young activist at the Labour March
7. Saturday, The Massachusetts Revolutionary Drum Corps in the Labour March
8. Saturday, puppet in the Labour March
9. Friday, Lady Liberty, on stilts in the CLAC march
10. Saturday, monstrous capitalist puppet in the Labour March
11. Saturday, dancing with the Drum Corps in the Labour March
12. Saturday, activist artwork outside the People's Summit tent
13. Thursday evening, medical student marching in the torch-lit march
14. Friday, anti-corporate creativity in the CLAC march
15. Friday, art in *Illot Fleurie*
16. Saturday, Hamilton activist's sign in the Labour March
- 17-18. Friday, the "Flies on Your Wall" affinity group in the CLAC march
19. Saturday, Hamilton activist's sign in the Labour March
20. Saturday, sign outside of People's Summit tent
21. Saturday, activist creativity in the Labour March
- 22-27. Friday, signs, stage, food cart and dish wash station at the artist's space of *Illot Fleurie*
28. Thursday, sealing the security perimeter at Rue St. Foy
29. Saturday, approaching the security perimeter at Rue St. Foy
30. Saturday, police and forklift guard perimeter breach
31. Friday, protestor sitting in front of riot police after the wall came down
32. Saturday, peace against the perimeter
33. Saturday, protestors pushed down Rue René Lévesque
- 34-38. Friday, the wall comes down at the end of the CLAC march
39. Saturday, burning cart near Rue St. Jean
40. Saturday, tear gas cloud in front of Rue René Lévesque
41. Saturday, police advance along Rue René Lévesque
42. Saturday, dodging tear gas cannisters at the fence
43. Saturday, fence as anti-corporate propaganda tool
- 44-45. Friday, creative resistance at the perimeter
- 46-47. Saturday, Black Bloc teargas disposal teams
48. Friday, chanting at police in front of perimeter
49. Friday, CLAC march leaves Laval University
- 50-56. Friday, resistance at the perimeter near Rue René Lévesque
57. Monday, jail solidarity camp at Orsainville prison



