Carleton University

Department of Law and Legal Studies

Course Outline

COURSE: LAWS 4309 B – State, Security and Dissent

TERM: Winter 2013

PREREQUISITES: Fourth year Honours standing and one of LAWS 3305, LAWS 3503, or

LAWS 3509 or HIST 3305

CLASS: Day & Time: Thursdays 18:05 – 20:55

Room: Please check with Carleton Central for current room location

INSTRUCTOR: Yavar Hameed

(CONTRACT)

CONTACT: Office: B442 Loeb Building

Office Hrs: By appointment only Telephone: (613) 2688 ext. 228

Skype: yhameed

Email: yhameed@hg-law.ca

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details visit the Equity Services website: http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details visit the Equity Services website: http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your *Letter of Accommodation* at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*) at http://www2.carleton.ca/pmc/new-and-current-students/dates-and-deadlines/

You can visit the Equity Services website to view the policies and to obtain more detailed information on academic accommodation at http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/

Course Synopsis

Methods of state control vary through times of war and peace, constantly shifting in an attempt to reconcile the apparent tension between protecting civil liberties and ensuring security. Significantly, this shifting tide is impacted by individual acts and broader social movements, which challenge the parameters of state control. This course explores counter-hegemonic resistance to state institutions that ideologically define security and in tandem exercise repressive control over Canadian society. Particular emphasis is given to laws in Canada that curtail basic civil liberties and legal challenges that test the limits of state security. The impact, successes and relevance of resistance are considered both historically and in a contemporary context in an effort to identify the relevance of dissent within Canada. To this

end, dissent is presented as both a practical and theoretical lens through which one may confront the logic of how security has been defined by the state in Canada (at various and intersecting levels) and to whose benefit it inures.

Evaluation Scheme

All components must be completed in order to get a passing grade.

The first three classes will take the form of a lecture followed by open discussion within the class. Students will be expected to hand in five questions pertaining to the readings that should be discussed during each seminar. These questions should be handed in every week at the end of class beginning in Week 2 until Week 12.

The remaining classes will consist of debates followed by general class discussion and/or a guest speaker.

Debate (50 % of Final Grade)

The remaining eight weeks will be structured around debate resolutions. The resolution for each debate is provided in the syllabus, but may be modified by the instructor to provide greater clarity.

Either individually or in pairs students will take a position for or against the resolution for a selected week. One week prior to the selected week, students will be required to submit a factum (written and sourced argument) and will be responsible during the week in question to present an argument for or against the resolution.

The debates themselves will be judged by a panel of students, the instructor and/or the guest lecturer. The remainder of the class will act as a jury and, after the close of the debate, will deliberate in private and come up with an independent conclusion. The jury and judges will then explain their conclusion to the class. The outcome of the debate (i.e. who wins and who loses, N.B.: a tie or hung jury is also possible) will not be determinative of the mark assigned, but the level of preparation, contribution and interventions of the student debaters will form part of their participation mark.

Each debate will be preceded by a short introduction by the instructor. Thereafter, the student debates will continue for an hour (with intervening questions from the judges and the class) depending upon the flow of discussion. A good debate will not necessarily be cut off at a precise time, but will be moderated by the panel of judges.

Brief of Argument and External Readings 30%

At least one week prior to the scheduled debate, the moving party (for the Resolution) is to identify a series of issues that are to be dealt with in the debate. The issues are necessary questions that must be answered in order to decide the ultimate resolution. Generally speaking, there should be approximately three issues to be addressed. Within one week and at least two days before the debate, the students are to email the instructor with their factum (brief of argument). A precedent of the brief and detailed explanation on how to prepare the brief will be provided on Web CT.

The brief will be approximately 10 to 15 pages in length. The brief should consist of a recitation and interpretation of the resolution question, an outline of the argument and a more detailed breakdown of the points to be argued, with appropriate footnotes and citations. The parties to the debate are required to exchange their main resources to be used in the argument at least one week before the debate. The parties are also responsible at that time to post their facta and list of resources to Web CT for review by the class.

The brief should attempt to persuade the judges by drawing upon assigned and external readings. Where external readings are relied upon by either party, they are to be exchanged with the party opposite prior to the debate. On the day of the debate, each group should have on hand an additional copy of its factum to submit to the instructor.

Discussion Questions 10%

At the end of each seminar you will be required to hand in five questions intended for broader discussion relating to the debate resolution assigned for that week and/or the seminar topic. Students are also encouraged to engage

in WebCT discussion board exchanges on the topic of each week. These questions and discussions will form a gauge of your review of the readings, critical thinking and participation in the seminar and will be taken into consideration in this aspect of the evaluation.