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12

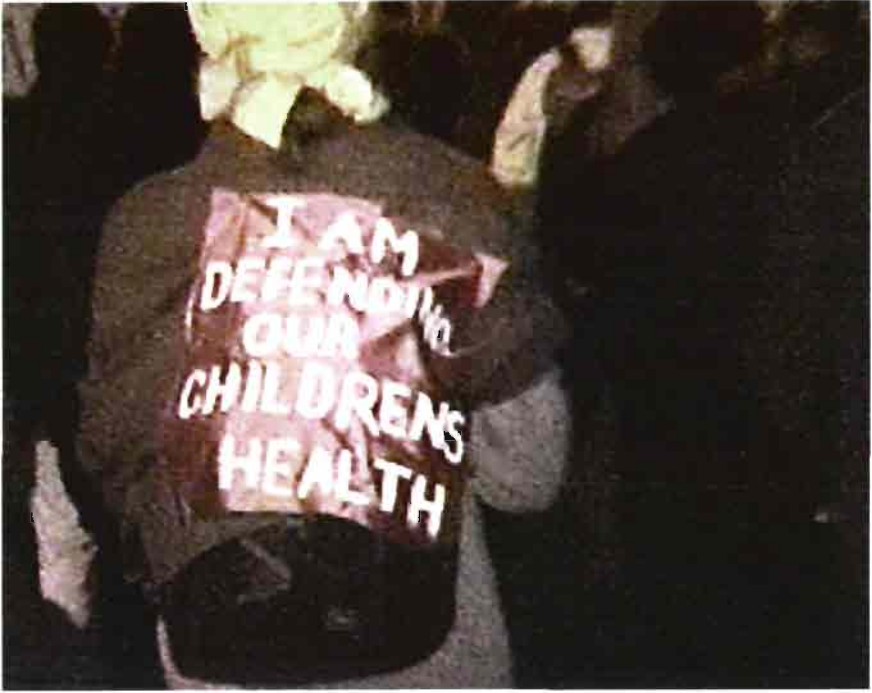


Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22

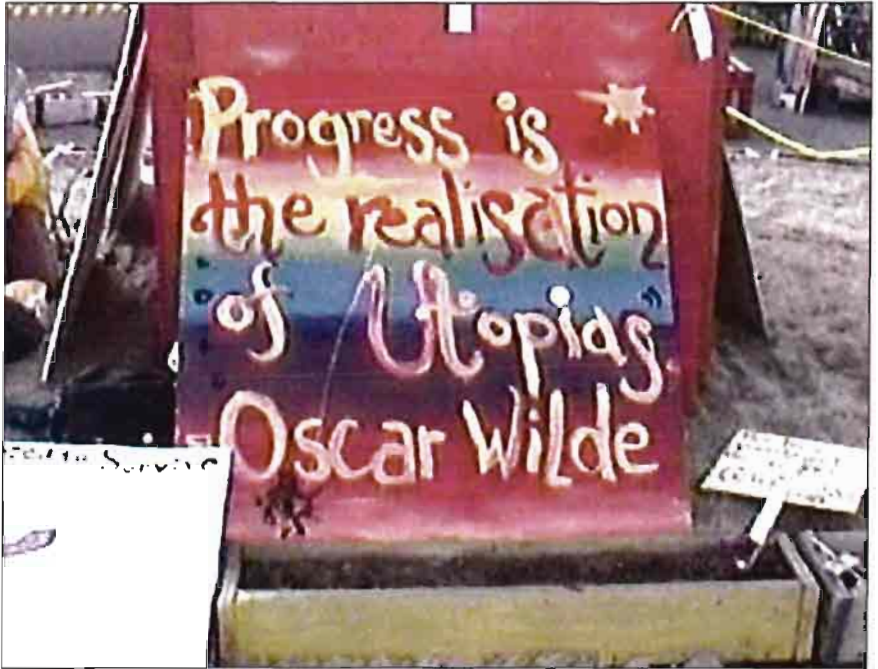


Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39

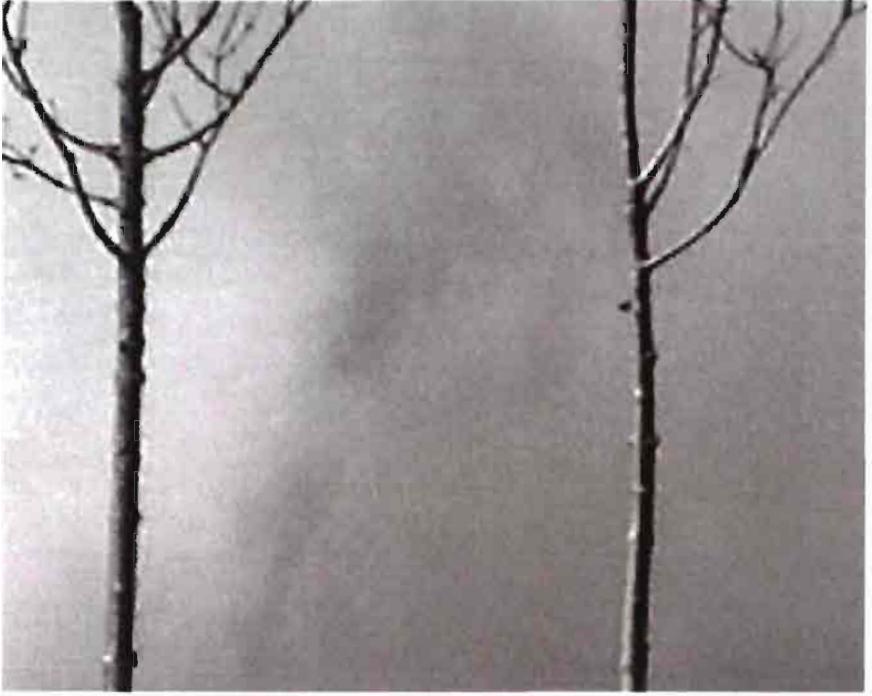


Figure 40



Figure 41



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44



Figure 45



Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48



Figure 49



Figure 50



Figure 51



Figure 52



Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55



Figure 56



Figure 57