Self-Assessed Participation in Debates and Class Discussion 10%

In addition to participation in discussion as debaters, students will also be expected to contribute to class discussion as jury members, judges and in the plenary discussion. The overall participation mark will be <u>self-assessed</u> by the students (i.e. you will determine your own participation mark out of 10) in consultation with the instructor at the end of the semester.

Major Project (MP) (50% of Final Grade)

MP Proposal 10% (due (WEEK 5) on Thursday February 7, 2013)

You are to propose a major project for the course to respond to one of a series of topics that the instructor will distribute at the start of the term. The project must engage directly with the questions provided, but can take any one of various forms including: organizing a public discussion or seminar, creating a documentary film, conducting and analyzing a survey, creating a blog or website, conducting investigative journalism, doing policy analysis with a view to providing the analysis to an NGO, government or private actor, proposing and developing the framework for a conference or dialogue, or other suitable format.

The specifics of how to design the proposal will be discussed in class and a precedent proposal will be posted on Web CT.

MP Assignment and "Write Up" 40%

The major project or "MP" will be assessed on the basis of content, creativity, original thinking, ability to assimilate course themes and readings, external research, relevance to the audience that is chosen for dissemination, structure and feasibility. An accompanying document or "write up" (approximately 10 pages) should be provided to explain the relationship of the project to the course themes or relevant social problem discussed in seminar. Each final write-up should also include: a self-assessment component, which explains any difficulties or limitations in the project that would assist the instructor in the evaluation process as well as a section that explains the project within the broader literature and/or suggests further methods of developing or using the project.

Readings: ASSIGNED TEXT AVAILABLE AS CARLETON LIBRARY ELECTRONIC RESOURCE: Canadian Electronic Library Books Collection. AND AT OCTOPUS BOOKS – 116 THIRD AVENUE

Gary Kinsman et al, ed., Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000).

<u>Recommended Texts</u>: (these are not mandatory for the course, but you will find them very useful for your project and your own personal study)

David Barsamian. *Terrorism: Theirs & Ours* (An Interview with Eqbal Ahmed) (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001).

Ward Churchill, Acts of Rebellion, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

J. Keri Cronin and Kristy Roberston, eds. *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*, (Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011).

Paulo Freire, Pedagogy *of the Oppressed (30th Anniversary Edition),* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2007).

David Theodore Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Wiley Blackwell, 2001).

Mike Larsen, Kevin Walby, eds. *Brokering Access: Power Politics and Freedom of Information Process in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

Martin Luther King Jr., Why we Can't Wait (New York: The New American Library Inc., 1964).

Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

Gary Kinsman. et al. eds., Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000).

Kerry Pither, Dark Days: The Story of Four Canadians Tortured in the Name of Fighting Terror (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008).

Sherene Razack ed. Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002).

Sherene Razack, Casting *Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law & Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

Kent Roach, September 11: Consequences for Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

Jeff Schmidt. Disciplined Minds: A Critical Look at Salaried Professionals and the Soul Battering System that Shapes their Lives (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

Maureen Webb, *Illusions of Security: Global Surveillance and Democracy in the Post-9/11 World* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2007).

Eyal Weizman, Hollow Land: Israel's Archictecture of Occupation (London: Verso Books, 2007).

LIST OF SEMINARS

Week 1 (Thursday January 10, 2013): Introduction and Background: Hegemony and Modes of State Control

State security in liberal democracies is created and maintained by the use of violence and by the construction of institutions that ideologically promote conformity and adherence to the Rule of Law. While civil society is constrained by the overt and ideological modes of State control, movements of resistance develop within civil society at historical moments of political disequilibrium. Such movements challenge the priorities of the "Security State" and its modes of activity. This seminar introduces notions of power, hegemony and the relationship between hegemonic control of the security state and policy and legislative formation.

Assigned Readings:

Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation" in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971) 127. –/**WEB CT** or see: www.hu.mtu.edu/~rlstrick/rsvtxt/althuss1.pdf

Gary Kinsman et al., "How the Centre Holds- National Security as an Ideological Practice" in Gary Kinsman et al, ed., Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000) 278-85.

Additional Suggested Readings:

Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed (30th Anniversary Edition),* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2007), chapter 2 at pp. 72-86.

Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

PART I: Forming and Maintaining the Security of the Canadian State

Week 2 (January 17, 2013): State Formation and the Negotiation of National Interests

As a White "settler society", Canada was founded on principles, which privileged certain national and racial categories, while denying political and economic participation to other groups such as First Nations and immigrants from Asia and Africa. The formation of the Canadian State, therefore, reflects this hierarchy through an exclusionist immigration system and differential application of domestic laws based upon racial category.

Film Excerpt: A. Kazimi, The Continuous Journey

GUEST SPEAKERS: Former 4309 B Students Share their Past Projects and Experiences in the Course

Choose Debate Topics and Form Groups for Weeks 4 through 12

Assigned Readings:

Sherene H. Razack, "Introduction: When Place Becomes Race" in Sherene H. Razack, ed., *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002) 1. **WEB CT**

Andrew Parnaby & Gregory S. Kealey, "The Origins of Political Policing in Canada: Class, Law, and the Burden of Empire" (2003) 41 Osgoode Hall L.J. 211. **WEB CT**

Week 3 (January 24, 2013): Surveillance and the Role of Security Intelligence

Surveillance of Canadian society is an intrinsic part of state security and has played an important role in the evolution of the infrastructure of Canadian security intelligence. After the McDonald Commission in 1981, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) succeeded the RCMP. While ostensibly policing and intelligence functions were separated, the new entity failed to engender appropriate reliability or accountability to meet its invasive investigatorial powers. CSIS struggled to find its feet in the years immediately following the demise of the Cold War, but has gained renewed importance in the post 9/11 era. However, cases such as Arar, Almalki, Abdelrazik and others bring into relief the potential for abuse in terms of the use of Canadian intelligence and surveillance in tandem with arbitrary arrest, detention and even torture through extraordinary or "opportunistic" rendition.

Assigned Readings:

Introduction in Gary Kinsman et al, ed., Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000) 1-8.

"Spymasters, Spies, and their Subjects: The RCMP and Canadian State Repression, 1914-39" in Gary Kinsman et al, ed., Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000) 18-33.

Suggested Readings:

Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

Kerry Pither, Dark Days: The Story of Four Canadians Tortured in the Name of Fighting Terror (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008).

Week 4 (January 31, 2013): Confronting Claims of First Nations Sovereignty

The negotiation of First Nations treaty rights with the Crown created proprietary control over land, which previously was not subject to ownership (in its Western definition) by First Nations. Moreover, the unconscionability of the negotiation of treaties and the ramifications of these treaties is the subject of debate to this day. Frustrated with the poverty and marginalization of their people, certain First Nations developed resistance movements to assert a claim to their land by occupying Crown or corporate controlled land. Efforts at occupation by First Nations, however, have resulted in violent confrontation with the Canadian State. What justifies the use of force by the state against First Nations? Can violent confrontation shift the discourse of security and state sovereignty that constrains the rights of First Nations in Canada?

RESOLUTION: BE IT RESOLVED THAT First Nations direct action protest constitutes a terrorist threat to the national security of Canada.

Assigned Reading:

Ward Churchill, "The New Face of Liberation: Indigenous Rebellion, State Repression, and the Reality of the Fourth World" in *Acts of Rebellion: The Ward Churchill Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 13. **WEB CT**

For Arguments Against Direct Action Occupation, please see:

"Legalized Myths of Illegal Occupation" (Canadian Advocates for Charter Equality, May 2008): http://www.caledoniawakeupcall.com/canace/Myths.pdf

"Cost of Native Occupations" (CANCE, August 2007): http://www.caledoniawakeupcall.com/canace/CostofNativeOccupations.pdf

"The Human Costs of Illegal Occupations" (CANCE, December 2007): http://www.caledoniawakeupcall.com/canace/HumanCost.pdf

Week 5 (February 7, 2013): The Demonization of Islam and the Creation of the Other (MAJOR PROJECT PROPOSAL DUE)

For more than a decade five Muslim men have been battling an immigration removal process under the security certificate regime pursuant to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. After millions of dollars of public funds spent on security intelligence, creating a specialized holding facility and legal wrangling which has made its way to the Supreme Court on two occasions, the security certificate regime persists. The certificate against Mr. Almrei was quashed, the certificate against Mr. Charkaoui has been withdrawn, the case of Mr. Harkat is going to the Supreme Court (again) and the cases of Mr. Mahjoub and Mr. Jaballah remain in litigation after four years before the Federal Court. How can the state justify such extraordinary and expensive measures of detention? Is the approach based on a fair and sound approach to immigration regulation consistent with fundamental justice and equality under Canadian law?

RESOLUTION: BE IT RESOLVED THAT the immigration security certificate regime under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act constitutes a form of racial profiling inconsistent with the laws of Canada.

GUEST SPEAKER: Mohamed Mahjoub (TO BE CONFIRMED)

Assigned Readings:

Reem Bahdi, "No Exit: Racial Profiling and Canada's War Against Terrorism" (2003) 41 Osgoode Hall L.J. 293. WEB CT

Zuhair Kashmeri, "When CSIS Calls: Canadian Arabs, Racism, and the Gulf War" in Gary Kinsman et al., ed., *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000) 256. **WEB CT**

Order of the Federal Court of Canada (May 2, 2011): http://www.canlii.org/en/ca/fct/doc/2011/2011fc506/2011fc506.html

PART II: STATE SECURITY AND DISSENT DURING TIMES OF WAR

Week 6 (February 14, 2013): Internment of Japanese-Canadians

During periods of war, individual freedom is often subverted in the interest of building a common movement and collective "war effort". The promotion of nationalism provides moral justification for the promotion of State interests abroad, while it also serves to create and consolidate a generally compliant attitude within civil society susceptible to the suggestions of the dominant class. Within this paradigm, normally unimaginable programs such as the internment of Canadian citizens based on ethnicity, increased surveillance, racial profiling, arbitrary detention and torture can be advanced, with little or no opposition, in the name of national security. This seminar considers the internment of Canadians of Japanese ancestry or origin during World War II.

RESOLUTION: BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Supreme Court of Canada in *Reference re: Persons of Japanese Race* erred in upholding the Order-in-Council which permitted the deportation of "Japanese-Canadians" to Japan.

Assigned Readings:

Reference re: Persons of Japanese Race [1946] SCJ No. 7. (obtain through legal database)

Ann Sunahara. The War Measures Act: Can Its Use be Controlled? (Unpublished paper) WEB CT

CLASSES SUSPENDED FOR WINTER BREAK FEBRUARY 18-22, 2013

Week 7 (February 28, 2013): Sexual Orientation and Ideological Security

The Cold War provided an interesting metaphor capable of maintaining the nationalistic intensity of a war effort during a protracted and undefined period as against a generically defined global enemy whose scope of influence justified an expanded State role in the scrutiny and surveillance of the private lives and activities of people in Canada. A culture of suspicion, distrust and ideological profiling created fertile ground for enforcing a moral consensus capable of prioritizing national security and the necessity of quelling dissent.

RESOLUTION: BE IT RESOLVED THAT the RCMP investigation of gays and lesbians as national security risks between 1950 and 1970 was illegal according to the existing laws of Canada at the time. OR

BE IT RESOLVED THAT Canadian Blood Services' ban on blood donations from homosexual men who have had sex with men is justified on the basis of risk to the health of blood donation recipients.

Assigned Readings:

"Constructing Gay Men and Lesbians as National Security Risks, 1950-70" in Gary Kinsman et al, ed., Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000) 143-153.

Julie Guard, "Women Worth Watching: Radical Housewives in Cold War Canada" in Gary Kinsman et al., ed., *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000) 73-88.

"Debilitating Divisions: The Civil Liberties Movement in Early Cold War Canada, 1946-48" in Gary Kinsman et al, ed., Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000) 143-153.

Week 8 (March 7, 2013): The War in Afghanistan

Canada is involved in a war in Afghanistan, which has no clear objective or simple anticipated conclusion. Strong domestic sentiment exists in Canada to support our troops, but few have spoken out against the legality of the War and the political question of withdrawal continues to be deferred into the future. What accounts for the lack of self-reflexivity of Canadians in respect of the continued occupation of Afghanistan? What is the impact upon civil rights of detainees arrested in the field of battle? What special responsibility if any does Canada have to its own citizens arrested during the war?

RESOLUTION: BE IT RESOLVED THAT the war in Afghanistan is vital to Canada's national interest.

Assigned Readings:

TBA, Posted on Web CT

Part III: DISSENT AND DISTURBING OF THE PEACE

Week 9 (March 14, 2013): Disturbing Campus

Academic institutions have created a system of tenure designed to encourage freedom of thought and expression that pushes the boundaries of scholarship within the context of institutional learning, teaching and research. Engagement in social and political questions that are beyond the disciplinary limits of a particular field are often viewed by University administrations as being outside the purview of the professor and may be contrary to the policies or interests of the administration. In this context between discipline and expression, what is the appropriate role of tenure in guaranteeing independence of thought?

RESOLUTION: BE IT RESOLVED THAT academic tenure is not a tool for political activism.

GUEST SPEAKER: Denis Rancourt, Former Professor of Physics (fired), University of Ottawa (TO BE CONFIRMED)

Assigned Readings:

TBA, Posted on Web CT

Week 10 (March 21, 2013): Legislating Against Perceived Insurrection

The FLQ Crisis in 1970 stands out as a pinnacle example of state response and state interest toward quelling dissent in the name of national security. Who defines the moment when dissent becomes crisis? At what stage does it become acceptable to limit fundamental freedoms in an effort to preserve the security of the *status quo*? What legislative responses emerge in the wake of a perceived breach of national security?

RESOLUTION: BE IT RESOLVED THAT the use of the *War Measures Act* during the FLQ crisis of 1970 was abusive and unnecessary to the protection of Canadian national security.

Assigned Reading:

War Measures Act

Suggested References:

Pierre Elliott Trudeau, "War Measures Act Speech" (CBC Television news, October 16, 1970), online: CBC Archives http://archives.cbc.ca/IDCC-1-71-101-618/conflict_war/october_crisis/>.

FLQ, Manifesto of October 1970, see:

http://www.marxists.org/history/canada/quebec/flq/1970/manifesto.htm

Week 11 (March 28, 2013): Disturbing of the Peace

The Canadian State is based on the constitutionally enshrined principles of "peace, order and good governance". These principles, however, legitimize the values of the State, maintaining the integrity of private property and the authority of corporations and their owners. The control of the dominant class is therefore ensured by the legal infrastructure of the State. Accordingly, to challenge the dominant class in the interests of the socially marginal or disenfranchised may involve direct action to redress social injustice. While symbolically and practically valuable, direct action, by disturbing of "the peace", may result in a contravention of the Law. Does disturbing the peace necessarily undermine the security of the State? Can challenging the basis of unjust laws result in greater economic and social security? How does the approach or strategy used change the answers to these questions?

RESOLUTION: BE IT RESOLVED that the level of police presence at Toronto's (June 2010) G20 summit was necessary for maintaining public order.

GUEST SPEAKER: TBA

Assigned Readings:

John Clarke, "Social Resistance and the Disturbing of the Peace" (2003) 41 Osgoode Hall L.J. 491. WEB CT

Jackie Esmonde, The Policing of Dissent: The Use of Breach of the Peace Arrests at Political Demonstrations (2002), 1 J.L. & Equality 246. **WEB CT**

Week 12 (April 4, 2013): Dissent and Criticism of the State of Israel

Is it legal to overtly criticize the policies of the state of Israel by referring to them as "apartheid"? Although Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) has been organized on campuses across Canada for several years, it has raised strong emotions on campus and beyond. The Ontario legislature condemned the use of the term "Israeli apartheid" in February 2010, while there have been public accusations and widespread discussion suggesting that the term is incendiary and inappropriate. What are the limits of critical political expression in a free and democratic society? Should campus be a forum for debates on world politics? Does the term apartheid apply to the current situation in Israel?

BE IT RESOLVED THAT Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) should be banned from campus.

Readings:

International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973) http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/res/3068(XXVIII)

Geneva Conventions Act, RSC, 1985, c G-3 http://www.canlii.org/en/ca/laws/stat/rsc-1985-c-g-3/latest/rsc-1985-c-g-3.html

The Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law (5763-2003) http://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/citizenship_law.htm http://www.hamoked.org.il/items/1140 eng.pdf

Adalah Legal Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel and others v. Minister of Interior (HCJ 7052/03) http://elyon1.court.gov.il/files eng/03/520/070/a47/03070520.a47.pdf

B. Pogrund "Israel is a democracy in which Arabs vote" *Focus 40* (2005) http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezine/Israel_democracy.htm

"Israel is not an Apartheid State" *Winnipeg Jewish Review* (March 2010) http://www.crethiplethi.com/israel-is-not-an-apartheid-state/israel/2010/

(ALTERNATIVE TOPIC)

Occupation as Dissent

As a reaction to the global financial crisis and the overwhelming control of local and global economies by the so called "one percent", the "occupy" movement has spread from Wall Street across North America including into many Canadian cities. The unilateral or direct claim to occupy public space that is at the heart of this movement has been widely criticized in the media as being without focus or practical objective; however, it has captured the imagination of a large segment of disenfranchised and disheartened people. This movement has galvanized the political and social expression of diverse voices towards a new way of thinking and the development of alternative paradigms for social and community based responses to problems of economic disparity, political oppression and social disconnection.

BE IT RESOLVED THAT: the Occupy movement is one of the most meaningful demonstrations of ideological dissent in North America in the last decade.